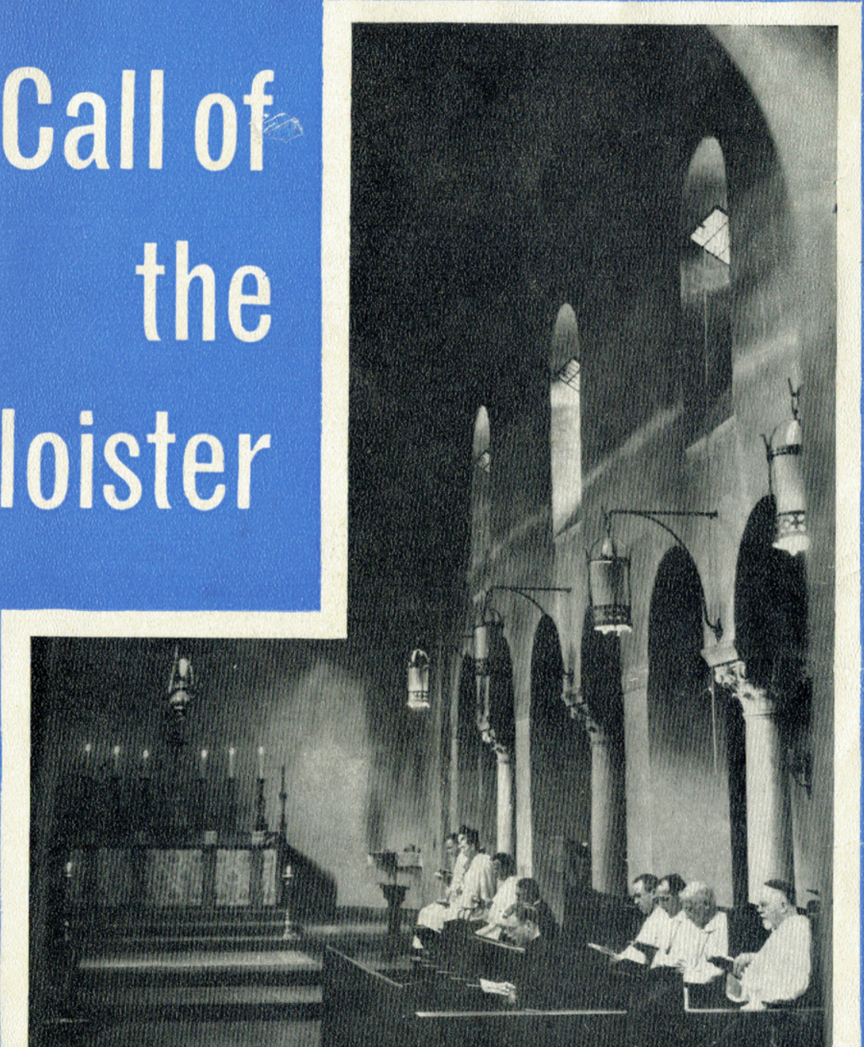
PETER F. ANSON

The Call of the Cloister



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The Call of the Cloister

RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES AND KINDRED BODIES IN THE ANGLICAN COMMUNION

BY

Peter F. Anson

REVISED AND EDITED BY

A. W. Campbell

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Foreword

When answering my letters, requesting information about their communities, several Superiors have asked why, as a Roman Catholic, I should be sufficiently interested in Anglican religious orders to think it worth while to write a book about them! Very much the same surprise has been expressed by some of my co-religionists when I mentioned the work on which I was engaged. So I explained that the subject is one which has attracted me for nearly half a century, ever since I was a youth of fifteen and chanced to pick up a copy of *The Life of Father Ignatius, O.S.B., The Monk of Llanthony* by the Baroness de Bertouch (London, 1904)—a strange introduction to the monastic life! Since then this interest has grown, rather than decreased. It was revived definitely about fifteen years ago when I added a long introductory chapter, dealing with religious communities in the Church of England, to *The Benedictines of Caldey* (London, 1940). Then one day it struck me that it was high time that somebody wrote an up-to-date history of Anglican religious communities.

The Reverend Allan T. Cameron's *Religious Communities of the Church of England*, published in 1918, was an invaluable source of reference, but it is now out of date and out of print. The same applies to his *Directory of Religious Communities of Men and Women in the Anglican Communion*, published in 1920 and reprinted in a revised version in 1924. *Religious Communities in the American Episcopal Church and in the Anglican Church in Canada* (1945)[1] is confined to transatlantic foundations. *The Guide to the Religious Communities of the Anglican Communion*, issued by the Advisory Council on Religious Communities in 1951,[2] edited by the Very Reverend F. P. Harton (sometime Secretary to the Council, and late Dean of Wells), contains concise but only brief information.

* * *

Monasticism, in its basic sense of seclusion or withdrawal from society, is a common feature of every religious system which has attained to a high degree of ethical development—Brahmin, Buddhist, Taoist, Moslem, and Jewish, as well as Christian. Wherever the ascetic and mystical impulse exists, which is *natural* to man, there is a tendency to form communities, usually based on poverty and some degree of chastity and obedience. Monasticism, in one form or another, flourishes in environments so diverse that it can only be the expression of a principle inherent in human nature and rooted therein just as deeply as the principle of family life, although confined to a smaller proportion of mankind.

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[1] Second edition, 1956.

[2] Third edition, 1962.

For just over three hundred years there was no corporate monastic life in the Church of England. Post-Reformation Canon Law, for instance the code of 1603, dealt with clerics and layfolk, but it ignored the existence of the Religious State, *i.e.* a permanent mode of community life by which the faithful undertake to observe, not only the precepts common to all, but also the evangelical counsels by vows implying obedience, chastity, and poverty. However, a natural instinct in mankind cannot be suppressed for ever, no matter how powerful is the force imposed by civil and ecclesiastical legislation. Throughout those three centuries there were nearly always individuals here and there who heard the call of the cloister and who longed to devote themselves to the service of God more closely than was possible in their own homes. Sometimes groups of devout Anglicans came together, but soon discovered that it was impossible for them to establish anything in the nature of a permanent community. Some of these would-be monks and nuns, finding that there was no place for them in the Provinces of Canterbury and York, went overseas, where they joined other Englishmen and women, who had gone into voluntary exile in order to answer the call of the cloister. Of those who stayed at home and remained in communion with the Church of England, there were some who tried to satisfy a spiritual urge by reciting vernacular adaptations of the Divine Office in private, in addition to regular attendance at the Prayer Book offices of Mattins[1] and Evensong in churches. They also supplemented what was lacking in the mystical theology of their own divines by books smuggled in from the continent of Europe. Again and again plans were made to establish what were called "Protestant Monasteries" or "Colleges of Maids", but in almost every case the bishops were afraid that such institutions would "prepare the way for Popish Orders", so nothing came of them.

Then, in the second decade of the nineteenth century the Poet Laureate, Robert Southey, asked why there were no Béguines or Sisters of Charity in the English Church, pointing out how badly they were needed. With the dawn of the Oxford Movement and the publication of the first of the *Tracts for the Times* in 1833, the "dry bones" of Anglicanism began to stir. Three years later John Henry Newman was discussing the foundation of a community for men. Dr Pusey began to consider the possibility of establishing at least one community for women. Much the same thing was happening in the American Episcopal Church. Almost at the same time as Newman retired to his "monastery" at Littlemore, James L. Breck and a few other men tried to form a quasi-monastic community on the shores of Lake Michigan. Neither of these foundations had more than a brief existence. Within a few months of each other the first Sisterhoods in the Anglican Communion were established in England and in North America. The evolution of community life for women which began in 1845 provides the material for the greater part of this book, since Anglican communities of men have not been so numerous.

It is a fascinating story, partly bound up at the start with that of the Gothic revival in art and literature, from which it cannot be wholly dissociated. Indeed, at the beginning, the average Englishman regarded "Puseyite Nunneries" as nothing more than a rather silly playing with medieval toys. But the services rendered by some of those heroic pioneers during the Crimean War and in cholera epidemics at home made ordinary Englishmen realize that this dressing-up business was not just a game, so by degrees prejudice and suspicion broke down. Even then there were very few bishops in England or America who were prepared to give their whole-hearted support to religious communities, unless they were modelled on the lines of German Lutheran deaconesses. But times have changed: in 1935 the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, after consultation with the other bishops and the Lower Houses of the Convocation, set up an *Advisory Council*, whose aims and objects resemble those of the Roman *Congregation for the Affairs of Religious*, erected by Pope Pius X in 1908. However, since the religious communities of the Church of England are infinitely less numerous than those subject to the Patriarch of the West, the organization of the former body is much more simple and not so highly centralized as that of the latter. Almost all other Provinces of the Anglican Communion now make provision for religious communities of men and women. Nevertheless the compilers of a revised body of Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical, who published their proposals in 1947, explained that it was felt that "the time is not yet ripe for securing in the distinctive system of the Church of England the essential values of the Religious Life by way of canonical legislation"

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[1] Throughout this book, in order to avoid confusion, the spelling "Mattins" is used to indicate "The Order for Morning Prayer" as printed in *The Book of Common Prayer.* The alternative spelling "Matins" implies the office of Nocturns in the Breviary.

for which reason they "deliberately refrained from including any such canons" in the new code.[1] On the other hand, proof that Religious Communities are now recognized as an integral part of Anglicanism can be found in several recent official publications.[2]

I regret that the treatment given to the communities is so uneven, but this has been unavoidable. In some cases almost too much historical material has been placed at my disposal; in others it has been difficult to obtain enough information to write even a sketchy story. Thus the importance of a community must not be judged by the length of the section devoted to it.

Throughout these pages I have striven after objective truth; and tried to avoid the expression of personal opinions. Whatever errors and lacunae may be discovered by critical readers, I hope that they will regard this book as a sympathetic study of a remarkable manifestation of the persistence of an urge for a closer union with God on lines which the sixteenth-century reformers thought they had eradicated, but which, after more than three hundred years, came up again like a seed buried in stony ground and grew into a mighty tree.

PETER F. ANSON

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[1] The *Canon Law of the Church of England* (1947), p. 86.

[2] *Acts of the Convocations of Canterbury and York*, edited by A. F. Smethurst and H. R. Wilson (1948), (enlarged edition, edited by H. Riley and H. R. Wilson, 1961), pp. 36–41; *The Official Year Book of the Church of England* (1963 edition), pp. 261–5.

Foreword to the Third Edition

THE third edition of this book has been revised and edited by Mr A. W. Campbell, who contributed very substantially to the original text and whose name now appears on the title-page. His collaboration as a member of the Scottish Episcopal Church may assure Anglican readers that there is no question of Roman Catholic bias in the treatment of Communities of another communion. Every care has been taken to correct errors of detail which were previously overlooked and to bring the historical matter up to date. The arrangement and substance of the book remain generally unchanged. It cannot be hoped that the revision is yet perfect and further corrections will always be gratefully received.

One criticism which may fairly be made is that the book has not sufficiently stressed the conservative spirit of the majority of Anglican religious communities or the fact that few of their founders or foundresses have attempted to create corporate bodies of men and women which were not based on existing Roman Catholic models. A nostalgic looking back to the latter Middle Ages could be understood at the time of the Gothic Revival during which the first Brotherhoods and Sisterhoods were established, but it is surprising that even in recent years the external features of medieval or post-Tridentine monasticism in the Latin Church should have been regarded as essential for the religious life in communion with Canterbury. More might perhaps have been said about the Deaconess Movement because it represented what most mid-Victorian English bishops believed to be in keeping with the traditions of the Church of England. The typical Anglican Deaconess Institute was and still is very much a society of dedicated women living without vows. It is, therefore, in a sense a prototype of the modern Secular Institutes in the Latin Church. These Institutes are societies of men and women living in community but without permanent vows. They are now recognized in Roman Canon Law and their members enjoy most of the privileges of the religious state. Anglican deaconesses, of course, wear distinctive uniform and, generally speaking, live as individuals and not in community. The

Diocesan Deaconesses were almost the only purely indigenous manifestation in the Church of England of the dedicated Christian life. Deaconesses have not in the long run flourished among Anglicans as they do, for example, among the Lutherans of Germany and Scandinavia and their influence has certainly been less than that of their religious sisters. All Anglican religious, so far as can be discovered, still wear a distinctive uniform and attach much importance to the traditional externals of one or other form of the religious life. In the Latin Church the current tendency is to establish both male and female congregations whose members have nothing to distinguish them externally from ordinary priests or lay folk. There are tentative efforts on similar lines in Anglican evangelical circles but it is too early to write of these.

An impartial observer would be inclined to form the opinion that, taken as a whole, the religious communities of the Anglican Communion are marking time at the moment. Vocations to some of the older sisterhoods are few and far between, with the result that their activities have had to be curtailed and more daughter houses closed. Although it has proved impossible to obtain up-to-date statistics in most cases, there is sufficient reason to believe that there has been little or no numerical increase in the total number of Anglican religious (male and female) in the past quarter of a century. One reason for this state of quiescence could be that the ethos of some of the older female communities is too "Victorian" to attract young women of the present day. However, the same thing applies to many of the older religious orders and congregations in the Roman Church, whose superiors are faced with similar problems of recruitment to those which confront the superiors of brotherhoods and sisterhoods in communion with Canterbury.

Thanks are due to reviewers and many correspondents in all parts of the world who have pointed out errors of detail in the original text, especially the Reverend T. J. Williams of New York and the Community of St Mary the Virgin, Wantage. Finally, the Right Reverend Francis Walsh, Bishop of Aberdeen, must be thanked for his encouragement in preparing this third edition, and his blessing to its publication.

PETER F. ANSON, A. W. CAMPBELL

NOTE TO THE FOURTH EDITION

THIS edition has been thoroughly revised. Accounts of communities have been brought up-to-date, new communities have been added, references to further publications have been included, and a few minor errors, which had previously escaped notice, have been eliminated. Thanks are due to the Superiors and others who have readily and generously co-operated.

Acknowledgements

MY thanks are due to the Superiors—too numerous to mention singly—who have taken such trouble to supply information about their respective communities, and who, in almost every instance, have shown such interest and encouragement in the preparation of this book. But special reference must be made to the Reverend R. L. Wrathall, Prior of Mirfield, and other members of the Community of the Resurrection, including the Most Reverend Thomas Hannay, Bishop of Argyll and the Isles and Primus of the Scottish Episcopal Church. They have made a most careful revision of each section. Much helpful data has been supplied by the Mother-General of the Community of St Mary the Virgin, Wantage (especially concerning Office Books), and by the Right Reverend Dom Augustine Morris, Abbot of Nashdom, and several monks of his community. The Reverend F. B. Dalby, Superior-General of the Society of St John the Evangelist, and other Cowley Fathers, have taken endless trouble in verifying doubtful points; so also have the Librarians of Pusey House, Oxford.

I am much indebted to the Reverend E. R. Hardy, Professor of Church History at the Berkeley Divinity School, New Haven, and to the Reverend T. J. Williams, Chaplain of the Retreat House of the Redeemer, New York, both of whom revised and corrected the section devoted to the American communities. The latter also took infinite pains to have the proofs corrected by the respective Superiors.

There is scarcely a page which does not owe something to Mr A. W. Campbell of Edinburgh, who placed his knowledge of Anglican monasticism at my disposal, lent me innumerable books and pamphlets, and who, again and again, must have spent long hours checking doubtful details. Mr Campbell even resurrected at least two long-defunct Sisterhoods, whose existence had been forgotten! Had it not been for his drastic correction of the proofs countless errors would have been passed over.

Valuable information about the architects of conventual buildings was

supplied by the Librarians of the Royal Institute of British Architects, also by Mr John Betjeman and Mr H. S. Goodhart-Rendel. Other collaborators include: the Right Reverend Dom Christopher Butler, Abbot of Downside; the Right Reverend Dame Flavia Garland, Abbess of Talacre; the late Right Reverend Mgr J. C. Hawes; the late Right Reverend Mgr Ronald Knox; the late Reverend Dom Aelred Carlyle; the Reverend Dom Aidan Haynes; the late Reverend Dom William Tate; the Reverend Henry Tristram, Cong. Orat.; Prebendary Ronald Pilkington; Brigadier G. T. Nugée, C.B.E.; and Mr Leslie R. Willett. Finally, thanks are due to the authors of many books quoted and to the editors of numerous periodicals.

None of my helpers is to be held responsible for any expressions of opinion, explicit or implicit, or for any errors of fact.

Introduction

THE CALL OF THE CLOISTER IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

After the Provinces of Canterbury and York had ceased to be an integral part of the western Patriarchate in the sixteenth century, and affirmed that recognition of papal supremacy is no necessary condition of Catholicity, the first drastic change in traditional ecclesiastical organization was the wholesale suppression of the Religious Orders. To tell the story of that tremendous spiritual, social, and economic revolution is outside the scope of this book. Nevertheless it may be worth while to mention that the approximately eight thousand regular canons, monks, friars, and nuns who made the willing or unwilling surrender of their houses, lands, and revenues had ceased to be Catholic in the then generally accepted meaning of the word, although they may not have realized this fully. As a recent historian has expressed it: "That they had ceased to be when, under oath, they had made a still greater surrender four, five, and six years before. That they made these surrenders, and so universally, and that they had previously made the greater surrender, leaving the unity of the *Catholica* to live under the royal supremacy in the new *Anglicana* of Henry VIII—here is the best of evidence that all was really far from well, even under the best of appearances, within the monastic world".[1]

The only Orders which showed any united opposition to the repudiation of papal supremacy were the Carthusians and the Observant Franciscans. They were the first to be suppressed. Some of their members suffered the death penalty. As for the rest of the "lesser" and "greater" monasteries, practically all of them gave their assent to the doctrine that the King is the supreme head on earth of the *Ecclesia Anglicana*, although in some cases they may have done so with mental reservations, hoping that this action would secure them from suppression. But their optimism was based on a failure to realize the full significance of the powers granted to the King. By the spring of 1540 the last of the abbeys had no choice but to surrender.

[1] Philip Hughes, *The Reformation in England* (1950), vol. I, p. 321.

It is not always remembered that the Act of 1536 made provision for the King to re-found as well as suppress Religious Communities. In virtue of the authority bestowed on him, Henry VIII granted royal licences to forty-seven houses of men and women, which were re-established "in perpetuity" with new charters.[1] From the legal point of view these were the first specifically Anglican religious communities to be founded, since no confirmation was sought from the Holy See. They had a very brief existence. All were small houses, none with annual incomes amounting to more than £200. Not even with the help of loans could they raise the money to pay the fees demanded for the royal licences. The King was gracious enough to remit all moneys still due to him, on condition that the communities surrendered their property and lands. By 1540 all these licensed houses had been suppressed. Among them was the Cistercian nunnery at Stixwold, Lincolnshire, which was re-founded in 1537, and styled "the new monastery of King Henry VIII". Another foundation was a Benedictine monastery at Bisham, Berkshire, whose abbot was given a royal licence to use pontificalia. The colleges of the two universities of Oxford and Cambridge "were the only religious communities of the medieval world to escape the Tudor bonfire and to remain, almost within living memory, the only bodies of celibate clergymen in England with a status recognised by authority".[2]

On the accession of Mary Tudor in 1553 the Church of England was reconciled with Rome. Three years later Benedictine life was resumed at Westminster under Abbot Feckenham. The Dominicans returned to their priory at Smithfield; the Observant Franciscans reassembled at Greenwich; the Bridgettine nuns took over their monastery at Syon, and the Carthusians regained possession of the Charterhouse at Sheen. There was talk of the restoration of the abbeys of Glastonbury and St Albans. But with the accession of Elizabeth in 1558 corporate monastic life in England came to an end. Most of the re-founded monks, nuns, and friars managed to escape abroad, but some were imprisoned. In 1598 the first of many recusant communities was established overseas—the Benedictine convent at Brussels.[3]

Many reasons can be produced for the revival of the Religious Life in

---

[1] (*Men*) Austin Canons (9), Premonstratensian Canons (4), Cistercians (4). (*Women*) Benedictines (11), Cistercians (8), Austin Canonesses (5), Cluniac Benedictines (2), Poor Clares (2). Cf. Philip Hughes, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 295, 296.

[2] David Knowles, *Monastic Sites from the Air* (Cambridge, 1952), p. 274.

[3] The suppression of the Religious Communities in Ireland and Scotland was carried out under different conditions to those in England. In Ireland the Church does not appear to have been affected by the doctrines of the continental reformers. In 1541 an Act of Parliament gave Henry VIII the new style of King instead of Lord of

the Anglican Communion. The generally accepted view is that it was the outcome of the realization of the need of the services of dedicated women for performing works of mercy and charity. It is more likely that it had its roots in a way of prayer retained by the Church of England—the public celebration of the Divine Office, which is the basis of the earlier forms of Christian monasticism. The Book of Common Prayer preserved the foundations of Christian monastic prayer, but simplified it in such a way that ordinary layfolk could share in this type of worship. For what are the offices of Mattins and Evensong but an adaptation of the seven Hours of the Breviary?[1] In pre-Reformation times devout layfolk loved to recite the Little Office of Our Lady. Queen Elizabeth and her advisers sought to revive a modified layfolk's Office Book of this type in the *Primer in English* (1559). It included a complete set of offices from Matins to Compline. With the Counter-Reformation abroad, among both Catholics and Protestants there came a new spirituality—subjective rather than objective, individualistic rather than corporate. The public recitation of the Divine Office was no longer obligatory with the Clerks Regular founded in the sixteenth century; in their churches the Psalms ceased to be heard. Compromise, not to say conservatism, is characteristic of the English temperament. The Book of Common Prayer retained the framework of choral worship; a method of prayer which could only find its most perfect development in communities of men and women who

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Ireland. He was also proclaimed supreme head of the Church. The bishops and clergy refused to assent to this. All the Religious Orders were suppressed and their properties confiscated.

In Scotland the Lords of the Congregation were responsible for the destruction of the monasteries which started in 1559. Two years later, after a new system of religion, based on that evolved by Calvin, had been established, the General Assembly of the Kirk petitioned the Privy Council and the three Estates (the Scottish Parliament) to approve the destruction of such monasteries as had hitherto escaped. These orders were not carried out everywhere. About half a dozen communities remained in possession of their houses until the close of the sixteenth century. After the Reformation, legislation in the Parliament of Scotland affected the legal status of bishops in various ways, but abbots and priors still continued to be legal subjects under Scots Law. Until the close of the seventeenth century it was customary for the lay owners of former monastic lands to style themselves abbot or prior when signing charters and other legal documents.

The essential difference between the suppression of the Religious Orders in England and those in Ireland and Scotland was that the majority of the former had already repudiated papal supremacy, whereas the latter, except in the case of a few individual members, had never questioned it openly. They were still in full communion with the rest of the Western Church. (See note on p. 28.)

[1] In the second part of *Bernard Leslie* (1859), the Reverend W. Gresley remarked: "To show the tendency of the human mind to extremes, in the public service of the Roman Church, the Missal has driven out the Breviary; while in the English Church the Breviary has driven out the Missal" (p. 71).

were free to give up much of their time to ordered worship in common.

No doubt there were many disbanded monks and nuns who kept up the recitation of the Divine Office in private until they died off one by one. A tradition of this sort would not or could not be completely eradicated: it was too much a part and parcel of everyday life. Many people believed that the dissolution of the religious houses had been a mistake; among them was John Bramhall, Archbishop of Armagh (1594–1663), who wrote: "First, we fear that covetousness had a great oar in the boat, and that sundry of the principal actors had a greater aim at the *goods* of the Church, than at the *good* of the Church; or otherwise, why did they not (as they pretended and gave out) preserve the spoils of the cloisters for public and charitable uses? Secondly, we examine not whether the abuses which were then brought to light were true or feigned; but this we believe, that foundations, which were good in their original institution, ought not to be destroyed for accessory abuses, or for the faults of particular persons. So should we neither leave a Sun in heaven, for that hath been adored by Pagans; nor a spark of fire, or any eminent creature, how beneficial soever, upon Earth, for they have all been abused. . . . I do not see why monasteries might not agree well enough with reformed devotion."[1]

Hooker at Oxford and Overall at Cambridge helped to bring back a more sound theology. Daily services became more frequent, also communions and confessions. Then followed a steady output of devotional books, mostly based on Catholic models. Bishop Andrewes had a great love for the ancient liturgies; so had his pupil Archbishop Laud. He compiled a book of devotions for his own use, containing special offices for each day of the week and for the seven canonical hours of prayer. After Laud's execution on Tower Hill in 1645 the greater part of his devotions were published. They were much used and were reprinted many times.[2]

We read in Evelyn's Diary (12 October 1651) that "at the first coming of the Queen [Henrietta Maria] into England, she and her French ladies were often upbraiding our religion that had neither appointed nor set forth any hours of prayer or breviaries, by which ladies and courtiers who have much spare time, might edify and be in devotion, as they had. Our Protestant ladies, scandalized as it seems at this, moved the matter to the King, whereupon his Majesty presently called Bishop White [of Ely] to him and asked his thoughts of it, and whether there might not be found some forms of prayer proper to such occasions, collected out of some already approved forms, so that the Court ladies and others (who spend much time in trifling) might at least appear as devout, and be so too, as the new-come-over French ladies, who took the occasion to reproach our want of zeal and religion. On which the Bishop told his Majesty that it might be done easily and was very necessary; whereupon the King commanded him to employ some person of the Clergy to compile such a work and presently the Bishop naming Dr Cosin [then Dean of Peterborough] the King enjoined him to charge the Doctor in his name to set about it immediately. This the Dean told me he did, and three months after, bringing the book to the King he commanded the Bishop of London to read it over and make his report; this was so well liked that (contrary to former custom of doing it by a chaplain) he would needs give it *imprimatur* under his own hand."[1]

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[1] *Works of John Bramhall* (Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology, Oxford, 1845), vol. I, pp. 118–120.

[2] Cf. C. H. Simpkinson, *The Life and Times of William Laud* (London, 1894), p. 286.

Such was the origin of Bishop Cosin's famous *Collection of Private Devotions in the Practice of the Ancient Church, called the Hours of Prayer* (1627), which went through many editions.[2] The "Mattins or Morning Prayer" is based on the Prayer Book office, though it is more in conformity with the traditional office in the Breviary. The hymn for Prime is restored to its normal usage. Terce, Sext, and None each have their special commemoration of some incident in the New Testament. "Compline or Final Prayer" ends the Hours, with some extra prayers for bedtime. The Penitential Psalms are included, as are the Litany, various collects, and a preparation and thanksgiving for "Christ's Holy Sacrament", and forms for Confession. The Catholic tone of this book roused great indignation among the more violent Puritans, one of whom—Prynne—denounced it as "merely Popish" for in addition to the title and the matter there was the frontispiece showing the sacred monogram.

Not only John Cosin (1594–1672) produced liturgical prayer books. There were many others of the same period who devoted themselves to writing about the liturgy, including George Herbert (1598–1672), Jeremy Taylor (1613–67), Hamon L'Estrange (1605–60), John Durel (1625–83), and Lancelot Andrewes (1555–1625).[3] Study circles for promoting liturgical worship were formed in many places. In the more devout households it was common to find families assembling to recite Mattins and Evensong daily, if it was not possible for them to assist at the daily choral offices in church. Some went further, like George Herbert, who, as is ordered by the Prayer Book, always rang the bell of his parish church at Bemerton to make sure that the ploughman should pause in his toil and offer his devotion to God while others were praying in church. The entire Herbert family attended church prayers twice daily, at ten and four. Again there was William Bedell (1571–1642), who spent several years in close contact with Catholics abroad, but whose subsequent career was passed in Ireland as Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, and afterwards as Bishop of Kilmore. His manner of life was very much like that of some of the early Tractarians three centuries later. He observed the feasts and fasts of the Church, and recited the Canonical Hours in addition to the prescribed offices in the Prayer Book.[1] It is related how Denis Granville, Dean of Durham, when he was on a journey, used to say the daily offices with his manservant making the responses. The early seventeenth-century liturgists loved to point out that the Anglican reformers had made it possible for the laity to take their rightful part in the Church's official prayer, which before the Reformation had been confined to the secular clergy and members of religious orders.[2]

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[1] Cf. P. H. Osmond, *Life of John Cosin, Bishop of Durham* (London, 1913), pp. 47–48.

[2] *The Works of Bishop Cosin* (Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology, Oxford, 1845), vol. II, pp. 83–331.

[3] Cf. *Preces Privatae Quotidianae* (1st ed., 1675; reprinted in Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology, Oxford, 1853).

In 1550 the Privy Council had ordered the bishops to ensure that all stone altars were taken down and replaced by wooden tables. In some churches these tables stood in the middle of the chancel with their short ends facing east and west, elsewhere they were placed altar-wise. One of the first steps of the Laudian Reformation was to put back the wooden communion tables in the same position as the original stone altars, and to protect them with railings. So by degrees many of the cathedrals and parish churches began to look more dignified, and acquired a fitting background for liturgical worship. The offices of Mattins and Evensong were rendered with great care. Heylin wrote that "the ancient orders of the Church of England have been best preserved in the chapels of the King's Majesty, and the cathedrals of this kingdom."[3] J. H. Shorthouse gives us a word-picture of the services in the Chapel Royal, which is based on that found in contemporary records. He tells us that the hero of his novel *John Inglesant* (first published in 1881) "was present at the Chapel Royal, at Whitehall, when the King took the sacrament and presented the gold pieces coined especially for this purpose. . . . The beautiful chapel, the high altar on which candles were burning, the Bishops and the Dean of the chapel in their copes, the brilliant crowd of courtiers . . . the exquisite

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[1] Cf. Gilbert Burnet, *The Life of William Bedell, Bishop of Kilmore in Ireland* (1685).

[2] Cf. Hamon L'Estrange, *The Alliance of the Divine Office* (1658), p. 108.

[3] *A Coale from the Altar*, pp. 26–7.

music, and the singing of the King's choir, which was not surpassed in Rome itself. As the sunlight from the stained windows fell on this wonderful scene, it is not surprising that young Inglesant was affected by it."[1] In many of the cathedrals the old plain-chant books had been merely adapted to English words, but polyphonic music was now more favoured.

The ceremonial revival which had begun in Bishop Andrewes' chapel with candles, copes, and even incense, gradually found its way into certain parish churches and cathedrals. Catholic customs, such as bowing to the altar on entering a church, were restored. People got used to finding altars vested in blue or crimson velvet frontals, falling in folds over the corners, and embroidered with the sacred monogram. On such altars there would be two candlesticks, with an alms-dish in the centre, and usually richly bound Prayer Books or a Bible, each book resting on a cushion. In churches which could afford gold plate, nothing else was regarded as worthy for the celebration of the Eucharist.

Such was the background against which the first experiment in communal living in the Church of England was established—about ninety years after the suppression of the monasteries and convents by Henry VIII. Perhaps the knowledge that English religious communities of Benedictines, Franciscans, Carthusians, Jesuits, Canonesses Regular, Carmelites, and Poor Clares had been founded overseas in Flanders and France caused a certain desire for emulation among the more catholic-minded Anglicans of the early seventeenth century. Perhaps they regretted that the Bridgettine nuns of Syon Abbey were in exile in Lisbon. Some of them may have wished that the Church of England could produce another Mary Ward to found a community like the "Jesuitesses" to conduct schools for girls. When Queen Henrietta Maria installed a small community of French Capuchins at Whitehall, in 1630, it rather looked as if this was the first step to restore monastic life in England. But these bearded Franciscans did not remain long in London. After a few years they were forced to return to France, mainly for political reasons. The somewhat exotic presentation of worship in the queen's chapels at Somerset House, St. James's Palace, and Woodstock did not appeal much to the average educated Englishman, who preferred the more sober vernacular services in the king's chapel. These were to be the model of the services in the community at Little Gidding.

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Nicholas Ferrar, the founder of the Little Gidding community, was born in London in 1592. After a brilliant career at the University of Cambridge, he spent four years in foreign travel, visiting Holland, Germany, Austria, Italy, France, and Spain. In 1614 he became a student at the University of Padua, at that date famous for the training given in medicine and surgery. He remained for two years in Italy, most of which time he was in Padua and Venice. Here he was in touch with the intense catholic life of the Counter-Reformation. Most likely he listened to the sermons of that famous Capuchin preacher, St Laurence of Brindisi, who was travelling around the north of Italy conducting missions. It is practically certain that Ferrar must have known the Benedictine monks of the Abbey of Santa Justina at Padua, and more than probable that he called at the equally famous Benedictine Abbey at Praglia, when, with other students, he climbed the Euganean Hills to escape from the sultry heat of the plains. Not far off lies the Camaldolese Hermitage of Rua, founded by the reformed Congregation of Monte Corona in 1537. It would have been strange if this devout young Englishman did not go there. As the Oratorians were not established in Padua until ten years after Ferrar's arrival there, it is doubtful if he met any of the Fathers, but he may have studied their Rule, drawn up in 1612. In Rome he set eyes on Paul V, but only in a procession. There followed a brief visit to Malta; then, by way of Marseilles, he made his way to Spain. Ferrar returned to England in 1618. Isaac Walton sums up the effect of those four years passed on the continent of Europe: "In this his travel he met with many persuasions to come into communion with that Church which calls itself Catholick; but he returned from his travels as he went, eminent for his obedience to his mother, the Church of England."[1]

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[1] (Birmingham 1881), p. 70.

Nicholas Ferrar spent the next five years in the service of the Virginia Company in North America. He underwent a spiritual conversion before the end of his active career overseas. He felt he was called to a different sort of life: that he must retire from the world, and devote himself to prayer. After a search for a house in the country, he found what seemed suitable in a remote and sparsely inhabited part of Huntingdonshire, about half-way between Huntingdon and Oundle.

It was on 30 May 1625 that Nicholas Ferrar became the owner of the property of Little Gidding. An outbreak of the plague in London forced him to remove some of his near relatives to this new home. The house, and particularly the church, which adjoined it, needed repair. The inmates helped in the work. The gardens had to be laid out, the fences, gates, and sheds repaired. At last the little church was made fit for worship. Here the household met daily to recite the Litany, at first for the plague-

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[1] *Life of George Herbert* (1674), p. 51.

stricken people of London, a custom which became a permanent feature of the daily worship. On Trinity Sunday, 1626, Ferrar was ordained deacon by William Laud, then Bishop of St David's, in Westminster Abbey. His humility prevented him from becoming a priest. As a deacon he could read the choir offices in church; this was all he desired.

The surroundings of Little Gidding are made up of "clear, open countryside of low hills and occasional wide prospects, the villages clustered in little scattered groups. Eastward, for miles and miles, stretches the wide, mysterious expanse of the Fens. To the west the country falls away gently to the valley of the Nene. The Great North Road, as it comes up through St Neots and on to Stilton and Peterborough, passes some three miles to the eastward of Gidding, running along the foot of the low elevation on which the village stands."[1] The house in which the community lived has been pulled down, and the present farm-house is a comparatively modern building. Standing in a walled enclosure a short distance from the farmstead is the little church, with walls of local stone, a gem of simple Jacobean architecture. Within it much of the old fittings and furniture is still preserved. The pulpit and reading-desk have gone, but the font and lectern date from the seventeenth century, so too the cedar-wood communion-table. On either side are the brass tablets graven with the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments. The panelling on the south side was put up by Mrs Ferrar. Other relics preserved are the silver communion-flagon, a small piece of tapestry, worked by the Collett sisters, and an alms-dish. The glass in the east window is modern. It is easy to recapture the atmosphere of this peaceful and humble place of worship as it existed three centuries ago. It seems to be haunted by the ghosts of the community which spent so many hours each day within its walls. There is an indefinable charm about Little Gidding, which has to be experienced to be believed.

Nicholas Ferrar was resolved that this out-of-the-way chapel should be as richly furnished as money could make it. Two complete sets of hangings, carpets, cushions, etc., were made by the community themselves. On Sundays these were of sky-blue. A silk frontal, embroidered with gold thread, covered the altar-table. On weekdays green hangings were used. Two silver candlesticks were bought for the altar. The church was lit by candles. The furnishing extended over many years, and was a labour in which all took their part. This is how a visitor sums up his impressions of Little Gidding in 1634. Having received a hospitable welcome—including a glass of sack and a piece of cake—he was taken to the church, which he tells us was fragrant with flowers and herbs

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[1] Maycock, *Nicholas Ferrar of Little Gidding* (1938), p. 126.

"natural in some places and artificial upon every pillar along both sides of the chapel". He describes "the communion-table (not altar-wise, as reported) with a rich carpet hanging very large upon the half-pace; and some plate, as a chalice, and candlesticks with wax candles".[1] It would appear that Ferrar had been obliged to adopt the table-wise position of the altar in deference to Bishop Williams of Lincoln, his diocesan, who was a strong opponent of Laud in the matter of ceremonial innovations.[2]

The community was in no sense monastic, for it consisted of Ferrar's brother's and brother-in-law's families: the household was usually made up of about thirty men, women, boys, and girls. The community was original and unique, best described as an attempt to revive the communal way of living of the early Christians.

"The whole Psalter was recited daily in relays after the manner of the Desert Fathers. The regularity, courtesy, and culture, and the Community, might well have suggested the House Beautiful to Bunyan. The sevenfold Hours of Prayer were surpassed by the hourly repetition of Psalms that continued by night and day, and these little Offices were accompanied by hymns and 'the organs', being said or sung in the house while Mattins and Evensong were sung in the church. The night watch was kept by two men and at 1 a.m. they would call Nicholas, placing a candle outside his door, for it was his custom then to rise for prayer and meditation. Twice in the week, and later three times, he took the whole vigil, during which they 'carefully and distinctly said all David's psalms over in four hours from nine to one o'clock'. These were said antiphonally on their knees, with occasional breaks in which to warm themselves. Neither Nicholas nor his companions (on occasion young boys) would lie down until 6 a.m. When not taking the whole vigil, he would rise at 4 a.m., and be in the oratory by 5. Two things are made clear in this disciplined life of perfect accord: the tradition of the regularized Office, which was scrupulously adhered to in spirit, and of the dedicated life, was taken for granted; but at every step the deeper desire was frustrated and harassed by bitter prejudices and criticism which eventually ended in total destruction of the manor house. While the majority of this unusual family were scattered by marriage, Mary and Anna Collett decided on the virgin estate, as had their Uncle Nicholas. Both of these different vocations were accounted honourable, and though John Williams (1582–1650),

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[1] Cf. Hearne's *Caii Vindiciae*, vol. II, pp. 693, 702 (quoted by Maycock, op. cit., pp. 133–5).

[2] It seems that the Holy Communion was celebrated only once a month, for there was no resident chaplain. Since the daily spiritual reading of the community included Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* it is strange that there were people who regarded Little Gidding as being a stronghold of disguised Papists.

then Bishop of Lincoln and afterwards Archbishop of York, hesitated at first to give his permission to the sisters, he afterwards approved and encouraged their design."[1]

Isaac Walton tells us that this *laus perennis* at Little Gidding "was done as constantly as the sun runs his circle every day about the world, and then begins it again the same instant that it ended".[2] St Benedict in his Rule lays down that the whole Psalter must be recited in a *week*; Nicholas Ferrar legislated for its complete recitation each *day*! Indeed to the liturgist the most interesting feature of the Little Gidding "use" is the large place taken by the Psalter in corporate worship. Like the majority of medieval choir monks and nuns, the community knew the entire Book of Psalms by heart. Nicholas Ferrar agreed with St Ambrose, who said that the memorizing of the psalms should be the first exercise in the education of Christian children, and St Jerome was of the same opinion. Times have changed, for how many children today could repeat any whole psalm by heart? The four gospels were read through in a month at the different offices. In 1629 Ferrar started to compile concordances of the gospels. A special room was set apart for this work, and to it Mary and Anna Collett devoted most of their days, pasting passages which they had cut out into specially bound albums. These were embellished with prints, brought home by Ferrar from his foreign travels.

Many people came to visit the community, some from motives of piety, the majority out of curiosity. In 1633 Charles I arrived, turning aside on his road to Scotland. He showed great interest in the manner of life. He sent word the following year that he would like to borrow the now completed book of the concordances. Archbishop Laud presented the volume to the king. He was so charmed with it that he refused to return it until a similar album had been prepared for himself. His request was fulfilled, and to-day this set of the concordances is preserved in the British Museum.

After the death of the founder in 1637 the daily round of work and worship went on as before. Charles I paid his final visit in 1642. Then, almost without warning, the Cavaliers were fighting the Roundheads. Little Gidding had to be abandoned, and it was looted by the Puritan soldiers in 1646. The estate did not pass out of the Ferrar family until the eighteenth century. But with the death of the founder the inspiration grew dim, and one by one the observances were given up. "Not the least remarkable fact about Little Gidding is that it inspired no imitators, attracted no postulants, remained to the end a thing unique and self-contained. We cannot fruitfully speculate as to what might have happened if Nicholas had lived for twenty years longer. We can only record the strange fact that the seed fell upon stony ground."[1]

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[1] Notes supplied by the Community of St Mary the Virgin, Wantage.

[2] *Life of George Herbert* (1675 ed.), p. 318.

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After the Restoration, church life gradually returned to what it had been before the Commonwealth. Once again Mattins and Evensong were recited or sung in the parish churches and cathedrals. In the large towns weekly celebrations of the Holy Communion became common. Fasting Communion was encouraged. The attendance at the daily choir offices in London churches was remarkable, and impressed foreigners. César de Saussure, who visited England in the first half of the eighteenth century, wrote: "I have told you that several Roman Catholic ceremonies have been preserved, and are in use in the Anglican services at the present time. The Book of Common Prayer, which is the liturgy, is almost a missal, if you cut off the prayers addressed to the Holy Virgin, and to the saints, and those for the dead. The priests and choristers all wear long white surplices when they celebrate divine service, but the preachers take them off before stepping into the pulpit. In the royal chapels, the cathedrals, and collegiate chapels the services are chanted in a tone resembling that used by Roman Catholics in their services. In all the churches the altars are covered with a velvet or damask silk cloth; candlesticks are placed upon them, and pictures are frequently hung above as ornaments. Communion is taken kneeling because the attitude is that of humility The sign of the cross is made only on a child's head at baptism. Several saints' days are celebrated—not to invoke the saints, but only as an opportunity for reading those portions of the Bible in which their noble acts and lives are described."[2] Many of the more devout noblemen and squires installed private chapels in their town and country residences. In some of them a chaplain would celebrate Mattins and Evensong daily. Private oratories were fairly common, and used for family worship. Most of them were simple enough, furnished with a desk, table, seats, and a few pictures. There were not many like the tiny oratory described by Mrs Delany in 1768 as "an exact representation of a popish chapel expensively decorated. . . . many crucifixes, ivory figures of saints, crowns and crosses set with sapphire".[3]

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[1] Maycock, op. cit., p. 226.

[2] *A Foreign View of England in the reigns of George I and II*, p. 318 (1902) (quoted by J. Wickham Legg, *English Church Life from the Restoration to the Tractarian Movement*, 1914, p. 126).

[3] *Autobiography and Correspondence of Mary Granville Mrs Delany* (1862), 2nd series, vol. I, p. 177—10 October, 1768.

The publication of office books for use in such oratories and private chapels was resumed after the Restoration. New editions of Cosin's *Private Devotions* were often needed to meet the demand. Then there was John Austin's *Devotions in the Antient Way of Offices*—a Roman Catholic manual, originally printed in Rouen. Re-edited for Anglican readers by Mrs Hopton, aided by George Hickes, the non-juror Dean of Worcester, in 1683, it passed through eight editions between 1700 and 1765. Even more popular were the *Reformed Devotions* brought out at Oxford in 1719 by Joseph Wasse, Rector of Aynho, with the *imprimatur* of the Vice-Chancellor. Between 1686 and 1727 nine editions appeared of Theophilus Dorrington's *Reformed Devotions* "disposed into the form and method of the Roman Breviary". These, and many other devotional books, based very largely on catholic manuals imported into England from abroad, all helped to encourage men and women to dream of forming religious communities.[1] They heard the call of the cloister, but from a distance so great that they could hardly hear it clearly.

One of the first to think of answering this call was John Evelyn, who in the autumn of 1659, that is before the Restoration, wrote to Robert Boyle, the philosopher, that he intended to found a society "to preserve science and cultivate themselves". It looks as if Evelyn must have visited a Charterhouse during his travels on the Continent, for he writes of buying thirty to forty acres of land near London, and explains that the buildings erected on them would be divided up so that each house "should contain a small bed chamber, an outward room, a closet, and a private garden, somewhat after the manner of the Carthusians. There would likewise be one laboratory, with a repository for rarities and things of nature; aviary, dovehouse, physick garden, kitchen garden, and a plantation of orchard fruit, etc." He also mentions "a pretty chapel" and a chaplain. These lay-Carthusians were to be allowed—"one meal a day of two dishes only (unless some little extraordinary upon particular days or occasions, then never exceeding three) of plain and wholesome meat; a small refection at night". A most elaborate timetable was drawn up. The day would begin in summer with prayer in the chapel at six. The last office would be recited at seven, and the brethren would retire to bed at nine. Everyone was to cultivate his own little garden. One day in each week would be kept as a fast. Communion would be received every fortnight, or at least once a month. No visitors would be allowed, except at stated times, and only after dinner. "Any of the Society may have his commons to his apartment, if he will not meet in the refectory," as it is laid down, "so it be not above twice a week."

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[1] C. F. Secretan, *Memoirs of the pious Robert Nelson* (1860), pp. 156 ff.

On Thursdays a "musick meeting" would enliven recreation. Evelyn adds that "there shall be a decent habit and uniform used in the college", and permits the brethren to spend one month of the year in London, or any of the Universities, "or in a perambulation for the publick benefit".[1] The manner of life in this monastery visualized by John Evelyn may well have been inspired by that of a Charterhouse in France or Italy, but as the object of the community was to "preserve science" it rather looks as if the would-be founder had been in touch with the Benedictine Congregation of St Maur, founded in 1621. The literary and scientific attainments of such monks as Mabillon, Montfaucon, and Martène were already famous throughout Europe.

The next hint of a call to the cloister is found in a letter from Edward Chamberlayne, written to a friend on 31 January 1670: "At the request of some worthy persons I have undertaken a designe which you and all good men will doubtless much favour. It is for erecting a College not far from hence for the education of young ladies, under the government of some grave matron, who shall resolve to lead the rest of their days in a single retired religious life; which many have a long time wished, but none have made it their business to bring to effect. . . . Herein chiefly I desire to be satisfied, at what place you have seen, or been certainly informed of such a College, or Protestant Monastery, and whether you know anyone here who can inform me of their Rules and Constitutions, and whether you believe that such a thing may be practised in England; if so, then that you will please to promote the design by inviting such ladyes of your acquaintance in any parts of England whom you know well qualifyed and fit to be of the society, and such other well disposed persons as may contribute towards the charges, which I hope will not be great; for at first there will only need to be a house with good gardens; well secured with walls, and a constant salary for a Chaplain; and for this divers have already promised to subscribe in a bountiful manner."[2]

It is easy to understand why there was talk of founding "Protestant Monasteries" and "Colleges of Maids". The now numerous purely English monasteries, friaries, and convents overseas could not be ignored. They provided refuges for hundreds of English men and women who felt that a life of prayer and service was worth perpetual exile, not to mention the penalty of forfeiting the profits of lands and other property during their lifetime, the loss of other goods and chattels, and, in the event of

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[1] *Diary of John Evelyn* (ed. Bray and Wheatley, London, 1879), vol. III, pp. 263–6; cf. Wickham Legg, op. cit., pp. 281–2.

[2] Wickham Legg, op. cit. pp. 282–3; *The Correspondence of John Cosin*, Surtees Society LV (Durham, 1872), pt. 2, p. 384.

death, everything passing to their nearest Anglican relation. The existence of these recusant communities in Flanders, France, and Germany must have been a constant reminder that, even more than a century after the *Ecclesia Anglicana* had decided that acknowledgement of papal supremacy is no necessary condition of membership of the Catholic Church, it had not managed to provide similar opportunities for men and women who felt called to dedicate themselves to the service of God in the Religious State. These groups of "displaced persons" perpetuated a traditional English way of life and spirituality. Many of the communities conducted schools to which English children were sent, although this involved their parents in a fine of £100 should it be discovered that a boy or girl had been educated abroad. Finally, these English communities had been rallying-points for the exiled followers of the Stuarts during the Commonwealth, no matter whether they were Anglicans or Papists.[1]

Three years after Mr Chamberlayne had started to consider the foundation of a "Protestant Monastery", Mother Frances Bedingfield came over from Paris and opened a Papist convent-school at Hammersmith, followed by another at Dolebank, Yorkshire, in 1677. Chamberlayne's "College for the education of young ladies" never materialized, but the two communities of Mary Ward's Institute of the Blessed Virgin still survive in the historic Bar Convent, York, founded in 1686.

William Sancroft, who became Dean of St Paul's in 1664, and supervised the rebuilding of the cathedral after the Fire of London, was the spiritual director of a group of twelve ladies who wished to retire from the world and establish a "Protestant Nunnery". The dean allowed the future Mother Abbess to go to Flanders to acquire a first-hand knowledge of Benedictine life. The result, unfortunate so far as the "postulants" were concerned, was that she decided that she must conform to the same religion as those English nuns in Flanders, so nothing more was done about founding this community.

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[1] During the reign of Charles II there were the following communities overseas: (Men): *Benedictines*: Douai (1607), Dieulouard (1608), Paris (1615), Lambspring, Hanover (1645), Saint Malo (1611); *Friars Minor*: Douai (1629); *Dominicans*: Bornhem, Malines (1658); *Carmelites*: Louvain (1621); *Capuchin Franciscans*: Charleville (1615); *Carthusians*: Nieuport (1626); *Society of Jesus*: Louvain (1606), Saint Omer (1592), etc.

(Women): *Benedictines*: Brussels (1598), Cambrai (1635), Ghent (1624), Paris (1652), Dunkirk (1662), Ypres (1665); *Carmelites*: Antwerp (1619), Bois-le-Duc (1624), Bruges (1625), Cologne (1630), Düsseldorf (1643), Alost (1631), Lierre (1648), Hoogstraat, Antwerp (1678), Nuremberg, Aix-la-Chapelle, Munsterfeld, and one House in Poland (dates of foundations not recorded); *Austin Canonesses*: Louvain (1609), Bruges (1629), Paris (1634); *Bridgettines*: Lisbon (1594); *Poor Clares*: Gravelines (1607), Dunkirk (1625), Aire (1627), Rouen (1644); *Franciscans (Third Order Regular)*: Brussels (1621), Paris (1658): *Dominicans (Second Order)*: Vilvorde (1660); *Institute of the Blessed Virgin*: Munich (1626), Rome (1633), Liége (1638), etc., *Canonesses of the Holy Sepulchre :* Liége (1642). Cf. Peter Guilday, *The English Catholic Recusants on the Continent, 1558–1795*, Vol. I (1914).

Margaret Blagge (1652–78), later Mrs Godolphin, began to follow a rule of life at eleven years of age, and maintained it with increasing strictness after she became one of the ladies attached to the court of James, Duke of York, and Charles II. She was a great friend of John Evelyn, who persuaded her to marry Sidney Godolphin, though, as he says, "she conjur'ed me not to baulk her holy Cell", and he records how on one occasion she caused herself to "be shutt up in the Church after the Publicke Offices have been ended". After her early death, Evelyn wrote her life, in which he admits that it was only because of "the want of Monasteries and pious Recesses, the decencies of her sex, the custom of the nation, and the honour of her condition" that she did not found a community, although "the heroic times were not antiquated".[1]

Three years before the death of Mrs Godolphin, Clement Baskdale wrote a tract, with the purpose of forming a "Colledge of Maids", at the end of which he says: "As for the *Religious Orders of Virgins* in the *Roman* Church, though [in] some of those very great abuses have crept in; yet I think 'twere to be wish'd that those who supprest them in this Nation, had confined themselves within the bounds of a *Reformation*, by choosing rather to rectifie and regulate than abolish them."[2]

Mary Astell (1668–1731) was the authoress of a pamphlet entitled *A Serious Proposal to the Ladies for the Advancement of their True and Greatest Interest*, published in 1696. What she visualized was a community, otherwise "a *Monastery*, or if you will (to avoid giving offence to the scrupulous and injudicious, by names which tho' innocent in themselves, have been abus'd by superstitious practices) we will call it a *Religious Retirement*, and such as shall have a double aspect, being not only a Retreat from the World for those who desire that advantage, but likewise, an Institution and previous discipline, to fit us to do the greatest good in it".[3]

She explained that: "Besides the daily performance of the Publick Offices in the Cathedral manner in the most elevating and affecting way, the Celebration of the Holy Eucharist every Lord's Day and Holy Day" would be essential. The ladies were reminded that it would also be "a special part of their duty to observe all the Fasts of the Church", and that each day also has "its special portion being paid to God in Prayers

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[1] *The Life of Mrs Godolphin* (1888 ed.), p. 81.

[2] *A Letter touching a Colledge of Maids, or, a Virgin-Society*, Bodleian Library, Wood 130 (quoted Wickham Legg, op. cit. p. 283).

[3] Wickham Legg, op. cit., p. 284.

and Praises, and as their Devotion will be regular, so shall it likewise be solid and substantial. . . . Thus these innocent and holy Souls shou'd run their Race, measuring their hours by their Devotions, and their Days by the charitable Works they do."

What actually happened, once the news got round that a "Protestant Nunnery" was to be founded, is recorded by George Ballard, who writes: "The scheme given in [Mrs Astell's] proposal, seemed so reasonable, and wrought so far upon a certain great lady [Princess Anne, afterwards Queen], that she had designed to give ten thousand pounds towards erecting a sort of college for the education and improvement of the female sex; and as a retreat for those ladies who, nauseating the parade of the world, might here find a happy recess from the noise and hurry of it. But this design coming to the ears of Bishop Burnet, he immediately went to that lady, and so powerfully remonstrated against it, telling her it would look like preparing the way for *Popish Orders*, that it would be reputed a *Nunnery*, etc., that he utterly frustrated that noble design."[1]

In the Bodleian Library is preserved a tract, probably by Edward Stephens,[2] which contains full details of yet another scheme to found a community—this time for men and women. It is entitled *The More Excellent Way: or a Proposal of a Compleat Work of Charity*. The date appears to be soon after 1700. The writer's scheme included the education of girls, visiting the sick and poor, and other works of charity. In a marginal note he hints that it might be wiser to postpone the community of men until the female one had been firmly established. In another tract Stephens implies that the society had actually been formed, and that a rich friend had rented a house in London, where about twenty ladies were in residence. Stephens was one of the leaders of the High Church party at that date. In 1692 he started a daily Eucharist in private, and introduced it at St Giles', Cripplegate, two years later, and then at the church of St Alphege, London Wall. He used the rite of the First Prayer Book of Edward VI "with some few additions and patches of his own".[3]

One of these ladies became acquainted with "some Roman Catholick Missionaries of this nation, for seducing proselytes from the Simplicity of the Gospel, to the Roman Mystery of Iniquity", with the result, so Stephens tells us, that she was finally "seduced out of a true Catholick Family".[4]

All the rules of this community that have been recorded are as follows:

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[1] *Memoirs of several ladies of Great Britain* (Oxford, 1752), p. 146; q. Wickham Legg, op. cit., p. 284.

[2] Rawl. 564, No. 27 (quoted by Wickham Legg, op. cit., p. 286).

[3] Hearne, *Remarks and Collections* (Oxford Historical Society, 1885), vol. I, p. 188.

[4] Wickham Legg, op. cit., p. 287.

(1) To meet daily at five in the Morning at a daily Communion.
(2) To endeavour, as near as they could, in all things to follow the example of the ancient Christians, and,
(3) To avoid giving offence to any, but especially to the Church of England.[1]

Bishop Ken (1637–1711) lived a life of solitude after he was deprived of his bishopric of Bath and Wells in 1691. Lord Bath gave him the top floor of Longleat, with its large library, but he spent much of his time at Naish Court, near Portishead, Bristol. Here he acted as the spiritual director of two ladies, Mary and Anne Kemys, whom he describes as "two good virgins beyond Bristol, where there is a kind of nunnery, and with whom I usually abide during my Lord's absence".[2] His friend, Dr Thomas Smith (1638–1710), a Non-juror, wrote that this "private seat of the good Ladyes . . . has a better pretence to the title of a Religious House than those so called in popish countryes", and remarks to the bishop: "I cannot but look upon you as another St Hierome, conversing with the devout Ladies at Bethlehem, instructing and confirming their faith, and directing their conscience in the methods of true spiritual life, and enflaming their souls with seraphic notions of God, and of Christ, and of the other world."[3] In the church of Clapton-in-Gordano, will be found a tablet with an inscription probably composed by Bishop Ken; it reads:

Mary Anne Kemys, sisters who both chose,
The better part, wise virgins, here repose;
Mary first crowned, Anne languished till possess'd
Of ye same grave, of ye same mansion blest.

There is no record of the manner of life lived by these two virgins at Naish Court, but since we know that Ken possessed a copy of the statutes of the diocese of Alet in south-west France, drawn up by Nicholas Pavillon, and possibly the rules of the active community he had founded, it is probable that the rule the former drew up for the Misses Kemys was based on this. Ken also loved to read the *Introduction to the Devout Life* by St Francis of Sales. His own poems on the dedicated life prove that he was steeped in traditional ideas of the Religious State.

In 1698 Sir George Wheler, a Prebendary of Durham, published a booklet entitled *The Protestant Monastery: or Christian Oeconomicks; containing Directions for the Religious Conduct of a Family*. Sir George had

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[1] Q. Wickham Legg, op. cit., p. 287, Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, 21 February, 1694–5, Bodleian Library. 40 Rawl. 564, No. 26. See also Stephens, *The Second Part of the Apology of Socrates Christianus*, p. 5.

[2] E. H. Plumptre, *Life of Thomas Ken* (1888), vol. II, p. 167.

[3] Ibid., p. 168.

travelled in the East, and seems to have visited monasteries of the Orthodox Church, which met with his approval, far more so than those of Western Europe. The fourth chapter deals with "Monasteries of Women", and he writes: "Convents for single women seem most convenient, if not very necessary for all times and Countries, and are by far less dangerous, since no considerable detriment can be expected from them, if due regard be had in composing the Rules of their Institution, by such like precautions as these." He laid down that the government of such a community must be "committed to none, but such, whose Virtue, Conduct, Age, and Experience, should render them worthy of that Honour, and are rather to be chosen out of the Widows". He insists on "spotless modesty" as a condition of admittance, and would allow the inmates to leave the society if they felt called to marry.[1]

Again and again throughout the eighteenth century we come across instances of writers deploring the lack of monastic institutions in the Church of England. In 1723, Bishop Atterbury (1662–1732), the Non-Juror, expressed his opinion that it was "the greatest Blemish of our Reformation, that, when Religious Houses were suppressed, some part at least of their Revenues was not restored to its original Use".[2] A similar opinion was voiced by Bishop Horne of Norwich in 1787: "It is well known what strange work there has been in the world, under the name and pretence of *Reformation*; how often it has turned out to be, in reality, *Deformation*; or, at best, a tinkering sort of business, where, while one hole has been repaired, two have been made."[3]

In 1740, William Law (1686–1761) after the death of Mr Gibbon, to whose son he had been tutor, retired to his birthplace, King's Cliffe, Northamptonshire. Here he was joined by two ladies, Mrs Hutcheson, a devout widow, and Miss Hester Gibbon, aunt of the historian, both of whom desired to live a life of prayer and good works under his direction.[4] From afar Edward Gibbon watched his aunt with a certain cynicism, but later on he wrote to her: "There is less real happiness in the business and pleasures of the world than in the life you have chosen of devotion and retirement." William Law refers to the Religious State in his *Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life*, first published in 1729. He foresees "persons of either sex, moved and desirous of perfection" forming themselves "into little societies, professing voluntary poverty, virginity, retirement and devotion, living upon bare necessities, that some might be relieved by their charities, and all be blessed with their prayers, and benefited by their example". Thus they might be "justly said to restore that piety, which was the boast and glory of the Church, when its greatest saints were alive".[1] Law advised "a place of prayer in a special room or particular part of a room" where "at all the stated hours of prayer it will be of great benefit to you to have something fixed and something at liberty in our devotions". He recommended prayer at the third hour, midday, three o'clock, and six, and provides special intentions, with a final prayer before going to bed—five Canonical Hours.[2]

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[1] Cf. Wickham Legg, op. cit., pp. 285, 286.

[2] *Maxims* (1723), p. 13.

[3] *Olla Podrida* (1788), p. 133.

[4] T. H. Overton, *Life and Opinions of Rev. William Law* (1881), pp. 224–7.

Another scheme to found a religious community was proposed in 1727 by Sir William Cunninghame, Bart., of Prestonfield, Edinburgh, when writing to Dr Thomas Sharp, Archdeacon of Northumberland. He describes it as "A Nunnery of Protestant religious and virtuous persons, well born, of the female sex, conforming themselves to the worship of the Church of England, as by law established".[3] Sir William suggested that Sedgefield, Co. Durham, would be a good place to found the "convent". But the archdeacon was afraid to give his encouragement to such a scheme, and nothing further was done about it.[4]

It is surprising to find the celebrated Bishop of Cloyne, George Berkeley (1685–1753), defending the Religious Life, but this is what the author of *The Principles of Human Knowledge* wrote to his friend Sir John James in 1741: "That the contemplative and ascetic life may be greatly promoted by living in a community and by rules, I freely admit. . . . I should like a convent without a vow, or perpetual obligation. Doubtless a college or monastery (not a resource for younger brothers, nor a nursery for ignorance, laziness and superstition) receiving only

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[1] 1735 ed., p. 135.

[2] J. H. Overton, *William Law, Non-juror and Mystic* (1881), pp. 224–7.

[3] The call of the cloister was making itself heard even among Episcopalians in the north-east of Scotland early in the eighteenth century, as appears from the following quotation from the "Minutes of the Synod of Aberdeen, April 1716", given by Professor G. D. Henderson in a chapter entitled "Quietist Influences in Scotland" in his *Religious Life in Seventeenth Century Scotland* (Cambridge, 1937), p. 223:

"We have the Presbytery of Deer warning people against the dangerous teaching in 1710. We have the Synod of Aberdeen complaining in this same year of the existence at Rosehearty on the north coast of Aberdeenshire of a kind of monastery of men and women who were Bourignonists."

There are further references to disciples of Madame Guyon and other French Quietists residing at Rosehearty in Professor Henderson's *Mystics of the North-East*, published by the Third Spalding Club (Aberdeen, 1934). A perusal of the correspondence published in this volume indicates that methods of piety, not unlike those recommended by William Law to his disciples at King's Cliffe, were being observed by small groups of Scottish Episcopalians from about 1710 to 1723. But there seems to be no other mention of anything in the nature of a "monastery".

[4] *Life of John Sharp*, edited by T. Newcome (1825), vol. III, App. III, p. 282.

grown persons of approved piety, learning, and a contemplative turn, would be a great means of improving the Divine Philosophy, and brightening up the face of religion in our Church. But I should still expect more success from a number of gentlemen, living independently at Oxford, who made divine things their study, and proposed to wean themselves from what is called the world."[1]

One wonders if Bishop Berkeley knew of those Carmelite nuns in Ireland who at that date were still obliged to wear secular dress in their "convent" (so-called) at Loughrea in order to live "the contemplative and ascetic life"; of the Dominican nuns hiding themselves in Dublin and Galway; and the communities of Poor Clares in the same places. At the date of this letter there were also groups of Franciscan, Dominican, and Austin Friars in Ireland, who were doing their best to "brighten up the face of religion" in their own Church, in peril of "dungeon, fire, and sword".

Samuel Richardson (1689–1761), in his novel *The History of Sir Charles Grandison, Bart.*, first published in 1754, makes his hero express the opinion: "We want to see established in every country *Protestant Nunneries*, in which single women, of small or no fortunes, might live with all manner of freedom, under such regulations as it would be a disgrace for a modest or good woman not to comply with, were she absolutely on her own hands; and to be allowed to quit it whenever they pleased."[2] In another passage Sir Charles Grandison says: "Permit me to say, that though a Protestant, I am not an enemy to such foundations in general. I could wish, under proper regulations, that we had nunneries among us. I would not, indeed, have the obligation upon nuns to be perpetual; let them have liberty, at the end of every two or three years, to renew their vows, or otherwise, by the consent of friends."[3] He pictured a community of Protestant nuns, with choir sisters of good birth and lay sisters, "hopeful children of the industrious poor". Their chief works would be "to board young women of small fortune, married women whose husbands were out of England for a time, and widows. Some profitable employments, it may be presumed in needlework, were to be found them. A truly worthy divine to be the director of the Society at the appointment of the Bishop of the diocese."[4]

In 1703 Christopher Codrington, Governor of the Leeward Islands and a wealthy Barbados sugar planter, executed a will leaving sugar plantations with their negro slaves to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. He provided that the plantations should be "Continued Intire and three hundred negroes at Least Kept always thereon, and A Convenient number of Professors and Scholars Maintained there, all of them under the vows of Poverty, Chastity and Obedience, who shall be obliged to Studdy and Practice Physick and Chyrurgery as well as Divinity, that by the apparent usefulness of the former to all mankind, they may Both indear themselves to the People and have the better opportunitys of doeing good To men's Souls while they are Taking Care of their Bodys". In the same year Codrington resigned his governorship, and for the rest of his days "led a very Private Retired Life, and spent most of his Time in Contemplation and Study". He never married. He died on Good Friday, 7 April 1710. At his funeral the Reverend William Gordon, rector of St James', Barbados, preached a sermon in which he said: "He was a great admirer of the Fathers, particularly of St Basil, whom he seems not a little to have resembled, in the Universality of his Genius, the Warmth and Activity of his Temper, and in affection for the Monastic Life; but chiefly for his Eloquent Sublime way of Speaking and Writing."

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[1] *The Works of George Berkeley*, edited by A. C. Fraser (1901), vol. IV, p. 529.

[2] (Ed. London, 1902), vol. IV, p. 194, Letter XXII.

[3] Ibid., vol. V, p. 335, Letter LI.

[4] Wickham Legg, op. cit., p. 290.

The S.P.G. duly received Codrington's bequest, which was valued at £30,000. It was used to establish a grammar school, and in 1830 a training college for young men, particularly with a view to their preparation for Holy Orders. The clause in the Will providing for a religious community was quietly ignored, though Mr Gordon, the preacher of the funeral sermon, said in a contemporary letter: "The design of the bequest was the maintenance of monks and missionaries, to be employed in the conversion of negroes and Indians, which design he took from the conversation of a learned Jesuit of St Christopher's, between whom and him there passed several letters upon the antiquity, usefulness and excellence of a monastic life."[1]

In 1954, the Chapter of the Community of the Resurrection, Mirfield, voted to accept the direction of Codrington College, thus fulfilling the founder's desire, after more than 200 years.

It is possible that John Wesley (1703–91) might have developed the religious society he formed at Oxford—on the lines of many others about the same date—into a regular community, but his subsequent career was diverted into other channels. He made use of Austin's *Devotions* and

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[1] M. Burrows, *Worthies of All Souls* (1874), pp. 324–346, and 425–428. For Codrington and his bequest and the college, see also V. T. Harlow, *Christopher Codrington* 1668–1710 (Oxford, 1928); F. J. Klinberg, *Codrington Chronicle: Experiment in Anglican Altruism in a Barbados Plantation* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1949); T. H. Bindley, *Annals of Codrington College* (1911); C. F. Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G.* (1901); and H. P. Thomson, *Into All Lands* (1951). See p. 136.

observed the canonical hours of prayer. In fact, an unsympathetic observer remarked of the Oxford Methodists that they "practise several rigorous and superstitious Customs which God never required of them. *All Wednesdays* and *Fridays* are kept strictly as Fasts, and Blood let once a Fortnight to keep down the Carnal Man."[1]

If John Wesley had not broken away from Count Zinzendorf about 1745 he might have followed his example and founded quasi-communities on the lines of the Moravians in England. He visited Herrnhut in 1738, and seems to have been much impressed with that curious settlement, ruled over by Zinzendorf, which consisted of houses for the married brethren with their families, a chapel, houses for the "Single Brethren" and "Single Sisters", homes for widows of ministers and others, schools for boys and girls, and an Inn for the accommodation of travellers.[2]

The numerous parochial guilds, known as religious societies, which had become so common by the middle of the eighteenth century might perhaps have evolved into regular communities of men and women, but none of them did so. The members met twice daily for Mattins and Evensong in some church, and were at least weekly communicants. In private they used any office books which were then obtainable, such as those by John Cosin, George Hickes, or Mrs Hopton. Robert Nelson's *Companion for the Festivals and Fasts of the Church of England* is said to have had the greatest sale of any book printed in England, except the Bible. The thirty-second edition was published in 1815. Among the liturgically minded Anglicans of the eighteenth century it held the place taken among Roman Catholics a hundred years later by Dom Guéranger's *Liturgical Year*.

Another proof of the deeply rooted liturgical sense, which might have drawn men and women to the cloister in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, is a manuscript compiled by the Reverend Samuel Woodford, Canon of Chichester, who died in 1700, entitled *Precum Privatarum Horarium ad usum Ecclesiae Primitivae*. It contains the canonical hours for every day of the week, with other devotions indicating a thorough knowledge of the Breviary.[3]

The Gentleman's Magazine (September 1795) is the last place one would expect to find the opinion expressed that "the resemblance between the

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[1] *The Oxford Methodists* (1773), p. 24. See also F. Maximin Piette, O.F.M., *John Wesley in the Evolution of Protestantism* (1938 ed. p. 283): "Wesley taught the spirit of prayer to his companions, and introduced them to the practice of reciting the collect for the day, not only at Prime, but at Tierce, Sext, and None. . . ."

[2] J. Hutton, *A History of the Moravian Church* (1909); J. Holmes, *History of the United Brethren* (1825); and R. Knox, *Enthusiasm* (1950), chapters XVII and XVIII.

[3] Cf. Wickham Legg, op. cit., pp. 291, 338–50.

English Liturgy and the Romish Breviary, which Ignorance with her usual petulance, is ever forward to object to the Church of England, is, in effect highly honourable to her, inasmuch as it shows her reverence for primitive antiquity".

With this constant nostalgia for monastic methods of prayer and worship cropping up again and again, there were also lingering regrets that the Church of England had no monasteries or convents. Dr Johnson (1709–84) was but one of many others of his age who could have written: "I never read of a hermit but in imagination I kiss his feet; never of a monastery, but I could fall on my knees, and kiss the pavement. But I think putting young people there, who know nothing of life, nothing of retirement, is dangerous and wicked. . . . I have thought of retiring, and have talked of it to a friend; but I find my vocation is rather to active life."[1]

Mrs Thrale tells us how when she and Dr Johnson "talked of convents, and the hardships suffered in them—'Remember always (said he) that a convent is an idle place, and where there is nothing to be *done*, something must be endured.'"[2]

The awakening of interest in "Gothick" architecture and the more romantic aspects of medievalism, especially in the form of ruined abbeys and hermitages, not to mention the popularity of "Gothick" novels, such as Horace Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto: a Gothic Story* (1764)—full of the wildest absurdities and exaggerations—helped to encourage an interest in monks, nuns, and anchorites. About fifteen years before, Walpole had built a Gothick villa for himself at Strawberry Hill, Middlesex, which attracted much notice. But it must be pointed out that there was no religious motive behind this craze for "Gothick" during the second half of the eighteenth century. It mostly appealed to a craving for the macabre and exotic; it was a reaction from Classicism. It had nothing to do with an urge to revive "popery". The publication of Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* in 1765 also helped to foster a love of medievalism. But it was Sir Walter Scott, at a later date, who really spread the taste for the Middle Ages and turned men's thoughts to the more picturesque aspects of pre-Reformation religion, especially with his longer poems, such as *Marmion* (1808), and finally with the novel *The Monastery* (1820).

Suddenly, almost without warning, the most astonishing thing happened: English men and women, proud to call themselves Protestants, were opening their arms and offering a welcome to countless Catholic

bishops, priests, monks, nuns, and layfolk, who had been driven from France by the Revolution which broke out in 1789. These "displaced persons" were treated like heroes; their religion was ignored or forgotten. In 1792 the Benedictine nuns of Montargis arrived in London and a home was found for them. Two years later most of the English religious communities in Flanders were forced to return to their native land. By the end of 1794 there were Benedictine nuns at Winchester, Hammersmith, Marnhull (Dorset), Preston (Lancs.); Canonesses of St Augustine at Hengrave Hall, Suffolk; Canonesses of the Holy Sepulchre at Holme Hall, Yorkshire; Carmelites at Lanherne (Cornwall), Bishop Auckland (Co. Durham), and Acton, near London. There were Dominican nuns at Hartpury Court, near Gloucester; Franciscan Third Order Regular Sisters at Winchester; Poor Clares at Haggerston Hall, Northumberland, with another community soon after in Oxfordshire. English Benedictine monks were living in community at Acton Burnell, near Shrewsbury, and there were many more who had not yet found a settled abode. French Trappist monks were keeping silence, praying, and working at Lulworth in Dorset. King George III and the royal family had paid them a visit. Such was the monastic invasion of England which was the result of the French Revolution. It must have reminded people that such institutions were lacking in the Church of England. The fact that so many of these monks and nuns had suffered great hardships, even imprisonment in some cases, where they had witnessed the deaths of their companions in misfortune, before they finally reached this country, roused universal sympathy. The average Englishman has always been moved to help exiles, no matter what religious or political views they have held.

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A quarter of a century elapsed: people in England had grown used to monks and nuns in their midst. In December 1825 there was an article in *Blackwood's Magazine*, written by a Dr Gooch, in which he described the life and work of the Beguines in Belgium. Having given a detailed account of their hospital in Bruges, he said: "Let the Church, or if not, let that class of Christians in whom, above all others, religion is not a mere Sunday ceremony, but the daily and hourly principle of their thoughts and actions, and of whom I have only to complain for a little error in doctrine, and more than a little cant at least in language, which latter peculiarity is perpetually preventing the success of their religious appeals, at least to educated minds, and which is as great an obstacle to the first steps in religion as technical jargon to the first steps in science—let all serious Christians, I say, join, and found an order of women like the

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[1] Boswell, *The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides*, 19 August, 1773.

[2] Piozzi, *Anecdotes of the late Samuel Johnson*, 2nd ed., 1786, p. 92.

Sisters of Charity in Catholic countries; let them be selected for good plain sense, kindness of disposition, indefatigable industry, and deep piety; let them receive not a technical and scientific, but a practical medical education; for this purpose, let them be placed both as nurses and pupils in the hospitals of Edinburgh or London, or in the county hospitals."

The following year, 1826, the Reverend Alex. R. C. Dallas, then a curate at Wooburn, Bucks, published a letter addressed to Dr Howley, Bishop of London, entitled *Protestant Sisters of Charity*. In it he developed a plan "for improving the arrangements at present existing for administering medical advice and visiting the sick poor". His biographer explained that "the experience of two parishes and continual intercourse with the poor led [him] very much to feel their want of proper nursing and attention in sickness. The doctor often lived at a great distance, and the care of a large circle of parishes was committed to one young practitioner. The village nurses were deplorably ignorant, and Mr Dallas having resided in France, and having seen the superior nursing and the many advantages resulting from the system there carried on by the 'Sœurs de la Charité', devised a plan for the same system to be adopted"[1] in England. This pamphlet aroused much interest, and among others who read it was Mrs Elizabeth Fry, the Quaker philanthropist. Moreover she acted on the suggestions, and established a group of nursing sisters in Whitechapel.

Even more unexpected was the effect on Robert Southey, the Poet Laureate at that time. In the second volume of that curious and now seldom-read book *Sir Thomas More, or Colloquies on the Progress and Prospects of Society*, first published in 1829—the year of Catholic Emancipation—he deals at length with the urgent need for Protestant Sisters of Charity. "Why then have you no Beguines, no Sisters of Charity?" he asks. "Why in the most needful, the most merciful form that charity can take, have you not yet followed the example of the French and the Netherlanders? No Vincent de Paul has been heard in your pulpits; no Louise le Gras has appeared among the daughters of Great Britain! Piety has not found its way into your prisons; your hospitals are imploring it in vain; nothing is wanting in them but religious charity, and oh what a want is that!"[2]

Southey continues for several pages in the same strain—a veritable call to the cloister, louder and more insistent than any heard in England for over three centuries. He points out the good done by nuns in the "Romish Church", stressing the "torpor and indifference of the national Church". He remarks how "it has come to pass, that in the righteous desire of shunning all evil, or occasion of evil, our Church has foregone a powerful though dangerous means of doing good. For the same reason that we have had no Ida of Louvain, no Catherine of Siena or Bologna, no Veronica, no Mary Magdalene of Pazzi, no Sister Providence or Sister Nativité . . . for that same reason we have had no Louise de Gras".[1] He looks ahead and hopes that "thirty years hence. . . England may have its Beguines and its Sisters of Charity; it is grievously in need of them. There is nothing Romish, nothing superstitious, nothing fanatical in such associations; nothing but what is righteous and holy. . . . They who shall see such societies instituted and flourishing here, may have a better hope that it may please the Almighty to continue His manifold mercies to this island, notwithstanding the errors which endanger it, and the offences which cry to heaven."[2]

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[1] *Incidents in the Life and Ministry of the Reverend Alex. R. C. Dallas*, by his widow (1871), p. 238.

[2] Vol. II, p. 318.

It is curious that neither Robert Southey nor anybody else in the eighteen-twenties who felt the need of Protestant Sisters of Charity appears to have realized that the nucleus of one such community had existed in the Church of England since the Reformation—the *Royal Foundation of St Katharine*. Founded by Queen Matilda in 1148, and re-founded by Queen Eleanor in 1273, this community which, according to its statutes, consisted of a Master and three Brethren in holy orders, and three Sisters of equal rank, had managed to weather the religious upheaval of the sixteenth century. *The Book of Common Prayer* took the place of whatever office was recited during the first four centuries of its existence, but the works of charity and mercy carried on remained much the same. The Hospital, near the Tower of London, was a royal peculiar. In 1826 the Community moved to new buildings near Regent's Park, designed in the "Gothick" style by Ambrose Poynter; the site of the original Hospital being needed for St Katharine's Docks. During the eighteenth century the work carried out by the Sisters had been extended to a school for poor children, and there were ten poor "bedeswomen" living under their care. Granted that the Brothers and Sisters did not take vows of religion, they were bound to attend divine service in their chapel, and "behave themselves dutifully and reverently towards the Master".[3]

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[1] Ibid., p. 236.

[2] Ibid., pp. 329, 330.

[3] Cf. Catherine Jamison, *The History of the Royal Hospital of St Katharine* (1952). In 1948, with the approval of Queen Mary, the Regent's Park buildings were vacated, and the Hospital re-established in Butcher Row, Ratcliffe, E.1. A new chapel has been erected, and today work goes on among the poor of East London, inspired by much the same ideals as those laid down in the medieval Charters. The present Master is the Reverend Henry Cooper.

Yet the dawn was nigh! On 14 July 1833 John Keble preached his Assize Sermon in the University Church of St Mary, Oxford—a call to all who heard it to defend the Church of England against Erastianism, a prophecy that its dry bones would live once more. In after years Newman wrote: "I have ever considered and kept the day as the start of the religious movement of 1833."[1]

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[1] The year 1833 was also marked by the abolition of the Court of Delegates by which the Sovereign exercised all that supreme jurisdiction over the Church of England which before the Reformation had been reserved to the Pope. The powers of the Court were then transferred to the King in Council. It should be noted that the Act of Parliament (1 Elizabeth, c. 24) which suppressed the half-dozen monasteries of men and women restored by Queen Mary, declared that the Religious State is "repugnant to the usage of the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church of Christ". All property belonging to religious communities was annexed to the Crown. A pension was granted to monks and nuns who renounced their vows and acknowledged the Royal Supremacy. (See p. 2, and note 3.) This Act of Parliament was not repealed until 1926.

CHAPTER I

Communities of Men

1. THE FIRST "MONASTERIES": LITTLEMORE AND ELTON

IN 1830, the year after Robert Southey had advocated the establishment of Sisters of Charity in the Church of England, Lady Arundel of Wardour wrote to Mr Ambrose Phillipps: "You will be the first founder, or rather restorer, of monastic institutions in this wretched country." This wealthy young squire of Garendon and Grace-Dieu Manor, Leicestershire, had just come of age, and some stir had been caused some years before by his joining the Church of Rome. Early in 1835 he had invited Dom Norbert Woolfrey, a Trappist monk of Mount Melleray in Ireland, to stay at Grace-Dieu, to discuss the possibility of his community making a foundation in England. Thus it came to pass that in 1837—four years after the first of the *Tracts for the Times* and three months after the accession of Queen Victoria—half a dozen members of the Congregation of Cistercian Monks of Our Lady of La Trappe arrived in England from Ireland and started living in a small cottage on the land in Charnwood Forest given them by Mr Phillipps. It was not only in England that the call of the cloister was being heard. In France Dom Guéranger had been nominated Abbot of Solesmes, with a commission from Pope Gregory XVI to restore Benedictine monasticism in that country. This event happened five weeks before Bishop Walsh, Vicar Apostolic of the Midland District, had given his blessing to the monks in Charnwood Forest. The Abbé Lacordaire had just decided to join the Dominicans, so that he might revive the Order of Preachers in France, the land of its birth. In Bavaria, King Ludwig I had recently restored the two ancient Benedictine abbeys of Ottobeuren and Metten. Moreover, the venerable English Benedictine Congregation was far from moribund: the communities of Downside, Ampleforth, and Douai were adding to their numbers, although the outside world was hardly aware of the fact. Were John Henry Newman and the other Tractarian leaders alive to this wave of monastic revival—this stirring of the dry bones? Anyhow, within three months of the establishment of the Trappists in Leicestershire, Newman was seriously considering founding a house of studies in Oxford, which, more or less as a joke, was sometimes referred to as a "monastery". In January 1838 he wrote to J. W. Bowden: "Your offering towards the young monks was just like yourself... it will be most welcome. As you may suppose, we have nothing settled, but are feeling the way. We should begin next term; but since, however secret one may wish to keep it, things get out, we do not wish to commit young men to anything which may hurt their chances of success at any college in standing for a Fellowship."[1]

Meanwhile in Oxford a start had been made with the publication of the Library of the Fathers, as well as with the erection of the Memorial to the Protestant Martyrs in St Giles. At Cambridge the Camden Society had been founded by John Mason Neale and Benjamin Webb for the study of Gothic architecture and of ancient ritual arrangements. At the end of April 1838 J. B. Mozley was able to inform his sister that "Newman has taken a house, to be formed into a reading and collating establishment, to help in editing the Fathers. We have no prospect of any number joining us at present. Men are willing, but they have Fellowships in prospect. We shall, of course, be marked men."[2] It was left to Mozley to furnish the house, and from the description of what he bought, there seems to have been nothing very "monastic" about it, what with the "quite gay carpets in both sitting rooms". He told his sister he had forgotten to order coal-scuttles![3]

On Ascension Day 1840, a month after Père Lacordaire had been professed as a Dominican in Rome, Newman wrote to Mrs J. Mozley: "We have bought nine or ten acres of ground at Littlemore, the field between the Chapel and Barnes', and, so be it, in due time, shall erect a monastic house upon it."[4] A little earlier he had asked his friend, Frederick Rogers, "supposing a feeling arose in favour of monastic establishments, and my house at Littlemore was obliged to follow the fashion, and conform to a rule of discipline, would it not be desirable that such institutions should follow from the Colleges of our two Universities, and be under their influence?"[1] At the same time he revealed to Pusey: "an idea has revived in my mind, of which we have before now talked, viz., of building a Monastic House in the place, and coming to live in it myself". Pusey assured him that "certainly it would be a great relief to have a *moné* in our Church in many ways, and you seem just the person to form one".[2]

Tract 90 (*Remarks on Certain Passages in the Thirty-Nine Articles*) was published in February 1841 and condemned a few weeks later by the Heads of Houses in the University of Oxford. About the same time as Oxford was brought nearer London by the opening of the railway as far as Didcot, Newman determined to escape from it and retired to Littlemore.

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A hundred years ago, Littlemore was (as Fr Dominic the Passionist described it after his third visit) "a village about two or three miles from Oxford". He added that "it presents nothing charming in its aspect or situation, but is placed in a low flat country; it exhibits no delightful villas, nor agreeable woods and meadows, but one unvaried uniform appearance, rather dull than pleasant". But Littlemore, so T. Mozley says, "had the reputation of being the best air and the healthiest spot near Oxford". Today the village has been almost swallowed up by the eastern outgrowth of the city. Some of the older houses remain intact. The simple Early-English Gothic-Revival church which Newman built, and which was consecrated on 22 September 1836, helps one to recapture the atmosphere of the village before the advent of motor buses or the eruption of bungalows and "pre-fab" housing accommodation for the proletariat.[3]

In the centre of the village, at the junction of the main road and a lane, is a T-shaped row of single-storied cottages. The green-painted doors

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[1] *Letters and Correspondence of J. H. Newman*, edited by Anne Mozley (1891), vol. II, p. 249.

[2] *Letters of Reverend J. B. Mozley*, edited by his sister (1884), p. 78.

[3] Ibid., pp. 83, 84.

[4] *Letters and Correspondence*, vol. II, p. 305. It was on 19 June 1840 that Mr J. W. Miles, of South Carolina, presented a scheme to some of his classmates at the General Theological Seminary, New York, for the establishment of a religious community. The foundation took place at Nashotah, Wisconsin, in August 1842, i.e. four months after Newman moved to Littlemore. (See pp. 532–4.)

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[1] *Letters and Correspondence*, vol II, p. 303.

[2] *Moné* is the Greek word for monastery.

[3] Newman himself had very little interest in church furnishing or ceremonial. His curate, J. R. Bloxam, was allowed to adorn the interior of the little church. Within a short time, as can be seen from the sketch made by J. C. Buckler (reproduced as one of the illustrations in R. D. Middleton's *Newman and Bloxam*, 1947), he had placed an alms dish and a pair of wooden candlesticks on the stone altar. A plain cross was carved in the centre of the arches on the east wall, forming a reredos. The candlesticks were copied from those at Magdalen College. Two standard candlesticks stood on either side of the altar. They had been used in the chapel of Magdalen College when Mass was celebrated there during the reign of James II. An eagle-lectern, a litany-desk and a credence table were other furniture introduced by Bloxam. (Ibid, pp. 39–43.)

and astragals of the small window panes add a touch of bright colour to the grey stone walls. Originally this was a range of farm-buildings: part granary, part stables. Some time before Newman leased the property the owners had converted it into cottages. Behind lay a garden, planted with shrubs and bounded by a low wall. Beyond the wall was open country, with fields and meadows. Newman added a veranda on the inner side—sometimes called a "cloister" by the more ecclesiastically minded. The doors of six sets of small rooms opened into it. In addition to these "cells" there were a chapel, refectory, library, and kitchen—all with brick floors. The chapel, or "oratory", was the first room facing the lane and nearest the main road. Newman's rooms were next to it. On the outside wall is now fixed a stone tablet, with an inscription worded by the late Sir Michael Sadler, recalling how John Henry Newman, "afterwards Cardinal, used this building in the years 1842–1846 as a place of retirement, study and prayer". In 1951 the property was acquired by the Fathers of the Birmingham Oratory. Across the road is a temporary Roman Catholic chapel.

Fr Dominic has left us his impressions of this "place of retirement, study and prayer". This is how he described it when writing to the General of the Passionists: "You may have thought of it as a kind of Monte Cassino. I assure you I have never seen any monastery so poor. It is simply a long outhouse or hay-shed with a ground floor only. You could touch the roof with your hands. The small cells are partitioned off from each other by rough bricks only. Inside the cells the furniture consists of a little straw bed and one or two chairs of the poorest kind. To pass from one cell to the other you have to go outside, almost in the open air. Our Retreats are palaces compared to this. Inside this outhouse there have been gathered together for several years past the greatest luminaries in the religious world of England."[1]

The chapel was not among the first rooms to be furnished. For it was not until 12 June 1843 that Newman wrote to Bloxam informing him that a room was being fitted up as "a *temporary* oratory". He explained that he was meaning to "have it hung round with curtains, as a mode of making it decent, yet without expending anything on the room itself—for the curtains will take down and move (as the Tabernacle). There is a window in (what must be) the East End, but so small and low, that we think it best to cover it with curtains, and have candles through the day. The walls of the room at present are in part bare, brick, yellow washed." Newman asked Bloxam if it would be permissible to "have a

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[1] Urban Young, *Dominic Barberi in England* (1935), p. 115; Denis Gwynn, *Father Dominic Barberi* (1947), p. 207.

quasi-altar".[1] So a small table was inserted on which stood a pair of candlesticks (always lit during the recitation of the offices) and a large and realistic Spanish-American crucifix which came from Lima. The latter indicates what was already Newman's taste in ecclesiastical art, which, in after years, would be manifested in the architecture and furnishing of the church at the Birmingham Oratory. The only other piece of furniture was a "board" in the centre of the room. The members of the community stood on each side of this improvised reading desk which served as choir stalls.

John Dobrée Dalgairns, of Exeter College, had joined Newman in the autumn of 1841. In December that year he wrote to a friend: "You would smile if you saw the embryo monastery. It is nothing else but a sort of angular farm-yard and offices with windows knocked into the granary wall, the stable being converted into a library. . . . Bloxam has also called [the whole monastery] the *Union* workhouse; and it certainly does look vastly like its name. However, there have been more unpromising establishments to start with, and Newman's library beats most monkeries now-a-days to sticks. I believe it will be ready by next Lent."[2]

In another letter, dated May 1842, Dalgairns wrote: "The place contains six sets of rooms, a library and a guest-chamber. Each set of rooms was originally intended for a cottage for poor people to live in; but now what with bookcases, sundry (Roman) prints and so on, have really an air of—what shall I call it, poor-gentleman-likeness about them, quite romantic. However, a truce to description; pray fancy nothing at all except a very cheap but not nasty place, very like almshouses, very anti-Puginian; after Oscott it will look quite low."[3]

One wonders if Newman and his companions read the article by A. Welby Pugin which appeared in the *Dublin Review* for February 1842, or the publication of this and other articles in book form entitled *The Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England* which came out the following year. If so, then they may have been a little envious of the Cistercian Monastery of St Bernard, described in great detail and illustrated with drawings of the exterior and interior. There was nothing of this medieval glamour about the converted stables at Littlemore.

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[1] MS. Cardinal Newman, Magdalen College, vol. I, p. 459, quoted by R. D. Middleton, *Newman and Bloxam* (Oxford, 1947), p. 92.

[2] E. Hermitage Day, *The Treasury*, 1911, p. 25; article entitled "Letters from Oxford and Littlemore"; quoted by R. D. Middleton, op. cit., p. 86.

[3] Ibid, pp. 25–6.

Newman's state of mind just before he took up his residence at Littlemore on 19 April 1842 can be understood from what he wrote to his friend Woodgate. "You forget that I am an incipient monk, in my novitiate at least. I am preparing a monastery at Littlemore, and shall shortly retire from the world—so that if the great prospects are destined for me you speak of, I shall be the first bishop from the Cloister for the last three hundred years—and while I am about it, I think I will not come out of it except for the Papacy." When Newman wrote this last sentence, did he know that there was a Camaldolese monk—Gregory XVI—sitting in the Chair of St Peter at that moment? It is even less probable that he knew that a "Bishop from the Cloister" had been sent out from England to Australia in 1833 in the person of Dom Bede Polding, a monk of Downside.

As might have been expected, the monastery at Littlemore aroused much curiosity and gossip in Oxford. Newman relates in his *Apologia* (ch. iv) that "Heads of Houses, as mounted patrols, walked their horses round those poor cottages. Doctors of Divinity dived into the hidden recesses of that private tenement uninvited, and drew domestic conclusions from what they saw there. I had thought that an Englishman's house was his castle but the newspapers thought otherwise, and at last the matter came before my good Bishop."

Just the same sort of thing was happening in Charnwood Forest, where the Trappist monks were even more violently disturbed, partly because their wealthy patron seems to have had little or no idea that they wanted to be left alone! "It is perfectly astonishing what crowds of people come to see the Monastery", Ambrose Phillipps wrote to Lord Shrewsbury in 1842. "The other day *again* more than 300 visitors were counted and no less than 50 carriages. The Church is generally crowded out at the hours of None and Vespers, by persons who come through curiosity. I believe this monastery will do more good than the Missions."[1] Both Bishop Walsh, the Vicar Apostolic of the Central District since 1840, and his Coadjutor, Bishop Wiseman, agreed with Mr Phillipps that the Trappist monks were doing more good than any missioners at the moment, but Dr Bagot, Bishop of Oxford, felt somewhat differently about the monastery at Littlemore. On 12 April 1842 he wrote to Newman, full of alarm concerning the report which had appeared in the newspapers that "a so-called Anglo-Catholic monastery is in process of erection". He asked for an explanation of the rumours and tales which were being spread around, adding: "I know you too well not to be aware that you are the last man living to attempt in my diocese a revival of the Monastic orders (in anything approaching to the Romanist sense of the term) without previous communication with me, or indeed that you should take upon yourself to originate any measure of importance without authority from the heads of the Church—and therefore I at once exonerate you from the accusation brought against you by the newspaper I have quoted, but I feel it nevertheless a duty to my Diocese and myself, as well as to you, to ask you to put it in my power to contradict what, if uncontradicted, would appear to imply a glaring invasion of all ecclesiastical discipline on *your* part or of inexcusable neglect and indifference to my duties on *mine*."[1]

Newman replied to Bishop Bagot's letter that his purpose in retiring to Littlemore was to devote himself to theological studies, the concern of his parish, and other practical works. He assured his diocesan that "no monastery is in process of erection; that there is no 'chapel', no 'refectory', hardly a dining room or parlour". The "cloisters", so he explained, were merely a shed connecting the cottages. "I do not understand what 'cells' or dormitories mean", he added. In fact, the whole

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[1] E. S. Purcell, *Life and Letters of Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle* (1900), vol. I, p. 81.

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[1] [Newman], *Letters and Correspondence*, vol. II, pp. 391, 392. This letter is of special interest because Bagot seems to have been the first post-Reformation and non-Marian Bishop in the English Church to face the issue of the *legality* of any attempt to set up a religious Order in communion with Canterbury. The two Acts of Henry VIII's Parliaments for the dissolution of the lesser and greater religious houses did not actually forbid the foundation of new institutions on similar lines, or the confiscation of the property of any such should they be founded. Could it be therefore argued that the foundation of a *new* religious community was illegal? On the other hand, since the Henrician legislation which effected the wholesale suppression of monasteries had never been repealed it would have been reasonable for the nineteenth-century bishops as Parliamentary Lords Spiritual to take the line that the members of religious communities do not possess corporate personality in English law, i.e. they are not legal "persons".

Bishop Bagot must have believed that he had the power to approve or disapprove the erection of a religious house in his diocese. Did he base this opinion on what Gibson lays down in his *Codex*? (1713 ed., vol. I, pp. vi. f.) "It may be the more difficult to vindicate the inserting of such Laws and Constitutions . . . the subject matter of which is entirely extinct: as those are that relate to Religious Persons and Houses, and to the Benefit of Clergy and Sanctuary. . . . And though the things themselves are extinct there are many Laws and Matters in force and in being which relate to them, or depend on them; and many things, both in our Histories and Laws, which cannot be clearly understood without them. *Not to mention that Originals of all kinds are applicable to many uses, and subservient to many purposes, which we cannot foresee. . . .*"

It is arguable that Gibson would not have regarded the law he quotes as null and void, although he would not have secured the support of the civil power in any efforts to apply them to Anglican monks or nuns. It is generally accepted by canonists that the law of desuetude does not operate when laws are disused on account of the absence of the class of cases they were designed to cover. But desuetude does not operate in English law. Pre-Reformation Canon law is only in force in the Church of England if it has become part of the common law of England and is not contrary to the royal prerogative.

scheme was "nothing ecclesiastical, but something personal and private" and not "a revival of the Monastic orders in anything approaching to the Romanist sense of the term".[1]

One cannot help smiling at Newman's subtle distinctions; he was in fact perfectly correct—from the point of view of Roman Canon Law—in saying he was *not* attempting the revival of a *monastic order*. This foundation was something more in the nature of a post-Tridentine society of men without vows.[2] Perhaps Bishop Bagot was not alive to the differences between the categories of religious communities of men as specified by Romish canonists? On the other hand, Newman himself may not have decided what he was really striving after, for not long after this he wrote to James R. Hope: "I am almost in despair of keeping men together. The only possible way is a Monastery. Men want an outlet for their devotional and penitential feelings, and if we do not grant it, to a dead certainty they will go where they can find it."[3]

In after years he explained the situation thus: "The case was simply this, as I made Littlemore a place of retirement for myself, so did I offer it to others. There were young men in Oxford, whose testimonials for Orders had been refused by their Colleges; there were young clergymen, who had found themselves unable from conscience to go on with their duties, and had thrown up their parochial engagements. Such men were already going straight to Rome, and I interposed. . . . Their friends besought me to quiet them, if I could. Some of them came to live with me at Littlemore. They were laymen, or in the place of laymen. I kept some of them back for several years from being received into the Catholic Church. . . . The immediate occasion of my resigning St Mary's was the unexpected conversion of one of them. After that, I felt it was impossible to keep my post there, for I had been unable to keep my word with my Bishop."[4]

That the Littlemore community[5] were hoping to revive monastic life in the Church of England, both through their own example and by their writings, is proved by these words which occur in the preface to Dalgairns's *Life of St Stephen Harding*: "A church without monasteries is a body with

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[1] *Letters and Correspondence,* vol. II, pp. 393–4.

[2] Cf. *Codex Juris Canonici,* 1917, Canons 673–81 (*De societatibus sive virorum sive mulierum in communi viventium sine votis*).

[3] *Correspondence of J. H. Newman,* p. 172.

[4] *Apologia,* Part vi. The "one of them" mentioned was William Lockhart, who was received into the Church of Rome in August 1843.

[5] The community, in addition to J. H. Newman, consisted of William Lockhart, Ambrose St John, J. D. Dalgairns, Richard Stanton, and E. S. Bowles. Among other men who stayed at Littlemore for part of the time were Albany Christie and John Walker.

its right arm paralysed. . . . There is yet another excellent way of advancing the Catholic cause, some field for their zeal and of turning it into the poetry of religion. What poetry more sweet, and yet, withal, more awfully real—indeed hourly realized by the sensible cuttings of the very cross—than the pursuit of holy virginity."

In the *Life of St Paulinus* we read: "The object of the series was by setting forth the deeds of the old missionary monks and holy founders of these glorious abbeys to provoke our own generation to a godly jealousy, and to plead the cause of our manufacturing districts most effectually by adorning the memory of those whose peaceful and conventual cities are, after all, but so many witnesses of what the old saints did against difficulties hardly less than ours. And especially the monastic character of the early Saxon Church, by which England of ancient times was subdued to the cross, may intimate to us that, however lawful it may be in itself, and if so be, of primitive warrant, yet a sturdier weapon than a married clergy can alone hope to convert (for we may not use a milder form) the crowded multitudes of modern England."

Turning to the *Life of St Gilbert of Sempringham* we find that "monks and nuns are not commodities to be found everywhere, and to be moulded for the nonce whenever they are wanted. Funds may be found, and buildings raised, and vestments manufactured, but it requires a special vocation from God to make man or woman renounce the world."

At the same time, W. G. Ward expressed the opinion in his *Ideal of a Christian Church* that "the universal prevalence of monasteries and other like institutions, nay, of solitaries in the desert, must be immediately felt by all as indicative of a spirit directly at variance with that prevalent in the English Church". Littlemore was the first effort made to prove that such an institution was not really at variance with the spirit of Anglicanism.

William Lockhart was one of those young men who were "already going straight to Rome". He had been advised by Archdeacon Manning to accept Newman's invitation to stay at Littlemore, and it was hoped that this would set his doubts at rest. He was assigned the task of writing a Life of St Gilbert of Sempringham, and he also translated a portion of Fleury's *History of the Church*. Lockhart tells us that "it was a kind of monastic life of retirement, prayer and study. We had a sincere desire to remain in the Church of England, if we could be satisfied that in doing so we were members of the world-wide visible communion of Christianity which was of Apostolic origin. We spent our time at Littlemore in study, prayer, and fasting. We rose at midnight to recite the Breviary Offices, consoling ourselves with the thought that we were united in prayer with united Christendom, and were using the very words used by the Saints of all ages. We fasted according to the practice recommended in Holy Scripture, and practised in the most austere Religious Orders of Eastern and Western Christendom. We never broke our fast, except on Sundays and the Great Festivals, before 12 o'clock, and not until 5 o'clock in the Advent and Lenten seasons."[1]

With regard to the recitation of the Breviary at Littlemore, it should be mentioned that one of the earlier *Tracts for the Times* (No. 9) had been devoted to Canonical Worship. In it we read that "in ancient times Christians understood very literally all that the Bible says about prayer. . . . Their hours of devotion were in the daytime—6, 9, 12 and 3—which were called the *Horae Canonicae*; in the night, 9, 12 and 3, which were called the Nocturns; and besides these, the hour of daybreak and of retiring to bed; not that they set apart these hours, in the first instance, for public worship—this was impossible, but they seemed to have aimed at praying with one accord and at one time, even when they could not do so in one place."

The opening words of Tract 75 (1838), entitled "*On the Roman Breviary as embodying the substance of the devotional services of the Church Catholic*", are as follows: "There is so much of excellence and beauty in the services of the Breviary, that were it skilfully set before the Protestant by Roman controversialists as the book of devotion received in their communion, it would undoubtedly raise a prejudice in their favour, if he were ignorant of the circumstances of the case, and but ordinarily candid and unprejudiced." After the title Newman added this verse:

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[1] The time-table was as follows in 1842 (cf. *Correspondence*, p. 295. From what Lockhart says above the *horarium* seems to have been changed):

5.00 a.m.	Matins and Lauds
6.30	Breakfast
7.00	Prime
7.30	Study, etc., with Terce
10.00	Morning Prayers—Chapel
11.00	Study, etc., Sext
2.00 p.m.	Recreation
3.00	Evening Prayers—Chapel
3.45	Recreation
4.30	Study, etc., with None
6.00	Supper
6.30	Recreation
9.30	Vespers
10.00	Compline
10.15	Sleep

The community made a week's retreat in Advent and Lent, using the Exercises of St Ignatius or books based on them. See also H. Tristram, "With Newman at Prayer", *Newman Centenary Essays* (1945), pp. 114–16.

Teach her to know and love her hour of prayer,
And evermore,
As faith grows rare,
Unlock her heart, and offer all its store,
In holier love and humbler vows,
As suits a lost returning spouse.

Newman's attitude towards the Roman Church was still antagonistic in 1838. He explains that the purpose of this tract is "to wrest a weapon out of our adversaries' hand; who have in this, as in many other instances, appropriated to themselves a treasure which was ours as much as theirs; and then, on our attempting to recover it, accuse us of borrowing what we have lost through inadvertence."

He introduces the tract with a historical survey of the Divine Office and gives an outline of its evolution from primitive times. He deprecates the invocation of our Lady and the saints which began during the Middle Ages, also the insertion of "popular legends of the Saints" instead of scripture lessons. Nevertheless we find translations of the Latin antiphons of our Lady then recited after the offices. An unusual feature of Tract 75 is a commemoration of Bishop Ken, with lections taken from the story of his life and from the writings of Jeremy Taylor. Reference is made to Vespers, Matins, and Lauds of the Dead. Newman tells us that his object in writing this tract was to claim "whatever was good and true" in the Breviary "for the Church Catholic in opposition to the Roman Church". His work was to be regarded as "an act of re-appropriation".[1]

Dr Pusey seems to have begun to supplement the recitation of Mattins and Evensong with the Little Hours of the Roman Breviary (in Latin) about 1839. His choice of the Roman rather than the Sarum Breviary was due to the difficulty of obtaining one of the very few copies of the latter which had survived the storm of the Reformation. Most of these relics were preserved in the libraries of colleges or cathedrals. As soon as Dr Pusey had begun to dream of founding an Anglican Sisterhood, he realized that the community would need an office book in

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[1] Newman said that his knowledge of the Breviary dated from March 1837 (cf *Letters*, vol. II, p. 177). His curate, Isaac Williams, had discovered the Breviary about 1829. Through him John Keble became acquainted with the Divine Office in its Latin form. William Palmer's *Origines Liturgicae*, published in 1832, and the lectures on the origins of the Prayer Book, given in Oxford by Dr Lloyd, Regius Professor of Divinity, afterwards Bishop of Oxford, helped to arouse interest in the Breviary among Anglicans. Williams, after attending Lloyd's lectures, ordered a set of Breviaries "from a Roman Catholic bookseller in London." (George Prevost, *The Autobiography of Isaac Williams, B.D.*, 1892, pp. 36–7 and note.) Newman chose Froude's Breviary from among his books after his death.

English. By 1840 he had asked Keble to try to get hold of a Sarum Breviary in the College Library at Winchester with the idea of having it translated. Keble himself was more inclined to republish the Breviary in Latin "as a document, and of a selection of parts to be translated for a devotional book, on the principle of taking such things only as are virtually sanctioned by Edward the Sixth's First Book. . . . A plan of publication by subscription was set on foot, but it came for the present to nothing."[1]

There had been talk of translating the Breviary as early as November 1838, for Newman wrote to Keble that the Provost of Oriel "had protested in strong terms against the Breviary being published". On 23 July 1841, he wrote that he had "just stopped Robert Williams going on with the printing of the translation of the Breviary" which he and Frederick Oakeley, then Fellow of Balliol College, had started earlier that year. The work had only reached the 4th Sunday of Advent.[2] Dr Pusey did not abandon hope, and by December 1843 he consulted Newman and Keble again about a translation of the Breviary being made, this time "by several hands".[3] The services of a young layman, Mr Samuel Wood, uncle of the late Lord Halifax, were secured, and he began work in earnest on translating the Roman Breviary. A few portions of this vernacular Office Book were printed, bound in brown paper, and sold in the Oxford shops.[4]

This book is very rare. There is one half-leather bound copy in the Pusey House Library at Oxford. It is a thin volume of 144 pages, printed in double columns with narrow margins—"nothing could be more unpromising, not to say depressing", to apply to this little book what Mozley had said about Newman's "monastery". There is no title-page, but the first page is headed "The Order of the Psalter for the Week, with the Ordinary of the Office for the Season". Starting with Sunday Matins, the book ends "at Complin". Newman's translations of the Office Hymns, made between 1836 and 1838, are used.[5] The prayers for the Pope and the bishop are omitted from the Ferial Preces at Lauds and Vespers. The antiphons of Our Lady are translated in prose, not in verse. The only other detail which suggests that this is an Anglican publication is the wording of the Creed.

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[1] Quoted by the Reverend T. J. Williams, "Anglican Versions of the Breviary"—*Cowley* (Summer and Autumn 1945).

[2] *Correspondence*, p. 308, *Letters*, vol. II, p. 266.

[3] Liddon, *Life of E. B. Pusey*, vol. II, p. 390.

[4] Ibid., p. 396. At least some part of the book seems to have been printed by May 1841, for a letter from J. R. Bloxam to Ambrose Phillipps says: "I send you by this day's post a copy of the English Translation of the Breviary, or at least of the seven services. I do so upon my own risk, trusting to your caution in the use made of it, and in confidential reliance that you will not show it or speak of it to any member of my own Church, until, which perhaps may be soon the case, it has been deemed right to publish it openly." (MS. *Reunion*: *Ambrose Lisle Phillipps*, quoted by R. D. Middleton, op. cit. p. 143.)

[5] See *Verses on Various Occasions* (1867).

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Dalgairns was another young man whom Newman tried to "quiet", and who was already in correspondence with Catholics abroad. He occupied himself at Littlemore by writing the Lives of St Stephen Harding, St Aelred, and other English saints. He tells us that Newman's object "is not to teach people austerities, but only living in a plain frugal way, so as to get out of the gentleman-parson line. Anybody may come and make a retreat here from time to time, if he likes, paying at the same rate as those who remain all the year round."[1] Other men did come to stay for a time, or proposed themselves as guests, including J. R. Hope and the Reverend W. Dodsworth—both in March 1844. To the latter Newman wrote pointing out "the lack of sacramental services, compensating for the hardships, relieving the dreariness or monotony (as some would find it) of a retreat".[2] This reference to a "lack of sacramental services" can be explained by the fact that the Holy Communion was not celebrated in the oratory at Littlemore.

There were no resident servants to do the menial duties. A woman came in from the village to cook the dinner, and her son cleaned the boots and knives. There was always reading at dinner for at least part of the meal. The inmates, Newman included, took their turn at answering the bell. The story is told how, one day, Dr Symons, the Warden of Wadham College, rang the bell, and how it was Newman himself who opened the door. "May I see the monastery?" was the inquiry. "We have no monasteries here," Newman replied, slamming the door in the Warden's face![3]

It was in 1844 that Fr Dominic Barberi paid his first visit to Littlemore. Dalgairns had written to him asking where "shirts or girdles of haircloth" could be bought, also "a discipline such as ordinary persons would use".[4]

Not only the "monastery", but also the Rule of the "monks" was more austere and penitential than that of the "Barefooted Clerks of the

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[1] E. Hermitage Day, *The Treasury* (1911), pp. 15-16.

[2] Cf. *Correspondence*, p. 311. About the same time Newman wrote to Hope that the guest-chamber was at his service, but warned him: "Pray do not fancy us in such a state that we can profess a retreat, or any one here able to conduct one." (Robert Ormsby, *Memoirs of James Robert Hope-Scott*, vol. II, 1884, p. 42.)

[3] Mark Pattison, *Memoirs* (1885), p. 190.

[4] Denis Gwynn, *Father Dominic Barberi* (1947), p. 184.

Most Holy Cross and Passion", founded by St Paul of the Cross in 1737. Throughout the Lent of 1844 no flesh meat or suet was eaten either on Sundays or week-days. The fast was not broken till midday, when a slice of bread was allowed. The one and only meal was in the evening. At other seasons of the year the community took their frugal breakfast of bread and butter and tea, standing at a board in the so-called refectory. Wine was drunk on Sundays only.

Between 1842 and 1845 various events occurred outside the enclosure of the monastery at Littlemore which must have disturbed the peace of mind of the community. The mild ceremonial introduced by Mr Bennett at St Paul's, Knightsbridge, in 1842 brought protests from Dr Blomfield, Bishop of London. Dr Pusey's sermon on the Holy Eucharist, preached in Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford, on 24 May 1843, resulted in his being suspended for two years. W. G. Ward's provocative book *The Ideal of a Christian Church* (by which he meant the Roman Catholic Church), published in 1844, was condemned six months later. There were other books which turned men's minds Romewards but in different manners, for instance, Thomas Carlyle's kindly picture of Abbot Samson of Bury St Edmunds in *Past and Present* (1843), by way of contrast to the "no popery" atmosphere of Dickens' *Barnaby Rudge* and Ainsworth's *Guy Fawkes*, two novels both published in 1841.

Newman preached his last sermon in the University Church of St Mary on 24 September 1843; his last sermon as an Anglican was delivered in the church of Littlemore the following day, the subject being "The Parting of Friends". Then, after celebrating the Holy Communion on 15 October, he retired into lay communion.

Lockhart had made his submission to Rome in August 1843. Dalgairns did not take this step until September 1845, by which time Lockhart had made his solemn profession as a Rosminian. On 8 October that same year Newman wrote to Mrs J. Mozley: "This night Father Dominic, the Passionist sleeps here. He does not know of my intentions but I shall ask him to receive me into what I believe to be the One Fold of the Redeemer."[1] He wrote letters to other intimate friends, telling them the same news.

It was very late at night when the Passionist Father arrived at Littlemore, "sodden with rain", so he related, and before the next day dawned Newman had made his confession. The next evening at six he, together with Bowles and Stanton, was received into the Roman Church. The morning after, having borrowed vestments and other essentials from the little Roman Catholic chapel dedicated to St Ignatius in St Clement's parish, near Magdalen Bridge, Fr Dominic said mass in the oratory.

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[1] *Letters and Correspondence*, vol. II, p. 468.

Dalgairns and St John were also present, and Newman received Holy Communion.

Such was the ending of the first attempt to establish a religious community of men in the Church of England since the dissolution of the monasteries in the sixteenth century. Two years later Newman and some of his former companions resumed their community life in a less austere and penitential form. From Rome he wrote to Bishop Wiseman about the type of "monastery" he visualized: "different from anything ecclesiastical hitherto built in England . . . a building for preaching and music; not an open roof, certainly no screen. I am afraid I shall shock Pugin."[1] In February 1848 the English Oratory was formally established. Today, when one gazes round its stately church, one can realize how shocked poor Pugin would have been, had he been alive. He would have protested that this replica of an Italian basilica in the Renaissance style is not Christian but pagan, just as he would have held up his hands in horror at the little oratory at Littlemore, with its red curtains over the windows and the baroque crucifix on the table which served as its altar.

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Another attempt to establish a male community in the English Church was made by the Reverend Frederick Faber soon after he became Rector of Elton, Huntingdon, in 1843. He was already an "Anglican Papalist" as the result of extensive journeys on the continent of Europe. He had been in Italy immediately before he took up his parochial duties in this remote village, and had brought back rosaries and catholic books. He resolved to organize his parish "in the spirit of St Philip and St Alphonso".[2] He began by promoting devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus. His emotional style of preaching attracted large congregations, and many were persuaded to make their confessions. The rector then formed some of his male penitents into a community. They met in the rectory at midnight, spending an hour in prayer, reciting the psalms. On the greater festivals these nocturnal devotions were prolonged for three or four hours. The use of the discipline was encouraged.[3] A Society of St Joseph was established for visiting the sick. Faber himself worked on a Life of St Wilfrid, to whom he had a special devotion, because of his loyalty to the see of Rome. The young men who made up this Brotherhood became a sort of religious community.[1] They started the recitation of the Day Hours of the Roman Breviary, and were urged to wear hair-cloth by way of extra penance.

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[1] Wilfrid Ward, *Life and Times of Cardinal Wiseman* (1897), vol. I, p. 459.

[2] J. E. Bowden, *Life and Letters of Frederick William Faber* (Dublin and Derby, 1869), p. 212.

[3] I.e., a small scourge or whip for self-mortification.

On 17 November 1845, the day after Faber had preached his last sermon, he and seven of his Brothers left Elton for Northampton. Kneeling before Dr Wareing, Bishop of Areopolis and Vicar Apostolic of the Eastern District, they entered into communion with that Church whose more exotic forms of spirituality and modes of worship they had already adopted so whole-heartedly. A month or so later they resumed their way of life in Birmingham, where they were known as "Wilfridians", or "Brothers of the Will of God".

On 14 February 1848, less than a fortnight after Newman established the Oratory in England, they became Oratorians. When he opened Alcester Street in Birmingham in February 1849 Newman set about forming a London community, and suggested Faber as rector. The oratory in King William Street, off the Strand, was opened in May 1849. Meanwhile, the Brothers of the Will of God had all vanished, except for Mills in Birmingham, and Faber, Hutchinson, and Wells in London. Yet the great baroque church, erected in Brompton Road, London, in 1884, may be regarded as the fruit of those Italian devotions and spirituality which the Rector of Elton tried to plant in his parish near Huntingdon more than a hundred years ago.

Newman and Faber were not the only Anglican clergymen who tried to establish religious communities during the 'forties. For instance, there was a quixotic experiment made in Yorkshire, described by Dr Hook in a letter to Dr Pusey (21 November 1843). He wrote: "I am uneasy about Mr Aitkin. He has fitted up the schoolroom adjoining his church with cells, each containing a bed and a cross; he has some young men with him who have forsaken all; his rule is very strict; he has daily Communion; they fast till 4 every Wednesday, when he allows himself and themselves meat. On Friday they fast till 4, and then have fish. In the meantime he, having a family residing five miles away, sleeps in his cell four times a week . . . his wife complains of his neglecting his six or more children."[2]

The Reverend W. Gresley, Prebendary of Lichfield, one of the most prolific writers of Tractarian fiction, published a story entitled *Bernard Leslie* in 1842. He asks: "why should we not *also* have unmarried clergy, who shall devote themselves to God's service . . . unmarried priests and

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[1] J. E. Bowden, *Life and Letters of Frederick William Faber*, p. 216.

[2] Pusey House MSS, quoted by C. P. S. Clarke, *The Oxford Movement and After* (1932), p. 251.

deacons, who shall dedicate their lives to reclaiming the waste places of the heathen? Nay, why should we not also have unmarried laymen, who shall 'Spurn delights, and live laborious days'; not amassing wealth, or winning renown before men, or political power; but labouring for God's glory and the salvation of the souls of men. Of all instruments to evangelize our great towns, nothing, perhaps, would be so efficacious as the establishment of colleges of priests or laymen, not bound by compulsory vows of celibacy, though generally proposing to themselves an unmarried state, and, as long as they maintain it, living together under the control of the parochial priest, whom they shall aid in his ministrations. The time seems almost ripe for an attempt of the sort" (p. 169).

This seems to be one of the first appeals for the establishment of religious communities of men intended for the general public. Gresley was writing for the type of Anglican who had as yet hardly been converted to the mildest form of "Puseyism". He shows little sympathy for the later *Tracts for the Times* (ch. xxii).

In January 1844 Dr Hook revealed in a letter to W. E. Gladstone that "a society of persons, calling themselves an Order of Mercy, though only five or six in number, had been for the last ten years doing immense good" in Leeds. He adds: "Dr Wiseman's nuns in Birmingham, by their gentle, affectionate attendance on the poor, were found a short time ago to be winning people to Romanism; and the clergy of Birmingham were not contented with abusing the nuns. They wished to meet them by having a set of paid nurses, but of course, the end was not answered. The fact is, that no institution of a religious character will answer, which has not for its immediate object the promotion of God's glory by the increase of piety in the individuals forming it. As they become pious, they, for the glory of God, will do good works, and will undertake the visiting of the poor; but if the direct object be the relief of the poor, the institution will only supply a better class of overseers.

"I would mention to you, though I wish the thing not to be talked about, that we have such an institution in Leeds. One of the clergy has already in his house one priest and three laymen (the priest being his curate, for whom he gives food and lodging) who are laying the seeds of an Order of Mercy; I enclose a copy of their very strict rules, which I should like to have returned. On Tuesday next, they proceed to visit from house to house in the clergyman's district. They have hitherto been engaged in looking out the best of the poor, and training them: they expect soon to be joined by the son of a Swiss pastor, who wishes his son to be trained in our Church. This household may do much good, but I do not wish the plan to be connected with my name at present. My friends, as you will readily suppose, are enthusiastically and ascetically pious, and such persons will do injudicious things. Young societies, like young persons, will sow wild oats; at the same time a restraining hand would irritate rather than restrain them. We have therefore an understanding, that they are to go their own way for two years; then, when I have seen how they have worked, we may take measures for their extension. At present they only form a family in my parish, and in this free country, every man may regulate his family as he sees fit. The family consists of the clergyman, who has sufficient income for the purpose, his curate, who receives board and lodging, and finds raiment for himself; a young man, who is the son of a clergyman, and who has given up a situation of 300£ a year, to come here; and two converted local preachers, who give up their trade, and have no pay, only board and lodging."[1]

It is not known what happened to this "Order of Mercy", or if it ever developed into anything more than the "family" described by Dr Hook. One suspects that these courageous pioneers at Leeds lacked the knowledge and experience of community-life to establish the "Order" on firm foundations.

2. THE SECOND "MONASTERIES"

It might have been supposed that the failure to establish Anglican "monasteries" at Littlemore and Elton would have prevented any further experiments on similar lines, at least for the time being. But such was not the case: monks and nuns, monasteries and nunneries, were an almost inevitable concomitant of the Tractarian movement. After the Littlemore community had been disbanded in the autumn of 1845, some of the Tractarian leaders began to consider the possibility of establishing collegiate churches, in order to satisfy the needs of many clergymen and laymen who were seeking some way of leading the common life in the Church of England. On 28 January 1847 John Keble wrote to W. J. Butler reminding him that St Saviour's, Leeds, was "meant to be a sort of College of Curates, and in a humble way an effort at Anglican asceticism".[2] Three years after this, Keble informed Butler that "there is thought of trying a sort of Brotherhood in Plymouth or Devonport, and some persons have agreed to act for a time in that way, under a parochial authority of course; but two material things are as yet unprovided—a

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[1] W. R. W. Stephens, *The Life and Letters of Walter Farquhar Hook* (1878), vol. II, pp. 226–7.

[2] *Life and Letters of W. J. Butler* (1897), p. 38.

Rule and a Superior".[1] Butler replied on 2 March 1850, suggesting that the proposed Brotherhood should use "the Hours, translated by Albany Christie", the little book which his own Sisterhood had adopted. In his reply Keble hopes that the Brothers "have got their Rule from a better and more experienced source" than himself.[2] No further information is given about this Community. The Gorham Judgement and the secession to Rome of Archdeacon Manning and other Anglican clergymen may have caused the promoters to abandon the experiment.

Tractarian influences were being felt in Scotland. Trinity College, Glenalmond, had been opened in 1847. Two years later George Frederick Boyle, afterwards Earl of Glasgow, founded the College of the Holy Spirit on the island of Cumbrae in the Firth of Clyde. The primary intention of this foundation was "the frequent Celebration of Divine Service by a Collegiate Body under circumstances favourable to religious learning", and the College consisted of five Canons and seven Choristers. The Gothic Revival buildings, like those at Glenalmond, were designed by William Butterfield, and were in complete conformity with the ideals of the Ecclesiological Society. The church was opened on Whit-Sunday 1851. The publication at Glasgow that same year of the two-volume office book, entitled *The Hours of Prayer*, confirms that the founder intended that the Canons should recite in choir, not only Mattins and Evensong, but also the Day Hours of the Breviary. The Tractarian ethos of this collegiate body is proved by its first Provost, the Reverend G. Cosby White who, after his resignation a few years later, became the first Vicar of St Barnabas', Pimlico, in 1866.[3] His predecessors at St Barnabas', had been curates of St Paul's, Knightsbridge.

A sure proof that religious communities in the Church of England were regarded as having "news value" five years after the "monks" of Littlemore and Elton had taken the road to Rome, is to be found in the pages of *Punch* (vol. XIX, 1850, p. 189). In a cynically worded article, entitled "A Monastery in Pimlico" one senses what the average Englishman thought about this "playing at popery" by "Puseyite" parsons. It is stated that "the monks are to be young Anglican clergymen of a class now not uncommon, whose state of mind needs a temporary seclusion; and who, if they had not an Abbey to go to, would require to be sent to some other asylum". The chief employment of these "monks" would be "rubbing monumental brasses", but "a soup kitchen would be attached to the Monastery, for the distribution of soup, in subservience to the dissemination of Puseyism", and the soup itself would be "mock-turtle, a viand, as the public knows, corresponding to the system in question, which is a mild imitation, concocted to suit the taste of those who affect, but cannot quite swallow, the original". Furthermore it is stated that the "monks" will "occasionally ride in the Park, with a view to court, rather than shun, observation. The Father Superior will use a mule; and as many donkeys will be kept in the Monastery as there are Friars in it."

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[1] *Life and Letters of W. J. Butler*, p. 74.

[2] Ibid., pp. 75, 76.

[3] For various reasons it was found impossible to maintain the College on its original lines. In 1875 the founder made over the property to the Scottish Episcopal Church. The following year it became the Cathedral of the Diocese of Argyll and the Isles.

Scurrilous articles in the popular press, of which the above is a typical example, did not have much influence over young men at Oxford and Cambridge, who had become enthusiastic followers of Tractarianism. Had it not been that their youthful zeal for Anglo-Catholicism was diverted to art and literature, William Morris and Edward Burne-Jones might have been the co-founders of an Anglican Brotherhood. Mr. J. W. Mackail tells us that "there was a time, early in Morris' undergraduate days, when he had seriously thought of devoting the whole of his fortune to the foundation of a monastery. Such ideas were widely in the air. The community at Littlemore was a centre of influence and a place of pilgrimage, as familiar to all Oxford as the spire of St Mary's. Similar communities had sprung up in other parts of the country. Some seven years before, Street, the great architect of the revived Gothic, then a young man of twenty-six, had been deeply engaged with a scheme for the foundation of an institution, combining the characters of a college, a monastery, and a workshop for students of the theory and practice of religious art. Such a community had actually been founded in Rome, a generation earlier, by the German painters Cornelius and Overbeck. That group of religious artists, a curious anticipation of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, had lived in a Roman palace under a sort of monastic rule; and though the community had ceased to exist about the time when the Tractarian movement in England began, some tradition of it survived to kindle the imagination of young men."[1]

The first reference to the proposed monastery is to be found in a letter from Burne-Jones, dated 1 May 1853. By that date the Sisterhoods of St Thomas-the-Martyr and of the Holy and Undivided Trinity had been founded in Oxford. St Thomas' Church was the favourite place of worship with these young men.[2] They used also to take part in the

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[1] *Life of William Morris* (1899), vol. I, pp. 62–3.

[2] It was in 1844 that Alexander Penrose Forbes, then a curate at St Thomas', and subsequently Bishop of Brechin, founded the Guild or Brotherhood of St Mary the Virgin. Its chief object was to foster ecclesiastical art, but the members were

plain-chant practices in the music-room in Holywell under the Reverend Thomas Helmore.[1]

"I have set my heart on our founding a Brotherhood", Burne-Jones explains. "Learn 'Sir Galahad' by heart: he is to be the patron of our Order. I have enlisted one in the project up here, heart and soul." A few months later he wrote again about "this Crusade and Holy Warfare against the age" which involved both celibacy and a quasi-monastic life. In another letter, dated 16 October 1854, he says: "The monastery stands a fairer chance than ever of being founded. I know that it will be some day."[2]

Lady Burne-Jones suggests that the first idea of founding this Brotherhood may have come to her future husband during a visit to the Cistercian monks at Mount St Bernard's Abbey, Leicestershire, when he was a youth of about eighteen. She writes: "Though it is doubtful whether he ever saw the place again with his bodily eyes, the thought of it accompanied him through his whole life. Friends, wife, and children all knew the under-current of longing in his soul for the rest and peace which he thought he had seen there that day; he did not disguise it from them, and in his later years often spoke of the dream which had walked step by step with him ever since, of some day leaving every one and everything and entering its doors and closing them behind him."[3]

But Morris and Burne-Jones and the other young men at Oxford who shared their aspirations got more and more lost in a dim, dark, incense-laden Pre-Raphaelite twilight. The Brotherhood which was still visualized became less and less religious in character; its aims and objects were to promote the revival of medieval art and literature. "The old ideals melted away before larger enthusiasms, the mistress art of architecture, with all else—music, painting, the whole range of forms and colours and sounds—swept up into its train, took a continually deeper and more dominating hold."[4] So the Gothic Revival monastery never materialized.

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bound by a simple rule of life. It is probable that Morris and Burne-Jones knew of this Brotherhood, but they yearned after something more medieval and romantic. Later on its title was changed to the Brotherhood of the Holy Trinity. The chief officials were a Master and Almoner. According to the revised constitutions the purpose of the Brotherhood was to promote "communion in prayer and works of charity, mutual encouragement and regularity of life". It functioned until the close of the century, and among its members were R. M. Benson, H. P. Liddon, E. A. Freeman, W. Bright, Edward King, A. H. Stanton, Darwell Stone, and Charles Gore. (Cf. F. L. Cross, *Darwell Stone*, 1943, p. 13.)

[1] See p. 318, n 3.

[2] Op. cit., p. 64.

[3] *Memorials of Edward Burne-Jones* (1904), vol. I, p. 53.

[4] *Life of William Morris*, vol. I, p. 66.

Almost at the same time as the "little monastery" under the patronage of Sir Galahad was being dreamed of in Oxford, a few young men who worshipped at St Matthew's, City Road, London, were discussing a similar project from a different point of view.[1] They had no particular interest in medieval art and literature. They were drawn together for purposes of devotion, and by a desire to help any form of church work. Thus it came to pass that "The Brotherhood of St Mary" was formed on 1 September 1853. The following year it was affiliated to a larger organization, known as "The Guild of St Alban".[2] The "Steward" of the London District of this Guild was a young man, Edward Steere. The Brothers lived a quasi-communal life which tended to become more and more monastic. Mr Steere took a keen interest in the various Sisterhoods which had been established in London by 1853, and decided that the moment had come for "a like revival of Brotherhoods".[3]

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[1] This medieval-looking church, designed by Gilbert Scott, was opened in 1848. Its services were conducted on Tractarian lines, similar to those at St Barnabas', Pimlico; St Mary Magdalene's, Munster Square; St. Mary's, Crown Street; and Margaret Chapel. In the late 'fifties Fr Nugée established his Sisterhood of St Mary to work in St Matthew's parish (see p. 92).

[2] "And if we have sisterhoods why not brotherhoods?" Such was the question put by the Reverend W. Gresley, at that date Vicar of All Saints', Boyne Hill, Maidenhead, in the second part of his Tractarian story entitled *Bernard Leslie*, which appeared in 1859. He added: "The weaker sex has gained a march upon us men in this respect. Let us not be backward to follow in their steps" (p. 156). The same thought had occurred to other Anglican clergymen and laymen.

[3] The issue in 1951 of Mr George H. Smith's *Story of the Guild of St Alban the Martyr 1851–1951* has brought to light much that is forgotten of the attempt to establish Anglican guilds on medieval lines during the second half of the last century. The Guild of St Alban was founded at Birmingham by Shirley Fielding Palmer, a young medical man who had come under the influence of the Tractarians. It is possible that Palmer may have been inspired to found his Guild after hearing John Henry Newman's lectures at the Corn Exchange, Birmingham, in 1850, in which he had appealed to Roman Catholic laymen to "use their talents for the furtherance of the faith, and not leave all apologetics to the clergy" (op. cit., p. 4). The first meeting of the Guild of St Alban was held in 1851. Dr Palmer stated that its principles were "directly opposed to those forming the basis of *modern* English religious associations, being, in fact, identical with those of the ancient religious bodies". At the same time he made clear that there would be no "affectation of medievalism". Its first object was "to assist the Clergy in maintaining and extending the Catholic Faith and to spread a knowledge of the True Doctrines of the Church". There were to be two grades of members—Fellows and Brethren. The ceremonial observances and the constitutions were much the same as those of a Third Order. At the meetings a habit, consisting of a black cassock, girdle, and medieval badge were worn. The latter took the form of a collar of deep-blue corded silk, with a bronze medallion and plain cross. An Office Book was compiled by Br Edward Steere, and contained adaptations of Prime, Terce, Sext, None, and Compline. The hymns were chosen from Dr Neale's translations. The first issue of the Guild magazine *Church Work* appeared in 1856. The Guild spread rapidly and by 1861 there were branches in many parts of England. Its early members were men who regarded "the Church of

Having inspected several properties, Mr Steere bought an old ruined chapel, dedicated to St Edward, near Tamworth, otherwise known as "The Spital". In May 1855 he left London with two or three companions who belonged to the Guild of St Alban. The little community took the title of "The Brotherhood of St James". As is related in the *Memoir of Edward Steere, Third Missionary Bishop in Central Africa*,[1] "His success, however, did not equal his expectations, and better so; for the great work he was destined, under God, to accomplish in central Africa has amply compensated the Church at large for the failure of the far narrower design he had formed when he took up his anchorite-like abode in 'The Spital' at Tamworth".

From a few letters which have been preserved it seems that the Brother Superior had difficulties with his postulants and novices. Most of them were attracted far more by the romantic aspects of monasticism. They "dreamed with delight of singing out of illuminated breviaries" and "admired midnight matins", but "got up with difficulty between seven and eight". It became clear that few of the men who offered themselves to the Brotherhood shared his own high ideals. He had to admit that "our problem is how to make the best of them whilst we have them". Even before the Brotherhood came to an end after little more than six months' existence, its founder had come to the conclusion that it was "a kind of sieve that men will work in for a year or two, and then leave".[2] What seems to have decided Mr Steere to close his monastery was the realization that no bishops would ordain any of the "monks" unless they had been licensed as curates in parishes.

3. BENEDICTINES OF LLANTHONY (1863)[3]

The next attempt to found a community of men in the Church of England might be described as a quixotic adventure to make known and

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England as fundamentally a reformed Branch of the Catholic Church, though lethargic in practice, and also as that part of the Catholic Church with jurisdiction and authority in this country". They worked for the independence of the English Church, not only "so that it may be free from the interference of the civil rulers in purely spiritual matters", but also "from the jurisdiction claimed by the Church of Rome" (ibid., pp. 5 and 10).

The Guild of St Alban has functioned as a lay brotherhood for over a century. It has encouraged Anglican laymen to take an active part in church work of all kinds. Today its numbers are reduced, and its action is "more within the devotional sphere".

[1] R. M. Heanley, 1888, p. 36.

[2] Ibid., p. 43.

[3] Cf. Baroness de Bertouch, *The Life of Father Ignatius, O.S.B. The Monk of Llanthony* (1904); Donald Attwater, *Father Ignatius of Llanthony: A Victorian* (1931); Arthur Calder-Marshall, *The Enthusiast* (1962).

prepare the way for the restoration of the Benedictine cloistered life. At the present day it is easy to question, criticize, and laugh at many of the absurdities associated with this experiment, yet it was "The Monk of Llanthony" who "familiarized the British public with a religious ideal that had come to be associated only with persecutors, traitors and spies".[1] The whole thing was an act of faith made with tremendous enthusiasm but with little or no technical knowledge of monastic life, past or contemporary.

Joseph Leycester Lyne was born in London in 1837—the year of the accession of Queen Victoria. His father was of Cornish descent, and from his mother, Louise Genevieve Leycester, he inherited Italian blood. Having been educated at St Paul's School, London, and at Trinity College, Glenalmond, he became for a time a licensed lay-reader in the diocese of Moray and Ross in Scotland. He was ordained deacon in Wells Cathedral in 1860. For about two years he held an honorary curacy at St Peter's, Plymouth. Here he began to dream of reviving the monastic life in the English Church, and he was given much encouragement by Mother Lydia Sellon. She promised to make over a house at Stoke Damerel, belonging to the Society of the Most Holy Trinity, to be used as a monastery. But nothing came of this "Brotherhood of the Love of Jesus"—it lasted only forty-eight hours!

Lyne's health broke down, and he went to Belgium to recuperate. Determined that "Brother Joseph" should not lose his vocation, Mother Lydia told her sister to make a "habit", which meant a rough serge cassock of no special monastic shape. This garment was forwarded to Belgium, where Lyne donned it for the first time during Benediction in the Redemptorist Church at Brussels. To quote his own words: "I longed to be to our beloved Church what Père Lacordaire and other religious men were to the Churches of France and Belgium."[2] On his return to England he spent nine months as a curate under Father Lowder at St George-in-the-East, London, where his powers as a preacher, and possibly the novelty of his black habit, packed St Saviour's Mission Church, Wellclose Square. Bishop Forbes of Brechin gave his blessing to the embryo monk and wrote: "I thank God for putting it into the heart of a deacon of our Church to restore the Rule of St Benedict of Nursia in our midst."

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[1] A. L. Drummond, "Father Ignatius (1837–1908)", article in *Church Quarterly Review*, Oct.-Dec. 1950, p. 85.

[2] This reference to Père Lacordaire is in itself a proof that Lyne, no matter how great was his enthusiasm and piety, had not grasped that "the real use of a monastic house lies not in activities and usefulness. It lies rather in things that cannot be counted by statistics or estimated by results" (Abbot Cuthbert Butler). For the rest of his life he was to go on trying to combine the life of a Benedictine monk with that of a Dominican or Franciscan friar.

It appears that it was not until he paid a chance visit to Belmont Cathedral Priory, near Hereford, during a brief holiday about this time, that Lyne had ever opened the Rule of St Benedict. In after years he never forgot the kindness of those monks of the English congregation who presented him with a Latin edition of the Holy Rule. No matter how vigorously he would denounce the "errors" of Roman doctrine, he had always a good word to say for Roman monasticism. Now he was convinced that God meant him to be a Benedictine. On his return to London he had a new habit made, with a hood more or less similar to those he had seen at Belmont Priory. But Br Ignatius of Jesus—for he had now adopted the founder of the Jesuits as his patron—was seldom consistent in anything he did. He substituted the Franciscan knotted cord for the traditional Benedictine belt. Like a mendicant friar he went barefoot and wore sandals. A large rosary hung from his waist. It would be hard to imagine any costume more likely to rouse Protestant prejudices. Thus garbed, he went about his work in the slums of East London.

"So I became a Benedictine", he tells us. "Two other people were willing to join me now. I was twenty-four years of age. My father was very angry, and refused to give me any further help. I must also leave my curacy and its stipend to make a beginning. I realized that I should be penniless. I had already drawn a very crowded congregation to Fr Lowder's Mission Church, but I had made up my mind to break away from every tie. Relatives, except my mother, would have nothing to say to me. My bright prospects in the Church of England would be for ever ruined; the world would say I was mad; the Church would regard me as most dangerous, a kind of ecclesiastical Ishmael. I should have to face persecution of every kind and want, suffering, poverty. Yet I firmly believed that God was calling me, and I must obey. I was very young, not yet in priest's orders, wholly ignorant of the world, and a ready prey for any who cared to take advantage of me, as I soon found out."[1]

Joseph Leycester Lyne could never do anything quietly; he was born with a dramatic temperament. Instead of retiring to some remote place where he could experiment with Benedictine life with as little publicity as possible, he broadcast the fact of his venture by means of a fiery pamphlet, and circularized the length and breadth of England. If the pamphlet did nothing else it produced an invitation from the Reverend George Drury, Rector of Claydon, near Ipswich, to install the monks in part of a large Suffolk rectory. Mr Lyne was thus enabled to found on Shrove Tuesday, 1863, the first Benedictine monastery in communion with Canterbury since the Reformation.

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[1] "Autobiography of Reverend Father Ignatius", in *Llanthony Tracts*, No. 2, 1896.

Ninety years ago the ordinary Englishman's knowledge of monastic life was mainly drawn from Charles Reade's novel *The Cloister and the Hearth* (first published in 1859), or from Sir Walter Scott's novels, or even from M. G. Lewis's fantastic story *The Monk* (1796). Ruined abbeys were delightful places for picnics, but few people wanted to see new monasteries established in England. Can it be wondered at that the general public was horrified when it became known that one such establishment had been founded in East Anglia? Were these men in black robes Jesuits in disguise? The very fact that their Superior had taken the name of the founder of the Society of Jesus was enough to suggest that this "monkery" was a sinister sign of a new and underground papal aggression.

Thanks to Charles Walker's *Three Months in an English Monastery*—a now rare volume published in 1864—we have a vivid and detailed account of the life lived at Claydon Rectory.[1] The community consisted at first of Brothers Ignatius, Martin, and Anselm. From the very start the three young men, none of whom had ever spent a day in a monastery, attempted to carry out the letter of the Rule of St Benedict, with nobody to advise or direct their experiment. They rose for Matins and Lauds at 2 a.m. and recited these and all other offices in the parish church. How they managed to get through the services is a problem. All they possessed in the way of monastic liturgical books was a folio seventeenth-century Breviary. Br Ignatius, who was the only one who knew any Latin, had to translate, often as he went along, carefully omitting any bits of the second Nocturn lessons which he felt to be too "Roman". The psalms were recited from the *Book of Common Prayer*. Helmore's *Hymnal Noted* provided translations of most of the office hymns, and also the plainchant melodies.[2]

When this long and complicated service was over, the Brothers returned to the rectory. They retired to their beds until 5.30 when they arose for Prime. At 8 a.m. Mr Drury celebrated the Holy Eucharist, using the Prayer Book rite and wearing vestments. Breakfast was allowed only to two Brothers who were in poor health. The other members of the household had to fast until midday. The morning was taken up with manual work, as was most of the afternoon. None was recited at 3 or 4 p.m., Vespers and Compline at 5 and 9 p.m. respectively. A frugal supper was permitted after Vespers.

Another visitor to Claydon left his impressions of what went on "in this quiet retired spot, with its careful ritual, the constant sound of the bell for the Brothers' Offices, its waking the dead of night with its call for Nocturns, and the deeper booming of the Angelus at early morning, noon and again at even; the Brothers seen here and there in their sombre and picturesque habits". He could "fancy the Re-Union of Christendom, which is the object of our prayers, were already accomplished, and one seems to see, in the actual fulfilment, those glorious verses of Neale's beginning 'The Good Old Times of England'". The writer of this letter to *The Union Review* (1863, p. 544) was convinced that "if the Catholic Faith were taught in every so-called High Church parish as it is at Claydon, the impetus given to the movement would enable it to carry all before it".

And the "Catholic Faith" *was* taught and practised in this Suffolk village in a manner that few parishes in England attempted in 1863. Br Ignatius had not forgotten the services at which he had assisted during the previous summer spent in Belgium. The description of the functions which took place at Claydon on St Peter's Day, 1863, suggest that the ceremonial was based more on mid-nineteenth-century continental usages than on those of say, All Saints', Margaret Street, or even St Alban's, Holborn, at the time. There must have been much gossip in many an East Anglian rectory when it was heard that Mr Drury and the monks had draped the walls behind the communion-table with cloth of silver; that countless candles were lit on it, with vases of flowers between them. Was it true that there was a frontal of cloth of gold, and a sort of canopy of the same material above the cross? One may be certain that it was more than three centuries since there had been a procession with incense after "Vespers", otherwise choral Evensong. Most of the local clergy must have been scandalized at the description in the newspaper of the "Solemn Celebration" of the Communion Service, at which Br Ignatius played the organ. We are informed that the Kyrie was adapted from Mendelssohn's *Elijah*; that the Sanctus and Benedictus were taken from Mozart's Second and Twelfth Masses, and that the Agnus Dei and O Salutaris were by "various composers". The patronal festival ended with an outdoor evening procession, with the cross-bearer and acolytes in scarlet cassocks and lace-edged cottas; thurifers waving censers;

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[1] Charles Walker was the original author of *The Ritual Reason Why* (1866), a repository of "symbolical" explanations of ceremonial, which still has some vogue in the less sophisticated Anglo-Catholic circles. He submitted to Rome in 1878.

[2] Even in later years when the community had moved to Llanthony the method of celebrating the Divine Office seems to have been extremely awkward. It was a hotch-potch of Latin and English, with Welsh interpolations after Ignatius had been initiated into the bards of Wales with the title of "Dewi-Honddu" in 1889.

banners borne aloft by Benedictine Brothers, followed by a crowd of girls, school-children, and the more devout of the faithful.[1]

It was not so much the ceremonial that stirred up strife in Claydon and the neighbouring villages; it was the uncanny effect of Br Ignatius's oratory. Crowds flocked to hear his sermons. Many people were moved to make their confessions. Most of the local farmers were staunch Protestants. They disapproved of this sort of religion. Soon they were on the war-path. In after years Ignatius wrote: "My work became notorious; multitudes from all the neighbourhood thronged to my sermons. The Bishop of Norwich would not hear of a monk preaching in a Church of England pulpit. He sent for me, and I saw him in the palace at Norwich. He tried to induce me to give up my 'peculiarities'—he had no thought whatever that it might be a call from God that I was obeying. He then forbade my preaching in churches. On my return to Claydon I had to preach in the rectory barn. The Protestant party now stirred up active violence against me, and several times my life was in danger." One day Br Ignatius was attacked by some drunken farm labourers, stoned, and knocked about. He was then dragged off to a field where a bonfire was lighted, and he only narrowly escaped from a threatened attempt to burn him alive.

All this time the Brothers had lived in a wing of the rectory. They combined their monastic duties with teaching in the village school, playing with the rector's children, and doing their own housework. Mrs Drury's cook provided their meals. Was Mr Walker quite serious when he wrote that in this mid-Victorian parsonage he "saw before him daily and hourly a living panorama of the times of St Benedict and St Basil, of the ages when those far-off Egyptian deserts were peopled with Anthonys and Pachomiuses"? One is never sure what were the genuine reactions of the author of *Three Months in an English Monastery*. Anyhow Mr Drury seems to have got rather tired of having his parish turned upside down by Br Ignatius, however much he believed in his vocation. One day he made the excuse that his wife required the rooms hitherto used by the Brothers. A new home had to be found for the little community. The founder was without funds, penniless in fact. He heard of a dilapidated old house in Norwich with forty rooms. It could be bought for £500. What thrilled him was the discovery that it stood on part of the site of the pre-Reformation Dominican friary. Mr Drury recommended that Ignatius should give a lecture in Ipswich and charge for the front seats. This raised the sum of £15. A hectic preaching tour through the south and west of England, ending with London, brought in

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[1] Cf. *Union Review*, 1863, p. 417.

£300. A few weeks later Br Ignatius was the owner of the house in Elm Hill, Norwich.

The Brothers took over the house on 30 January 1864. Three large rooms on the ground floor were turned into a chapel, able to hold about two hundred persons. Here the offices were recited in much the same manner as at Claydon. When questioned on his right to have a tabernacle on the altar for Reservation, Ignatius insisted that this was authorized by the "Early Church", and had post-Reformation sanction in the Latin Prayer Book of 1560, intended for the use of College chapels.[1] He also defended the rites of Exposition and Benediction on the plea that they were purely private devotions, and that his chapel was outside the jurisdiction of the bishop.

When asked what was his authority for "restoring" Benedictine monasticism in the Church of England, he replied: "God put it into my heart to be the one after three hundred years to revive the glorious rule of St Benedict in the English Church. You do not become a Benedictine monk by virtue of a quasi succession, but by taking a vow of obedience to the rule and living the life prescribed by St Benedict. In our convent the Benedictine rule is more strictly observed than in any Roman house of the Order I have ever heard of, and I have heard of many." He pointed out that "wherever we go, crowds flock to the standard of the English Church, from dissent, and many from Rome. Roman Catholics say that our influence is keeping thousands upon thousands in the Church of England who would otherwise have left, for Rome, from the ranks of the High Church party. Yet I am treated as a common thief or murderer by most of my fellow churchmen, scouted and scorned by all who know nothing about me."[2]

Curious to meet this Anglican monk, Mr Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle—always optimistic of Anglo-Catholicism and dreaming already of corporate reunion between the English, Roman, and Eastern Churches—invited Ignatius to stay at Grace-Dieu Manor.[3] He took him over to spend a night at Mount St Bernard's Abbey, of which he was the founder. Here Ignatius was not treated as a "common thief or murderer". Abbot Bartholomew Anderson put him in a stall in choir and showed him every courtesy. This must have been a great encouragement, for Dr Pelham,

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[1] One wonders who provided Ignatius with this liturgical knowledge. Was it F. G. Lee, at that time rector of St Mary's, Carden Place, Aberdeen? The first edition of his *Directorium Anglicanum* appeared in 1858, but under the name of his collaborator, the Reverend J. Purchas.

[2] *Churchwork* (Magazine of the Guild of St Alban), 1863, p. 260.

[3] The Association for the Promotion of the Unity of Christendom was founded in 1857.

Bishop of Norwich, had taken a very different line. He was an old-fashioned Evangelical and strongly disapproved of this ritualistic community which was causing so much stir in his cathedral city. The chapel proved to be too small to hold the crowds which flocked to hear Ignatius preach. "He can do what he likes with a congregation; his oratory is of the very highest order", wrote the Reverend Gerard Moultrie, then headmaster of Reading Grammar School. As the chapel was on private property, the bishop could not forbid the sermons and services. Meanwhile a Third Order had been formed, although this was not in accordance with Benedictine traditions.[1] In 1864 Mother Lydia Sellon rented a house in the Cathedral Close at Norwich intending to establish a branch of the Society of the Holy Trinity, but nothing came of this, and the house was made over to a Community of Sisters of Mount Calvary, otherwise a group of Benedictine Oblates, whom Ignatius hoped would evolve into enclosed nuns.[2] It must have been about this date that Dr Pusey received the profession of Ignatius, for he began to call himself "Father" instead of "Brother". Here it is worth mentioning that the official biography of Dr Pusey makes no reference to Ignatius's close friendship with him; a friendship which, considering the differences in their characters, was remarkable.[3]

The situation at Norwich became more and more difficult owing to the line taken by Bishop Pelham. Fr Ignatius decided to appeal to Dr Wilberforce, at that time the only Anglican bishop who showed the least understanding of religious communities, and who kept up a fatherly interest in the Sisterhoods in his own diocese. Here is the bishop's reply, dated 5 June 1865.

"Watching your course, so far as I have been able to do it from a distance, I have come to such conclusions as the following: (1) That God has given you great energy, great powers of usefulness, and a noble spirit of self-devotion to His service. That the present day needs such gifts, and that had you also the wisdom which it is profitable to direct, there is hardly any limit to the service you might render to Him, and to your brethren in His Church. (2) But that the greater part of this usefulness you are flinging away: (*a*) your adoption of a dress, *never* suited to English habits—and now pre-eminently unsuitable—is a sacrifice of the kernel to the shell such as I have hardly ever seen equalled: (*b*) That in adopting this startling exterior, you are acting in direct opposition to the principle on which the Order you have assumed did act. For they took the dress to help the work. You mar the work to have the dress. In this merely outward thing I am bound to say I see the key to all your real hindrances. You are sacrificing everywhere the great reality for which you have sacrificed yourself to the puerile imitation of a past phase of service which it is just as impossible for you to revive in England as it would be for you to resuscitate an Egyptian mummy and set it upon the throne of the pharaohs." The bishop added: "I believe that colleges of clergymen, living together and acting under the parochial clergy, might meet many of our great spiritual wants; further, I believe that brotherhoods of unordained men not in Holy Orders might be of most excellent use; but if you persist in your present line you will indeed make it practically impossible that for another generation such efforts should succeed."[1]

This letter, brutal as it may seem at first sight, shows that Bishop Wilberforce knew more about the fundamentals of Benedictine monasticism than did Fr Ignatius. It reveals that he must have been acquainted with the Rule of St Benedict, and had grasped the fact that there is little in it which could not be fitted into the traditions of post-Reformation Anglicanism. He hit the nail on the head when he remarked—with truth—that Ignatius was "sacrificing the kernel to the shell".[2]

In 1865 Ignatius tried hard to induce Dr Longley, the Archbishop of Canterbury, to ordain him priest. But the conditions laid down were the abandonment of the monastic habit and the name of Benedictine, so

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[1] Robert Bridges in *Three Friends* (Oxford, 1932) quotes several letters by Digby Mackworth Dolben, mentioning Fr Ignatius. In 1864 Dolben, who was still at Eton, joined the Third Order of St Benedict, taking the name of "Br Dominic". This precocious boy poet was fascinated by the romantic aspects of the Norwich monastery.

[2] See note (1), p. 115.

[3] Dr Pusey was also interesting himself at this time in steps being taken to establish a missionary Brotherhood. Two of its would-be members—the Reverend C. C. Grafton and the Hon. Charles Wood (afterwards Lord Halifax)—had visited Fr Ignatius's monastery at Norwich. They do not seem to have been impressed.

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[1] A. R. Ashwell and R. G. Wilberforce, *Life of Samuel Wilberforce* (1880–88), vol. III, p. 166. This letter was written only a few weeks before the bishop received Fr Benson's request for the approval of the foundation of the Society of St John the Evangelist (see p. 77). It is interesting to note the reference to "colleges of clergymen", for in the bishop's reply to Benson he says: "I like the idea of your *College* very much indeed." His attitude towards this missionary Brotherhood was very different from the one he adopted towards Ignatius's revival of Benedictine monasticism.

[2] On 15 July 1865 a paragraph in *Punch*, entitled "Ignatius and his monkeys", expressed briefly and even more brutally what Bishop Wilberforce had hinted in his letter. "In aping an abbot and friars, Ignatius and his companions make themselves so ridiculous that it is, perhaps, fortunate that there is no authority that can put an end to their diversion. . . . Their extravagances are calculated to disgust all beholders. If nobody would take any notice of Ignatius he would most likely discontinue his public performances. It is not true that Br Ignatius and the monks his associates have removed from their monastery at Norwich to the Zoological Gardens, Regent's Park, and there taken up their abode in the Monkey House."

nothing came of these negotiations. Meanwhile there had been startling rumours of scandals in the Norwich monastery, which, on examination, were not found to be very serious. Ignatius broke down under the strain, and the doctors advised a rest and a foreign holiday. Accompanied by Br Philip of Norwich, Sister Ambrosia (an elderly widow), and by a four-year old boy ("the baby Ignatius") who had been adopted as an infant-oblate, Fr Ignatius (wearing his conspicuous and bizarre habit) went off to Rome. The sight of this strange party seems to have caused no small stir in Vatican circles.[1] Pius IX granted a private audience to the Anglican monk, and gave him a medal of the Immaculate Conception. Apparently Pio Nono also reminded Fr Ignatius that it is not a habit that makes a monk. On his return to England, Ignatius learnt that his community had been dispersed, and that the Norwich priory was up for sale. Then began a long drawn-out lawsuit which continued for twelve years. Ignatius stated that it cost him £10,000 and that he got no compensation, but this story sounds exaggerated.

In August 1866 occurred what proved to be the turning point of his life. Dr Pusey, who continued to be a loyal friend, invited Ignatius to stay with him at Southlands, Chale, in the Isle of Wight, where he was mourning the death of John Keble and working on his *Eirenicon*. What happened is best told in Ignatius's own words: "There, broken down entirely, and in shattered health—from a worldly point of view a ruined young man—God's great mercy was manifested to me. One Sunday evening on the seashore, . . . as the sun went down over the Needles . . . God showed me, by the Holy Spirit's power, that what I had been trying all my life to do, and in vain, viz., to save my soul, *Jesus had done 1,800 years ago for me on the Cross*, and that if I would, with a simple faith, accept Jesus in His fullness as God's free gift to me, I should receive in Him wisdom and righteousness, sanctification and redemption. I cannot tell the joy, the new life, the strength that came to me. 'My beloved is mine and I am His,' I could say with all my heart . . . all His precious promises I now believed as well as Himself."

This quotation should be borne in mind when reflecting on the subsequent career of Fr Ignatius: it supplies the key to his life as a monk and a mission preacher. His religion became very simple—based on the fact that he had "found salvation". He had no further fear of eternal damnation and of hell fire—Salvation is God's free gift to all men—this was the truth he went on his way proclaiming in the manner of the evangelical mission preacher.

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[1] Cf. Augustus Hare, *The Years with Mother* (London, edn., 1952), pp. 237–8. "The Infant . . . is dressed in a white frock and cowl like a little Carthusian."

Early in 1867 Ignatius managed to reassemble his dispersed community at Laleham-on-Thames, but he himself was not at home very often; in fact he was always on the move. Immense congregations packed St Edmund's, Lombard Street; St Bartholomew's, Moor Lane, and other London churches to hear his sermons and addresses. A "Metropolitan Mission House" was opened at 51 Hunter Street, Bloomsbury, where Fr Ignatius spent much of his time, and was looked after by his Third Order Sisters. He hoped that the Bishop of London might consent to admit him to priest's orders, but Dr Tait took much the same line as Archbishop Longley and Bishop Wilberforce. He replied to Ignatius's letter as follows: "Let me earnestly beg you to be contented that God has given you powers whereby you are able greatly to influence those whom you address in your pastoral character I am assured by many. Let me earnestly beg you to be contented with such means of influence, and to give up the attempt to engraft on the Church of England parts of the Roman system which are disapproved of by the whole body of our Church governors. I am greatly interested in what I hear of your zeal and of the earnestness of your preaching, but you must suffer me to remind you, as set over you in the Lord, that the course which you pursued in Norwich and which I fear you are anxious to pursue again, seems to have so much self-will in it that it cannot be expected to be followed by God's blessing."[1]

It was in April 1868 that further "Startling Disclosures" about Fr Ignatius appeared in the newspapers. Not long after, with the help and encouragement of Mother Lydia Sellon, he established a convent of Benedictine nuns at Feltham. His assumption of authority in solemnly excommunicating a Third Order Sister who refused to obey him, reached the ears of Bishop Tait, who felt it necessary to issue the inhibition which had long been asked for by both High and Low Church clergymen. About the same time a generous benefactress—another Third Order Sister—had enabled Ignatius to take steps to realize what had been his ambition for some years—to restore the ruins of the pre-Reformation Priory of Austin Canons at Llanthony in the Black Mountains of South Wales. But the owner—the son of Walter Savage Landor, who seems to have inherited his father's intractable temper—refused to consider selling the property. Ignatius had to be content with buying thirty-four acres of land five miles farther up the Vale of Ewyas at Capel-y-Ffin. He could not have chosen a more remote and secluded spot. It was in November 1869 that Fr Ignatius and a postulant retired here "to serve the Lord God apart from this most wicked age, in solitude, self-denial, labour and prayer", as he expressed it in the Chronicle he kept from time to time. The two men lived in a hut, and it is almost a miracle that they survived the rigours of that winter. On St Patrick's day 1870 the foundation stone of the new monastery was laid.[1] Five months later, a temporary chapel had been furnished with its altar "decently vested in blue velvet and silver".[2] A visiting priest sang High Mass on the feast of the Assumption. On 22 August 1872 Fr Ignatius laid the foundation stone of the great church. Ten years elapsed before the choir was completed. The nave was never started. The total cost of the buildings is not known. Practically all the money was raised by Fr Ignatius himself by the appeals made on his preaching tours.

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[1] R. T. Davidson and W. Benham, *Life of Archbishop Tait* (2nd ed., 1891), vol. I, ch. xviii. pp. 503–4.

Fr Ignatius was utterly convinced that it was his vocation to restore the

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[1] The architect was Charles Buckeridge, who had designed the convent at Oxford for the Sisters of the Holy and Undivided Trinity, begun in 1866.

[2] Vivid descriptions of the building of the new monastery at Llanthony are given in *Kilvert's Diary* (1870–1, edited by William Plomer (London, 1938)). The Rev. Francis Kilvert paid his first visit on 5 April 1870, but he did not speak to the two monks he found working in the garden. They "both seemed studiously unconscious" of the presence of sightseers (pp. 77–8). There is a much more detailed account of the second visit on 2 September (pp. 219–25). Kilvert's impression of Fr Ignatius was of a "man of gentle simple kind manners, excitable, and entirely possessed by the one idea. His head and brow are very fine, the forehead beautifully rounded and highly imaginative. The face is a very saintly one and the eyes extremely beautiful, earnest and expressive, a dark soft brown. When excited they seem absolutely to flame. He wears the Greek or early British tonsure all round the temples, leaving the hair of the crown untouched. . . . [He] wore the black Benedictine habit with the two loose wings or pieces falling in front and behind, two violet tassels behind, the knotted scourge girdle, a silver cross on the breast, and a brazen or golden cross hanging from the rosary of black beads under the left arm."

Not much progress had been made on the building, for there was no one to look after the workmen. When completed, the west cloister was to provide temporary accommodation for the monks. But a tiny room had been fitted up as an oratory with a lace and silk-covered altar upon which stands a super altar or Tabernacle in 'which [Fr Ignatius] informed us in a low awestruck voice was 'the Blessed Sacrament'. . . . There was a crucifix above the altar. . . . He said that once when he was praying Gerard Moultrie who was present saw the crucifix roll its eyes, then turn its head and look at Fr. Ignatius. He confessed that neither he nor any of his monks had ever seen the crucifix move. He did not know what to make about it, but he could not help believing that Moultrie saw what he declared he saw. He says that Moultrie is not at all an excitable, imaginative man. As he was talking about this in a low eager whisper, he looked strange and wild and his eyes were starting and blazing."

Kilvert writes that Fr. Ignatius was hoping that Lord Bute would contribute to the building. He describes the two or three novices—one was "a fine noble looking boy, a gentleman's son, with a sweet open face and fair clustering hair". Another was "of a lower rank in life", but he too "had a peculiarly sweet and beautiful face". Fr. Ignatius admitted to Kilvert that "monkery has a strong tendency to drive people mad", and that "out of fifty novices he could only reckon on making three monks". The remarkable thing is that an old-fashioned country parson like Kilvert, who was not even a High Churchman, could have recorded those visits to the monastery so sympathetically.

cloistered Benedictine life in the Church of England. Llanthony to him was the spot chosen by God, and he was God's chosen instrument. From the human point of view he was the worst possible man for this difficult task. He was extraordinarily simple, with no sense of discretion, no judge of character, gullible and easily deceived, loving and lovable. His conception of the monastic vocation is thus summed up by one of his community who eventually joined the Benedictines of Downside. The late Dom Cyprian Alston wrote: "as in matters of doctrine, so also in management of his monastery, he acknowledged no Superior or higher authority over himself. Though professing to follow the Rule of St Benedict, it was his own interpretation of it, coloured by his own whims and fancies, and a somewhat variable will, that became the standard of life at Llanthony. This vacillation has been, I think, one of the causes of its failure. Men with real vocations and true ideals felt that the real monastic life needed some firmer basis than the changing will of one man and so left Llanthony to seek it elsewhere. In spite of his claims to be a Benedictine, the rule at Llanthony was in fact an eclectic one devised by the Superior himself. Parts of the Holy Rule that did not appeal to him were unhesitatingly set aside and ignored, whilst, on the other hand, customs and traditions from elsewhere, however un-Benedictine, that he had read of or heard of, but which took his fancy, he incorporated without scruple."[1]

Fantastic penances were imposed for breaches of the rule.[2] There were quite untraditional rites for the clothing and profession of monks and nuns; always those curious polygot choir offices—Welsh being added to English and Latin in later years. The time-table remained much the same as it was at Claydon. Matins and Lauds were recited at 2 a.m. Manual work in the house and gardens and on the small farm took up the greater part of the day. There were seldom enough monks to keep the life going properly. The diet was meagre, with almost perpetual abstinence from flesh meat, and much fasting. In Lent the only meal was postponed till 5 p.m. On Ash Wednesday the choir floor was covered with cinders and ashes from the stove. The monks lay prostrate on the ashes and recited the whole psalter at intervals. On Good Friday they lay flat on the hard pavement of the choir for the three hours of our Lord's crucifixion. Strict silence was kept, not only in Lent, but at other times of the year, apart from a brief daily recreation. All forms of study —except the Bible—were frowned upon by Fr Ignatius. He regarded it as worldly and very few books other than religious ones approved by himself were permitted to the monks. "We never allow ourselves to think," wrote Ignatius, "it is all decided for us."

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[1] *Pax*, No. 38, 1913, p. 241.

[2] We are told in *Leonard Morris, or The Benedictine Novice* (London, 1871, p. 158) that every day, during the adoration before the tabernacle, a brother, each in his turn, stripped himself of scapular, girdle, and sandals, and before Prime, "spread them before the Blessed Sacrament on the altar steps". He also wore a rope round his neck and was led into choir at each service by a rope, as if he were a criminal going to execution. For that day he was given no food, but he was allowed to beg from each brother a portion from his plate. It was also the custom for the community to spit on the victim and to walk over him as he lay on the floor of the sanctuary (p. 159). Fr Ignatius regarded "the Perpetual Adoration as the great, the grand work of the religious . . . "(p. 288). "The monks 'relieving guard' before the Glorious Sacrament . . . carrying on the *one work* to which they have dedicated their lives" (p. 107). In 1870 there were not many Anglican churches of which it could have been written that "the Most Holy Sacrament was exposed in a magnificent ostensorium, which stood in a throne over the tabernacle; a rich canopy of velvet and lace hung over it". One can quite understand that "unmistakably awful was the sacred mountain shrine. The deep silence, the mystic light, the gorgeous altar, glittering among the shadows, which thirty or forty crimson lamps flung over it; a soft glow of holy fire seemed to wrap the choir, falling from the ruby glasses of the lamps, swinging in the air, high up before the Exalted Presence." (p. 276).

It is difficult to understand how such a life could have been maintained for as long as thirty-eight years. No complete record of the men who passed through Llanthony has been preserved. There was a continual procession of novices, coming and going, some remaining to stay for years, others for only a few weeks. Many would never have been admitted by a more experienced judge of character. Others might have made good monks given proper training and direction. It has been stated by some of those who knew Llanthony that the real cause of its failure was the lack of a monk of the right type to act as novice master.

When one recalls that the abbot was often away from his monastery for about half the year, it is a marvel that any of his monks persevered. At all times they were dependent on the visits of sympathetic priests for Mass, and in winter such visits were infrequent. So a large number of hosts would be consecrated, which enabled Fr Ignatius to give Communion from the tabernacle. On the greater festivals when no priest was there, he celebrated a sort of "Dry Mass", vested in alb, deacon's stole, and cope. The ciborium was taken out of the tabernacle, elevated for veneration while the Agnus Dei was sung, after which the monks, nuns, and any layfolk present were communicated. This rite was known as the "Offering of the Blessed Sacrament".

Many people who stayed at Llanthony have maintained that the place seemed to be a battleground between the powers of evil and holiness. What could only be regarded as supernatural events were quite natural and commonplace. There were strange apparitions of our Lady on the mountainside in 1880 and even more numerous manifestations of evil spirits, sometimes very evil and noisy, or else just silly and mischievous. These possess much the same character as those recorded in the Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research. There is something eerie and sinister about the Black Mountains themselves, and the setting of that lonely monastery is, in itself, almost enough to foster a readiness to expect supernatural manifestations.[1]

The commemoration of the supposed Apparition of our Lady (30 August 1880) and Ascension Day were the two great festivals observed at Llanthony. Throughout the 'eighties and 'nineties crowds of pilgrims and sightseers used to make their way up the valley on these two days. If one may believe the reports printed in newspapers, the Ascension Day celebration of "the ancient Latin Benedictine service" must have been amazing; it certainly reflected Ignatius's eclectic tendencies. We read that "stout curtains drawn over the windows completely kept out the daylight, to give effect to the hundreds of tall and short wax tapers lighting up the shrine, and the enthroned statues and images presented a most fairy-like appearance through the thick films of incense which filled the lofty edifice". The reporter goes on to describe how the procession entered "with a tremendous clash of cymbals".[2] Even more sensational is the report published in the Cardiff *Western Mail* of the celebrations on the Feast of the Apparition of our Lady one year, with references to "the voluptuous swell of music sweeping through the building, the solemn voices of the chanters, and the display of gorgeous vestments". The writer admitted that the clergy and acolytes "would have been the better for a rehearsal or two", for nobody seemed to know what to do next, which is hardly surprising. He explained that except for the service being both in English and Welsh there was "everything one sees in a Romish conventicle". Fr Ignatius's sermon is described as "fervid and eloquent"—the reporter confesses that he had never "marked more evidence of sincerity and earnestness in his life".[1]

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[1] Similar manifestations took place at Llanthony at a later date. Less than fifty years ago two visitors, occupying adjacent cells in the dormitory, were awakened in the middle of the night by what sounded like a shower of shrapnel, and simultaneously all their bed clothes were dragged off them by invisible hands.

[2] Fr Ignatius has left us a vivid picture of what he fully believed monastic life at Llanthony would resemble—given time—in the 332 pages of that inimitable example of pious novel, entitled *Leonard Morris, or The Benedictine Novice* (London, 1871). The descriptions of the observances of this double-community of monks and nuns ("where the 'Perpetual Adoration' makes the absolute and entire communion with Heaven, the great, the grand work of the religious") are so fantastic, that it is easy to understand why the whole thing remained, to all intents and purposes, an unrealized dream of the founder.

We read of the "white cloud [of incense] slowly rising before the altar, on and around which glittered a hundred wax-tapers, shining star-like, in the dimness of the sanctuary", and how "the music well-nigh brought tears to the worshippers, especially when Sister Mary Lydia sang alone, in a soft clear voice", varied by "the sweet-wailed harmonies of the nuns; three of them singing a plaintive trio . . . answered in a soft duet by two of the novice boys in the monks' choir". Towards the end of this highly emotional story, the hero has a vision of a certain dead monk "St Placidus of Llanthony", who appears in the night and recalls him to the cloister. He returns to the monastery, and so all ends happily, with Leonard "vested in an alb and amice, and on his now-tonsured head, a wreath of white flowers. His piercing black eyes showed their fire no more—they were, in monkish fashion, meekly fixed on the ground; and the long black lashes seemed to rest like veils, over their long-known, flashing orbs." Finally, Leonard Morris (now Father Bernard), after having been "laid upon the bier and slowly borne into the choir", and the gates reopened after a brief interlude, appears "in the full habit of a Benedictine monk, the novices sighing rather than singing the 'Monk's Hymn' to the softest modulations of the dulciana in the organ swell. Thus our hero enters into his 'rest in the Lord'."

The Llanthony albums of now-faded press cuttings are full of descriptions of similar services. The music must have been as florid and emotional as the ceremonial, for Ignatius had no knowledge of plainchant, his ideal being rather that of the sentimental *Crown of Jesus* hymnal or Mendelssohn's "Songs without Words". But he was a born musician and excelled as an organ player. At his Mission Services he could perform miracles on a portable harmonium. What haunting melodies he composed for the words of his Llanthony Hymns!

During the twelve months of 1890–1 when he was wandering over North America, preaching and giving missions to raise money, his monks and nuns were left without any spiritual ministrations. There was nobody to conserve zeal or inspire devotion. When Ignatius returned only two monks were left; the rest had taken their departure for fear of the uncertain future or for utter weariness with the monotony of the life. All the nuns had left from sheer spiritual starvation.

Again and again Ignatius had tried to get an Anglican bishop to give him priest's orders, if only to minister to his own community. But the authorities of the Church of England had long since decided that they could give no encouragement to this erratic, roving recluse, no matter how great his zeal in saving souls. He had become an enthusiastic "Welsh Nationalist", after being initiated into the Gorsedd of the bards of Wales by the Archdruid Clwydfordd in 1889. He was given the title of "Dewi-Honddu"—David of the Honddhu. From that

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[1] Fr Ignatius used to claim that Llanthony was the one solitary religious house in the Church of England and maintained that he had "the sanction of the *whole* Church for monasticism, and also for the Benedictine rule, upon which the community was formed". He strongly disapproved of Sisterhoods, and did not recognize any community of women which was under the direction of a secular clergyman, especially if he were married. He took the line that all such bodies merely "pretend to be conventual, when they are not" (*Leonard Morris*, pp. 88, 91). The only Anglican community which he recognized apart from his own was that of "the saintly Abbess of Devonport" (The Society of the Most Holy Trinity).

moment he began to regard himself as a member of an elusive Welsh Church—"the oldest in the world after Antioch and Jerusalem". During his mission tour of the United States Ignatius advertised himself as "The Evangelist Monk of the British Church", or "The Druid of the Welsh Church". He went so far as to make out that St David, St Illtyd, and St Cadoc had been Benedictines!

Many things happened to make Ignatius doubt if he could remain in communion with the Church of England. In his opinion the bishops had been encouraging heresy for more than ten years. On the appointment of the "arch-heretic", Dr Fremantle, as Dean of Ripon, in 1896, Ignatius threw himself into the fray with renewed vigour. He went so far as to write: "I should be so glad if all the Apostate Bishops would inhibit me. Their teachings against our Lord and His Church, their worldliness in their palaces, the ruin they are bringing on our dear old Church, make me regard them with loathing and contempt. They are doing the work of Satan, and Fremantle himself admits that 'their tolerance smoothes his way'. We cannot accept the Papal position, or that of the Protestant sects. The Bishops themselves have recommended the Old Catholic position in other lands, where it is *not* needed so badly as in this. If Fremantle does not go, Christians *must* before long."

Such was the attitude of Ignatius and his monks towards the Church of England. It is not really surprising that after Leo XIII had condemned Anglican orders in 1896, he should have felt that the sudden and unexpected visit of a roving prelate (recommended by his old friend, Dr F. G. Lee, of All Saints', Lambeth) was a clear call from God to accept the offer of the priesthood. So on 27 July 1898 Joseph René Vilatte, otherwise known as "Mar Timotheos", performed the ordination, using the *Pontificale Romanum* for the ceremony. He also gave the priesthood to another monk and carried out the blessing of Ignatius as "Mitred Abbot".[1]

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[1] Vilatte was a Frenchman who migrated to Canada as a young man. Before his death in 1929 "he four times returned to the Roman Catholic Church, once to the Methodists, became a Congregational minister and twice a Presbyterian" (Brandreth, *Episcopi Vagantes and the Anglican Church*, 1961, p. 47). In 1885 Dr Hobart Brown, who was then Bishop of Fond du Lac, sent him to Switzerland where he was ordained priest by the Old Catholic Bishop Herzog, to enable him to minister to French-speaking emigrants in Wisconsin. In 1892 Vilatte went to Ceylon, where he persuaded Julius Alvares, who styled himself "Archbishop of the Independent Catholic Church of Goa and Ceylon", to consecrate him as "Archbishop of North America". Alvares had received episcopal consecration from Mar Paul Athanasius, Syrian Antiochene Bishop of Kotayam, in 1889. Shortly after his visit to Llanthony, Vilatte consecrated a bishop at Milan for what was to be known as an "Italian National Episcopal Church". Before his final reconciliation with the Holy See in 1925 he had consecrated many free-lance bishops and ordained many more

It was this step, taken in a hurry without advice, that finally severed Llanthony from all further association with the Church of England. At first Ignatius defended his action on the plea that "the Church has permitted monasteries to call in any Bishop the Superior chose, quite independently of the Diocesan, to ordain within the monastic enclosure, as monasteries were reckoned, by Church authority, extra-diocesan".

He seems to have dreamed of becoming a monastic bishop on Celtic lines. In 1899 there was talk of setting up a "British Old Catholic Church", of which he would be the first archbishop and metropolitan. But as time went on he confessed to more than one friend that he regretted having taken this step, and he even shrank from saying Mass. He was growing old, but with the dawn of the new century he was still rushing round the country denouncing rationalism, infidelity, worldliness, and immorality with unabated vigour. Then he would return to Llanthony and console himself with the half a dozen monks—seldom more, and sometimes less—who formed the tiny community. By this time he had found new outlets for his enthusiasm in the Welsh Revival Campaign, conducted by Evan Roberts, and Zionism. He also became a convinced "British Israelite" and a disciple of the "Flat Earth" theory. Worn out by his labours he died in his sister's house at Camberley on 16 October 1908. His body was brought back to Llanthony and laid to rest in a vault beneath the choir, after one of his few remaining Anglican priest friends had celebrated a solemn Requiem in English according to the use of Sarum.

Five monks and two nuns were left to carry on the life at Llanthony. In his will, Fr Ignatius left the monastery, lands, etc., to Fr Asaph and Mother Tudvil, but with the proviso, in a separate document, that, in the event of their not being able to continue the life, they were to "convey the devised premises to the Abbot for the time being of the monastery of Buckfastleigh, Devon, for his absolute personal use and benefit". This paper ended with the words: "This wish is expressed simply to guard our beloved monastery from the Higher Criticism supported as it is by the traitorous bishops of our beloved and cruelly wronged Church of England." The Baroness de Bertouch, the authoress of the *Life of Father Ignatius*, records his "special affection for the monks at Buckfast. 'They keep the old original rule there', he would often tell me, 'and that is why I would love them to be here.'"

After the death of Ignatius a Novena of prayer was made to God by the monks and nuns at Llanthony for the guidance of the Holy Ghost in choosing another Abbot. It was expected by many that Abbot Carlyle of Caldey (see pp. 164–181) would be selected for the office but the unanimous vote of the Brothers and Sisters in Chapter fell on the Reverend Richard Courtier-Forster, who was Curate of St Giles', Cambridge, but had been a friend of the Community for many years. He was prepared to be professed as a monk and to accept the abbacy. He had a meeting with the Abbot of Caldey to discuss the future of the two Communities and entered into negotiations with Dr John Owen, the Bishop of St David's, in order to obtain episcopal recognition on which he was insistent. All went well until it was discovered that two of the monks of Llanthony had procured ordination irregularly in the U.S.A. The Bishop refused to accept them as priests but they declined to submit. As a result the Abbot-Elect withdrew and he had no successor.

After struggling along for about eighteen months, Fr Asaph and two other monks decided that they would join the Caldey Community. Mother Tudvil relinquished her share of the estate. When the news reached Abbot Anscar Vonier of Buckfast that the monastery and lands of Llanthony had passed into the hands of the Caldey Benedictines he went to law, maintaining that the conditions in the Will had not been performed. The case was heard in the Chancery Division in June 1911 and judgement given against the Abbot of Buckfast, since a "wish" expressed by Fr Ignatius was of no legal obligation upon the defendants. It is possible that if the Benedictines of Buckfast had secured possession of Llanthony, the monastic life would still be carried on there, but it was not to be.

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Between 1911 and 1913 a few monks from Caldey would be sent from time to time to the Black Mountains for rest or change. The buildings, surrounded by dense groves of trees and shrubs, still remained as they were in the latter years of Fr Ignatius's life. The tall crucifix and the white marble statue of our Lady, commemorating her apparition thirty years before, still greeted visitors after that long drive up the Vale of Ewyas, with the mountains towering up on either side. On entering the choir of the never-completed church one was struck by its loftiness. The small narthex was crowded with chairs. On the left was a side altar, to the right a shrine of our Lady. Before it were many brass vases filled with flowers. Votive candles and lamps flickered in the gloom. A massive wooden door in the midst of the screen revealed the interior of the choir —dim, shadowy, and mysterious. A stone reredos of ornate Gothic architecture (imported from Munich), broken up with crockets, pinnacles,

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priests both in England and North America. (Cf. C. B. Moss, *The Old Catholic Movement* (1948), pp. 291–2, and Peter F. Anson, *Bishops at Large* (1963).)

and much carving, filled up the greater part of the wall above the high altar, raised on seven steps. Its central spire, covering the exposition throne, faded into the vaulting. Above the brass and jewel-encrusted tabernacle was fixed a board covered with ruby plush, bearing the word JESUS in gold letters. Six tall brass candlesticks, many other smaller tapers, and countless flower vases stood on the gardines. There were statues of St David and St Dunstan on either side of the altar. Before and around these shrines were more candlesticks and flower vases. The dark stained wooden stalls supported heavy canopies. A great organ occupied the centre of the screen between the stalls. The dim light was increased by the dark stained glass in the narrow lancet windows high up.

Both the church and the domestic buildings formed a perfect period piece of the Gothic Revival in its most medieval and Puginesque phase. The latter were ranged round an overgrown garth. Narrow lancet windows, all of which looked into the garth, away from the sun, admitted a bare minimum of light through their small leaded panes of glass. The monastery was overshadowed by closely planted trees and shrubs, which badly needed felling or pruning. For domestic purposes the planning could not have been more inconvenient; it almost looked as if the architect had tried to ensure the maximum of awkwardness in his layout. Even in midsummer, when low clouds hung over the mountains, shrouding them in mist, or when the wind moaned and sighed through the trees, it was easy to realize how desolate, cold, and dreary this back-of-beyond monastery would be in winter. It was very much at the world's end. One was always conscious of the presence of the founder brooding over the place, of the ghosts of monks and nuns who had lived here for awhile and then departed. On almost every door were painted the inscriptions, *Pax*, *Jesus Only* or *Jesu yn Unig*.

Cells, cloisters (so-called), and living-rooms were still filled with bits and pieces of rather shabby furniture most of which dated from the 'seventies and 'eighties. The staircase wall had a large reminder of "Solemn Silence". Each narrow bed in the dark varnished pitch-pine cubicles of the dormitories was draped with a scarlet coverlet with a large white cross in the centre. The few bookshelves contained a collection of extremely miscellaneous literature, ranging from sermons by famous Nonconformist divines and Biblical commentaries of the most "fundamentalist" character, to sentimental Roman Catholic devotional manuals and a few novels by Marie Corelli. In several cupboards were piled up dusty unsold copies of Fr Ignatius's sermons, stories, tracts, and hymns.

Two aged Sisters were still living in the adjoining convent and looked after the church, filling the flower vases and tending the lamps. Otherwise the whole place was deserted, except when groups of monks from Caldey took possession of it for a few weeks at a time. They kept the same horarium as in their own monastery, and rose for Matins shortly before 2 a.m. A Brother, whose duty it was to ring the bell, recalls how he used to grope his way along the dormitory corridor, down a narrow winding stair, and through a tunnel-like passage, smelling of damp and rotting woodwork. He admits that he was often quite prepared to hear the unseen troops of demons, or the stamping of horses, the crashing of axes and crowbars, or even the howls of the damned and the sound of bodies being dragged along the floor—for according to the legends which had been handed down such were the diabolical visitations to be expected. As he listened to the creaking and groaning of the wooden frame of the belfry, while he hauled on the rope and the wind blew on to his hooded head, he wondered if the noise could come from those unseen angels of darkness, which were vouched for by past generations of monks. As these visitors recited their Latin Benedictine Office, below them, under the pavement of the choir, lay the body of the man to whose tireless efforts and passionate enthusiasm were due the erection of this mountain-girt monastery. If they looked closer they could read the words, "*Here lies Ignatius of Jesus O.S.B. Founder and first Abbot of this House. R.I.P. He died on October* 16, 1908."

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In March 1913 the Benedictines of Caldey made their corporate submission to the Holy See of Rome. Straitened finances and a reduced personnel made it impossible for them to keep the buildings at Llanthony in proper repair or to maintain there a permanent community. Three years later the farm and most of the lands were sold. The furniture and fittings of the church and monastery were disposed of or taken to Caldey. In 1924 the property was rented to Eric Gill, the famous sculptor and writer.[1] His own and two other Roman Catholic families lived in the monastery and in the adjacent villa, known as "Plas Genevieve", originally built for Fr Ignatius's mother. Later on Fr Ignatius's "beloved monastery", which he had tried to save from the "traitorous bishops of the Church of England", was sold by the Roman Catholic monks of

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[1] H. J. Massingham points out that the Vale of Ewyas "has harboured more eccentrics in the world's estimation and devotees who have withdrawn from it into prayer, contemplation and apostolic zeal than any other place of so small a compass in the British Isles. . . . The Vale of Ewyas is entirely unique in the sense that those who have sought refuge in its depths of primitive nature have been passionate individualists rather than orthodox missionaries of an established Church. Landor, Eric Gill, Fr Ignatius, a motley trio, even though Gill compelled his burningly solitary spirit into Romanist conformity" (*The Curious Traveller* (1950), p. 112).

Caldey and passed into secular ownership. The church fell into disrepair, and for reasons of safety the stone vaulting was taken down. Today it is a grim, desolate, roofless ruin. The domestic quarters of the monastery, much altered and modernized, are now used as a guest house. The reredos has been re-erected in St Julian's Church, Newport. The marble statue of our Lady has found a home at All Saints', Hereford. The organ was sold, but the choir stalls were removed to Caldey and are now at Prinknash Abbey.

Such was the end of one of the most curious manifestations of the Catholic and Gothic Revivals in the Church of England. The ruined church is symbolic of the failure from the human point of view of Fr Ignatius, ending as it did with the handing over of his beloved monastery to secular owners. There is something inexpressibly tragic about Llanthony.[1]

4. SOCIETY OF ST JOHN THE EVANGELIST[2]

The Mission House, Marston Street, Oxford (1865)

Standing back a few yards from the Iffley Road, Oxford, along which in these times there is a ceaseless stream of traffic by day and by night, is a simple but dignified church, built of bathstone ashlar now weathered to cream colour; its long unbroken roof line ending with a low square tower. To those who are familiar with the work of George Frederick Bodley (1827–1907) it is quite obvious who was the architect of this church: it is typical of his later manner, full of that quiet, restrained beauty and subtle refinement of which he was a master. As in most of Bodley's churches, the style used is transitional between English Decorated and Perpendicular Gothic. The interior reveals the same preference for elegance, purity, and gracefulness. The nave of four bays is separated from the choir by a striking wooden rood-screen. Through its arches is a glimpse of the distant high altar, backed by a lofty dossal, beneath a

five-light east window, which, like many other windows in the church, is filled with characteristic Kempe stained glass—almost an integral part of a Bodley church. To transpose this church into terms of music, it is evocative of plain-chant—sung very quietly and with perfect rhythm; to be more exact, of plain-chant sung to English words, for the atmosphere of the building is so definitely English; of the England of the last decade of the nineteenth century. There is nothing to distract the eye; there is nothing but what was regarded as the best of taste seventy years ago: few churches in Britain are so utterly restful. Opening out of the north aisle is a chapel, containing an altar with a cloth-of-gold veiled tabernacle on it, surmounted by a simple ciborium. Here again it is quite obvious that the fittings are of later date than the church although they were designed by an architect in the Bodley tradition (Mr H. S. Rogers, sometime Mayor of Oxford). In both aisles there are unobtrusive confessionals. The same refinement is seen in the rest of the furniture and decorations of the church, for instance in the statue of our Lady and the Holy Child. Two rows of oak stalls fill up each side of the long choir, which is paved with black and white marble.

Beyond the east end of the church will be found a rather confused group of buildings, solid and simple, but with nothing particularly striking about their architecture. A queer-looking lofty red-brick house with a chapel at the top adjoins them and is obviously of earlier date. It is said that Father Benson regarded aesthetic taste as something not far removed from the lust of the eye and that he once described the Mission House, with sardonic humour, as the ugliest building in Oxford. Behind all these buildings is a garden, into which protrudes a Gothic Revival chapel—the Lady Chapel or House Chapel. This chapel, designed originally by Bodley, was extended and altered in 1938 by [Sir] Ninian Comper, who also designed a new high altar and ciborium. Here is the spiritual heart of the Society of St John the Evangelist. It is used for the recitation of their choir offices with the exception of Evensong, which is sung daily in the conventual church. By tradition the cells of the Community are their usual places for meditation and private prayer.

Thus in a rather drab and uninteresting suburb of Oxford, beyond Magdalen Bridge, has been located for nearly a century the Mother House of the second religious community of men to be founded in the Church of England. It can claim to be the first to survive and prosper.

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Since Joseph Leycester Lyne had established his Benedictine Brotherhood at Claydon Rectory, Suffolk, in the spring of 1863, other people had been considering the foundation of a less bizarre sort of community for men. That same year, on July 22, the feast of St Mary Magdalene, Mr Keble preached a sermon at Wantage in which he pleaded for the formation of Christian Brotherhoods as well as Sisterhoods. In the autumn of 1864 two articles, written by the Reverend Simeon Wilberforce O'Neill, a curate at Wantage, were published in *The Ecclesiastic*.[1] They advocated the establishment of missionary brotherhoods. A third article appeared early in 1865. Mr O'Neill informed his readers that, "seeing, therefore, that the need of religious houses for men is so great for the perfection of our Church and her success in propagating the Gospel, it has been resolved to form a monastic body of clergy and laymen under the spiritual direction of a most able guide. The rule of life will not be too lax to be efficient, nor yet so severe as to be burdensome. Its spirit must be the same as that which of old inspired the rules of so many great Orders, but its form must be adapted to the present time. The aim and object of this Society will be mission work both at home and abroad, but it will be free to undertake any other Christian work not directly missionary which may present itself, provided that by so doing its first object be not interfered with. Any person who feels called by God to give himself to this work may have further particulars by applying to the writer of this paper."[2]

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[1] A curious instance of the attraction of this abandoned monastery to most persons who know it is the never fully authenticated tradition that in 1910 Arnold Harris Mathew consecrated Ralph Whitman as "Bishop for Llanthony Abbey". In 1940 this latter Old Catholic prelate is reputed to have consecrated Ralph Odell Cope 'for the purpose of re-establishing the monastic vocation at Llanthony (which has been in abeyance since the death of the late Father Ignatius) and providing spiritual ministrations for the Order of Llanthony Abbey". (Brandreth, *Episcopi Vagantes and the Anglican Church*, 2nd edn., 1961, pp. 38, 45, 46). See also Peter F. Anson, *Bishops at Large* (1963).

[2] A concise and vivid picture of the manifold activities of this Community will be found in the illustrated brochure entitled *S.S.J.E.*, 1961. For Scandinavian impressions of Cowley see Albert Lysander, *Kyrkliga Resebilder* (Lund, 1920), pp.76–90, and Vagn Riisager, *Paaskelilje og Praestehat* (Copenhagen, 1954), pp. 80–90.

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[1] A monthly magazine (1846 to 1868), edited mainly by the Reverend T. Chamberlain.

[2] The year after the foundation of the Society of St John the Evangelist (1865) the Rev. S. Baring-Gould drew attention to the urgent need for a "new organization" to "awaken the unconverted masses" who were almost untouched by the parochial clergy. In an essay entitled "On the Revival of Religious Confraternities" (*The Church and the World*, edited by the Reverend Orby Shipley, London, 1866, p. 93) he outlines a scheme to "fill the void in our present mechanism of Church work —an institution settled from the bustle and excitement of a town, yet within reach by rail of populous places", with "the superior and the clerical brethren conducting the training of probationers in dogmatic theology and in popular elocution; at the same time that their spiritual training in self-denial, humility, prayer, and meditation was being conducted". Mr Baring-Gould visualized that there should be the "major portion of the society dispersed over the country from Advent to Easter, conducting missions, the lay brothers working in hamlets under the parochial clergy, the clerical brothers preaching Advent and Lent courses in any parish whither they are summoned; each brother in Priest's Orders taking with him a probationer to assist, and to learn the manner of carrying on these spiritual revivals. In the summer, from Easter to Advent, the whole body would be reunited in the central college or monastery, unless some of the lay brothers were sent about the country on fixed rounds, preaching in the open air, and book-hawking, fulfilling almost the function of the primitive evangelist" (op. cit., p. 110).

An earlier plea for "Brotherhoods in the Church of England" had been made in *Church Work* (Magazine of the Guild of St Alban, 1862–3), pp. 170–3.

"Missions and Preaching Orders" is the title of one of the essays in the third volume *The Church and the World* (edited by the Reverend Orby Shipley, London, 1868,

The first to apply was a young layman, George Lane-Fox. In spite of having been Captain of the Boats at Eton and a somewhat worldly undergraduate at Christ Church, he wanted to become a lay brother in this community. One of his friends was the Hon. Charles Wood, the future Lord Halifax. He also wished to enter as a lay brother. The ever-impetuous Lane-Fox then rushed off to Monte Cassino, to study monastic life at its source. On his return from Italy he found that things were moving.

A young American Episcopalian clergyman, named Charles Grafton, had arrived in England. He and his spiritual director, the Reverend Oliver S. Prescott, had already been trying to live a quasi-monastic life.[1] Dr Pusey advised Mr Grafton to get in touch with Mr O'Neill. He also presided over a meeting held at All Saints', Margaret Street, when the proposed foundation was discussed. In February 1865 a second meeting was arranged in the clergy house of St Mary's, Crown Street, Soho. It was presided over by the Reverend R. Tuke, a curate at this church, who hoped to join the Community. Those present included Bishop Forbes of Brechin, the Reverend R. M. Benson, the Reverend C. C. Grafton, Mr Charles Wood, and Mr George Lane-Fox. In after years Lord Halifax recalled that "before the close of the meeting Mr Benson and Mr Grafton definitely expressed the desire to give themselves to such a life. The Bishop of Brechin seemed to share their wishes, but was doubtful how far his circumstances would prevent their realization."[2]

Meanwhile Dr Pusey, having been informed of the meeting, recommended action before words. He was "conscious that a Victorian bishop would generally say 'Don't', if he were asked, but might look the other way if confronted with a *fait accompli*".[3] Another meeting was held in

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p. 152), which stresses the same scheme as proposed by Mr Baring-Gould. Its author —the Reverend James Edward Vaux—refers to the "Mission Priests of St John the Evangelist at Cowley near Oxford", but remarks that "the institution is too young as yet to furnish us with any very valuable data upon the subject" (p. 183). Mr Vaux visualizes a "Society with a large central house—say in London—and as large a body of Priests suited for the work as could be brought together, who, like the East Grinstead Sisters, should live strictly under rule whilst at home, but should be free to go, two or three together, to any parish where a Mission was desired". Some years after the publication of this essay the Reverend George Nugee established a Mission College in Soho, with the approval of Dr Tait, Bishop of London; but this attempt to form a community of men to do mission work among the poor was not successful, and it was not until the foundation of the Community of the Resurrection in 1892 that another "Missions and Preaching Order" was firmly established in the Church of England, although spasmodic attempts were made from time to time.

[1] See p. 539.

[2] J. G. Lockhart, *Charles Lindley, Viscount Halifax* (London, 1936), vol. I, p. 118.

[3] Ibid.

London, this time at the House of Charity, Soho, at which Dr Pusey, the Reverend T. T. Carter, and the Reverend S. W. O'Neill were present. Bishop Forbes stated that, having taken the advice of his doctor and friends, he regretted that he could not consider being one of the founders of the proposed community. The Reverend R. M. Benson agreed to direct the new venture. Until then he had taken little or no direct part in the negotiations for establishing a brotherhood.

Richard Meux Benson was born in 1824. At Christ Church, Oxford, he graduated with Honours in 1847, and was Kennicott Hebrew Scholar. He was ordained deacon the following year and priest in 1849, and, after serving a curacy at Surbiton, was appointed in 1850 Vicar of Cowley, Oxford.[1] Ten years later he built an iron church, dedicated to St John the Evangelist, to serve the needs of the western part of the large parish.[2] To quote from the late Prebendary H. F. B. Mackay, Benson was "an embodiment of the devotion, reserve, austerity and self-effacement of the Tractarians". He lived at Cowley "unobserved, in prayer and labour among the poor. He felt a call to missionary work, and set his heart on India." He had already drawn up a scheme to found a Collegiate Society in the North-West Province, where priests and laymen would live on a common fund, some staying at home to keep up the life of prayer, while others went out two and two on evangelistic tours. All his plans were made, but Bishop Wilberforce begged him to remain among the poor in a suburb of Oxford. This—as Prebendary Mackay points out—"was the great act of renunciation of Benson's life. When he gave up India for Cowley St John, he gave to God all he was and cared for, and by so doing found a point of entrance for the Religious Life into the modern Church of England."[3]

It had been decided that the first "monastery" of the infant community

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[1] "The good rector, Mr Benson, took me to his parsonage, which is scarcely more than a labourer's cottage, standing in the village street. The interior, though very simple, contrasts strangely with the outside. It is the perfection of neatness and order; and the well-bound volumes with which the parlour is furnished, are a somewhat unexpected sight within such homely walls." (*A Glance behind the Grilles of Religious Houses in France; with an insight into the workings of the Roman Church system as compared with our Own*, London, 1855, p. 289.) This book, said to have been written by a Mrs W. Pitt Byrne, describes a visit to Cowley made on 20 September 1854. See also *Visitation Returns for the Archdeaconry of Oxford in the year* 1854 (Oxfordshire Record Society, 1954).

[2] The parish was divided in 1870 when Fr Benson became the first vicar of Cowley St John. In 1875 the foundation stone of the new Church of St Mary and St John within the parish of Cowley St John was laid. This was consecrated in 1883, a tower being added later. In 1886 Fr Benson resigned the living and a secular priest was appointed, the Society having the patronage at its disposal.

[3] *Saints and Leaders* (1928), pp. 237, 238.

should be in Mr Benson's little house in Magdalen Terrace. The time had now come to inform Dr Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford, of the foundation which was to be made in his diocese. Benson wrote to him towards the end of July 1865 describing the spirit and work of the Community. He said that they would be a "Congregation of Priests and laymen, giving up the world, living by simple rule and devoting ourselves to prayer, study and mission work". He stressed that the members would strive to be "not only loyal to the Church of England, but also careful to act in harmony with her ecclesiastical system". They would not intrude themselves into any diocese against the will of the bishop. The programme of apostolic action was clearly defined and comprehensive: "(1) Missions for a week or fortnight in any parish in London or the country where the incumbent may invite us. (2) More settled mission work in London, where we intend to have a house which will be the centre of the various agencies, educational and controversial, by which to get hold of boys and young men. (3) A house in Oxford for scholars, who wish to live by rule, while getting a University education; for students in theology; for clergy who wish to retire for a time of study. (4) A chapel in London where we may chiefly address the educated classes upon the dangers of the fashions and scepticism of the present day. (5) Foreign Missions. (6) Retreats.

"Of course we do not contemplate all this as possible, but I lay it before your Lordship as the idea which is in our minds to be carried out as God may give us the necessary funds and men with capacity for this or that kind of work." Benson also told Dr Wilberforce that the Bishop of London was favourable to the scheme.[1]

Bishop Wilberforce's reply was brief but favourable. He wrote: "I like the idea of your *College* very much indeed"; adding that he would be glad to discuss certain details with Mr Benson. Objections were raised as to a "distinctive dress or badge", the taking of vows by members, and the bishop insisted that "all questions of ritual should be decided absolutely" by himself, and that no office should be introduced without his previous sanction. After the exchange of several letters Bishop Wilberforce gave the Community his blessing, even if he might not agree absolutely with all details of its rule, etc.[2]

The Missionary Brotherhood came into being very quietly and with no publicity in August 1865, when Mr Benson and Mr Grafton began to live together under rule in that little house near the Iron Church off the Iffley Road. Soon after they were joined by Mr Prescott. Bishop Wilberforce gave these clergymen preachers' licences in the diocese of Oxford, thus showing his confidence in the experiment. Charles Wood and George Lane-Fox—both still hoping to become lay brothers—followed during the autumn. Mr Tuke intended to join the Brotherhood when he was able to give up his curacy in Soho, but he changed his mind at the last moment.[1] Lord Halifax recalled in after years Lane-Fox wearing "an Inverness cape, ringing the bell for Lauds at six o'clock in the morning of a cold winter's day, in the iron church . . . which was as cold in winter as it was hot in summer".[2] The rest of the offices were generally recited in a tiny oratory, according to *The Day Hours of the Church of England.*[3] Benson told Charles Wood that it was his duty to go back to the world; that his vocation lay elsewhere. As to the volatile and eccentric George Lane-Fox, he had begun to have grave doubts about the catholicity of the Church of England. He yearned for something more "monastic" than the austere and simple life of this little Brotherhood.[4]

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[1] Quoted by M. V. Woodgate, in *Father Benson of Cowley* (1953), pp. 64, 65. This book gives a detailed account of the foundation and subsequent history of the Society of St John the Evangelist.

[2] Ibid., pp. 66–72, where the correspondence is given *in extenso*.

During the autumn of 1865 Grafton and O'Neill went to London to give spiritual help to the victims of the cholera epidemic. Here they worked in Bethnal Green in company with Dr Pusey. Charles Wood acted as secretary of a temporary hospital. Benson could not join them because of his parochial duties.

On the feast of St John the Evangelist, 27 December 1866, Benson, Grafton, and O'Neill made their religious professions; promising to live in celibacy, poverty, and obedience as Mission Priests of St John the Evangelist until their life's end. Not long after this the Community moved to another house in Iffley Road where they remained until 1868 when the Mission House in Marston Street was ready for occupation.

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[1] He accepted the living of St John's, Hackney, and soon afterwards founded a brotherhood, known as "The Order of St Joseph" (see p. 90). The ultramontane character of this little community suggests that Mr Tuke would not have found his vocation with Benson's community. In 1868 he was received into the Roman Church (see pp. 91, 348).

[2] Lockhart, op. cit., vol. I, p. 118.

[3] Those who are familiar with the Cowley Fathers today may be interested to see just what changes in the time-table have been made since 1865. George Lane-Fox recalled that "it was something like this. Rise at 5.30; Lauds, Prime, followed by meditation 6; Mattins and Celebration in church at 7.45; Terce 9.30; schools etc.; Sext 11.45; 12–2 dinner and recreation. At 2 p.m. Nones, then visiting, work, etc.; 6 Vespers; 7.30 Evensong in church; then night schools, etc., and 10 o'clock Compline etc. and bed. Silence to be observed up to Sext and after Vespers." (Cf. Woodgate, op. cit., p. 72.)

[4] Subsequently he became a militant Roman Catholic, a rabid Tory, and an enthusiastic promoter of the Primrose League.

This enabled the Society to receive clergymen and laymen for retreats; a work which had been indicated from the first as one of its undertakings.[1]

A Rule had to be drawn up. Benson consulted Bishop Forbes, and after digesting Holstenius' *Codex Regularum Monasticarum,* the founder compiled a Rule of his own. Inspired indirectly by some of the older monastic Rules, the one evolved by Fr Benson was indeed modern a hundred years ago.[2] There is no wonder that the manner of life of this Society of Mission Priests was approved by Bishop Wilberforce, since here was the realization of the scheme he had envisaged in his letter to Fr Ignatius (see p. 59), i.e. "a college of clergymen".

The object of the Society of St John the Evangelist was, "to seek that sanctification to which God in His Mercy calls us, and in so doing to seek, as far as God may permit, to be instrumental in bringing others to be partakers of the same sanctification". Fr Benson was not interested in the romantic and picturesque externals of the Religious Life. Three years before his Society was founded, Fr Ignatius had begun his attempt to restore Benedictine monastic life in the Church of England with as much emphasis as possible on the outward symbols of an almost decadent form of Benedictinism. Whether Fr Benson deliberately avoided anything like what went on at Claydon and Norwich is uncertain, but in actual practice no two things could have been more dissimilar than were St Dunstan's Priory, Norwich, and the Mission House, Cowley—which in 1865 were the only two men's communities in the Church of England. Fr Benson felt that the vocation to the Religious Life must come *from* God; that there was a great danger lest men should be anxious to form religious communities for the sake of forming them, as a kind of phenomenon of church life. The ideal he set before his brethren was to cultivate the spark of the religious life within themselves till it became a flame. Then it would make itself felt. The Society was to be composed of priests professed under final vows, with whom the government of it should rest. There would be lay brothers included in the Society, but they would have no voice in chapter. The testing of a vocation would be thorough, with a novitiate lasting two years, following on a postulancy of three months. No one would be fully professed under the age of thirty; before that age annual vows only would be permitted. Those who came to test their vocations at the Mission House were expected to perform cheerfully whatever duties were assigned to them, to be prepared for every kind of humiliation that might break down pride and self-will, and being trained to live in poverty and simplicity with no other end in view but to promote the glory of God.[1] Neither was there much to compensate for this austerity, for there was little or no glamour about the services in that ugly iron church in which the Community assembled every morning for a simple Eucharist celebrated according to the rite of the Book of Common Prayer, without any liturgical enrichments or interpolations. As to the bare, bleak chapel perched on the roof of the Mission House, with its dull-red painted deal fittings, where the *Day Hours of the Church of England* were recited with the minimum of ceremonial, and much time spent in mental prayer, there was nothing attractive about that either.

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[1] The University authorities licensed the house as "Benson's Hall", so that undergraduates could live there and study for ordination if they could not afford the expense of an Oxford college.

[2] There would appear to be no direct evidence of Fr Benson's special dependence on any one Rule. He was an omnivorous reader, but he very seldom quotes except from Scripture. What he derived from his reading had always been digested and coloured by his own special outlook before finding expression. One of his Society writes: "I did think it was thus with his study of monastic rules. He did not give the Society its Constitution and Rule till it had been in existence for twenty-five years. And most probably his study of monastic rules was chiefly of service by helping him to clarify and give expression to ideas that had matured over a long time. The title 'Mission Priests' is probably derived from the Lazarists of St Vincent de Paul. And when Fr Puller was appointed by Fr Page, the second Superior of the Society, as Novice Master, in order to prepare himself for this office he paid a visit to the Lazarists and got some advice from them about the training of novices. There is evidence that in the early days S.S.J.E. was considered to be something like the Vincentians. In his thought and outlook however Fr Benson was more akin to de Condren and de Berulle than to St Vincent de Paul, and the emphasis on the Divine Office said in choir makes our Rule akin to more monastic rules."

The chapel has been described romantically as "an embodiment in brick and wood of poverty and detachment, like St Damiano and the Carceri, but planted in an ugly English midland suburb with none of the Italian charm".[2]

The driving force, the leader and the father of this community, was Fr Benson himself, "who had no form or comeliness apart from the tranquil shining spirit which shone through his dim short-sighted eyes, and in the strong, benevolent lines of his mouth. A little shrivelled, bent,

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[1] The life in the early days was terribly austere. The spirit of poverty almost exceeded that of the first Franciscans. The diet was meagre, the cheapest that could be bought, and often insufficient to satisfy hunger (cf. Woodgate, op. cit., p. 100). Such a life was far more difficult in the 'sixties and 'seventies for men who belonged to what were then known as the "upper classes", most of whom were already ordained clergy, than it would be today. "Gentlemen" were not then accustomed to doing such simple things as making beds, emptying slops, cleaning lamps, or sweeping floors. In their own homes there were always plenty of servants to perform menial work. Life in the novitiate at Cowley, even if there were a few lay brothers to cook, scrub, and cope with the harder manual labour of the establishment, must have been a brutal initiation into the religious state.

[2] H. F. B. Mackay, op.cit., p. 239.

thin, wiry, ascetic figure, full of energy, often looking as though he were concealing physical suffering—but at fitting times brimming over with laughter and humour, a shabby faded cassock, a neck-cloth renewed not very often, stockingless feet thrust into old shoes, the cassock girded very tightly—that is the figure people remember; a harsh, rather hesitating voice, no power of popular preaching, nothing to attract you short of the highest characteristics of all."[1]

"The task directly imposed on Richard Meux Benson was creative in the truest sense. Others, such as Dr Pusey, had preceded him in making foundations of communities; but their work had been of stimulating, guiding, and legislating for others while they themselves remained in the secular state. Father Benson was a pioneer in the sense that he in person led and inspired those whom he gathered round him, asking of them, imposing on them, nothing that did not represent the fruit of his own spiritual experience."[2]

Once the foundations of the Society had been firmly laid, the walls of the building began to rise. Novices were professed, and in 1870 Fr Benson left England for the United States, taking with him Fr O'Neill to plant the seed of what in later years would grow into an autonomous American Congregation. Four years after this he sent Fr Biscoe out to India to establish the Society in Bombay. Fr O'Neill followed a little later. In 1883 Fr Puller sailed for Cape Town, where, at the request of Bishop Gray, he initiated the Society's mission work in South Africa. The following year at the Annual Chapter the Rule and Constitution, finally decided on, were submitted to Dr Mackarness, the Bishop of Oxford, and on 22 September 1884 were approved by him. He became the first Visitor of the Society.[3] The "Cowley Fathers", as the Society was now called instead of the "Evangelist Fathers", had gained recognition as a semi-official institution of the Church of England. The Mission House was crowded with novices. There was hardly room for the guests and retreatants who wanted to stay there. The Fathers were in increasing demand for missions, retreats, and sermons. Fr Benson ceased to be Superior in 1890 and was succeeded by Fr Page, and he in his turn by Fr Maxwell. In 1894 Bishop Stubbs laid the foundation stone of the present church. It was consecrated two years later. Earth brought from the Church of St John before the Latin Gate, Rome, was placed beneath the foundation stone. The high altar was the gift of certain bishops; the

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[1] H. F. B. Mackay, op. cit., p. 240.

[2] L. Cary, S.S.J.E., Introduction to "*The Religious Vocation*", by R. M. Benson (1939), p. 31.

[3] All subsequent Bishops of Oxford have been Visitors of S.S.J.E.

Holy Name altar was presented by the Sisters of Bethany, a community which had been closely associated with the Cowley Fathers since it had been established almost simultaneously with the Society. Lord Halifax gave the rood screen. Just to show how gradual was the advance in ceremonial, it is worth mentioning that incense was not used until the first High Mass in the new church, and it was not until many years later that Reservation was started.[1] A choir school was formed from local lads whose homes were near by and most of whom probably attended the Church Day Schools. The rendering of the plain-chant by these boys at the daily Evensong and at the Sunday High Mass attracted crowds to the services in this beautiful but austerely simple church on the Iffley Road. Many people were also drawn to the church by the sermons preached by the Fathers, and by the opportunities for confession and spiritual direction.

For a long time there had been talk of erecting a new Mission House, but it was not until 1901 that the buildings were ready for occupation by the Community. The old Mission House was turned over for the use of guests and retreatants. In 1897 Dr Chinnery-Haldane, Bishop of Argyll and the Isles, handed over to the Society the House which had been built for him on Iona by Sir Alexander Ross, the Inverness architect. The following year a house was opened in Charles Street, Berkeley Square, London, but later on the Fathers moved to Dartmouth Street and afterwards to Great Titchfield Street. Through the energy and enthusiasm of Fr Waggett these temporary residences gave place to St Edward's House, Westminster, the foundation stone of which was laid in 1904. When it was opened the influence of the Cowley Fathers was greatly extended by thus having a base in the heart of London.

Fr Benson died on 14 January 1915, having lived to see his Society spread over three continents. One of his sons—Fr Burton, later Bishop of Nassau—who was in close touch with the founder during his last years—summed up his personality as: "a heart of steel towards self, a heart of flesh towards man, a heart of flame towards God". He recalls how at the age of eighty-four, seven years before he died, Fr Benson always kept a "black fast" on Friday, and ate nothing from Maundy Thursday till Easter morning. "He never spoke of pain or complained of blindness, or mentioned his arthritis. He was an old war-horse, venerated from afar. From his lips, from his whole being poured forth words of

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[1] The new church was built during Fr Benson's nine years' absence from England after he ceased to be Superior. Miss Woodgate relates that it was not nearly severe enough to suit his ideals, and that he did not approve of ceremonial additions which had been made to the services. "He never cared for incense." (Op. cit., p. 162.)

love of God as radiant and mellowing as the noonday sunshine." Bishop Burton tells us that the founder's last Masses were "terrifying to serve, for he was lame and blind".[1]

Bishop Gore said of Fr Benson that "in the circle of the Church, and in particular that part of it which adhered to the Tractarian Movement, he exercised a profound influence, I believe without parallel in that generation which has not yet passed away". The founder of the Society of St John the Evangelist proved conclusively that the Church of England, whatever may be its limitations, has room for religious communities of men as well as of women.

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Cut into the wooden panelling behind the stalls of the community chapel in the mother house at Cowley are the names of the brethren who have gone before with the sign of faith and who sleep the sleep of peace—what memories they revive to those of an older generation! There were giants in the earth in those days. The founder himself, whose many books help to keep alive his spirit though he passed to his eternal rest in 1915. . . . Fr Hollings, who lived more in the next world than in this and whose name is revered in many a Sisterhood; Fr Congreve, the gentle preacher and author of so many books which formed the basis of the spiritual life of countless members of the Church of England half a century ago; Fr Elwin, who wrote fascinating reminiscences of India; Fr Longridge, the giver of innumerable retreats and the exponent of the "Spiritual Exercises" of St Ignatius Loyola; Fr Puller, that doughty fighter, who attacked marriage with a deceased wife's sister, defended Anglican Orders and Fasting Communion, and even set out to prove that many of the primitive saints had shown scant respect to Popes; Fr Waggett, always something of an *enfant terrible*, endowed with a brain and a wit that raised him far above most of his contemporaries; Fr Callaway, who has left us so many memories of his missionary labours in South Africa, where he was a member of a small community, the Society of St Cuthbert, which was absorbed in S.S.J.E. early this century; Fr Trenholme, the historian and liturgist; and Fr Cary, who was both an authority on the more technical side of the Religious Life, and a devoted student of the great Spanish mystics. None of these Cowley Fathers ever sought the limelight: their aim was to be hidden and to efface themselves. Some managed to achieve this, others became famous, but one and all never forgot those lessons they learned from Fr Benson when they were novices: "We do not come into our Community primarily to convert others, but rather with the desire, first of all, to be converted ourselves. Then, if by God's grace we are converted to Him, He may use us in missionary work, or in any other way that He pleases. . . . "[1]

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[1] Cf. *Cowley*, Spring, 1930.

At the present time the activities of the Society of St John the Evangelist are as follows:

(A) ENGLISH CONGREGATION

Home Province

(1) *The Mission House*, Marston Street, Oxford. This remains the mother house of the Society and the headquarters of the Superior-General. It is also the novitiate of the English Congregation.[2] Retreats for clergy and laymen are held here periodically, and the Guest House affords accommodation for private retreatants or men preparing for ordination, etc. Day Schools for boys and girls are under the direction of the Fathers. The dignified services in the Conventual Church still draw large congregations. The Fathers conduct missions and retreats, and direct many women's communities, both in Oxford and elsewhere.

(2) *St Edward's House*, 22 Great College Street, Westminster, has afforded a place of residence for the Fathers in London ever since it was opened over half a century ago.[3] In the chapel, retreats and also Quiet Days are held for both clergy and laity. Here one is reminded of the work done in the past by the late Fr Waggett, whose "personality and far-reaching spiritual influence, in conjunction with his intellectual and social brilliance, enabled him not only to undertake successfully the building of St Edward's House, but also to establish the life and work of

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[1] Certain once very familiar names are missing from this panelling, for there were several of the brethren in the last century who left the Society and made their submission to the Roman Church. Among these was Fr Maturin, in his day one of the most famous preachers in the Church of England. He was drowned in the sinking of the *Lusitania* in 1915. Fr Rivington, well known as a controversial writer, and formerly a missionary in India, was another who took the road to Rome. Fr Benson had little understanding and no sympathy for those members of the Society who left the Anglican Communion. (Cf. Woodgate, op. cit., pp. 149, 150; also *Letters of R. M. Benson*, vol. I, p. 28.)

[2] Consisting of the Home Province—with houses at Oxford and Westminster—the Indian Province, and the South African Province.

[3] Edward Burgess was the architect of this attractive block of red brick buildings, designed in a free treatment of Perpendicular Gothic. A small stone-vaulted narthex leads into the lofty flat-ceilinged choir, lit on the north side only by tall, narrow windows. The lower part of the walls are panelled in oak. A large crucifix hangs against the dullish red fabric of the dossal, above which is an oak tester. The altar, vested with a brocade frontal, has four renaissance candlesticks and a veiled domed tabernacle as its furnishings. Although different in style, the chapel of St Edward's House possesses the same restful atmosphere as that of the Church of St John the Evangelist, Cowley.

the Society there, as one of the vital spiritual centres in the vast diocese of London" (*Cowley Evangelist*, August, 1939).

(3) *St John's Mission House*, Joppa, Midlothian, was the headquarters of the S.S.J.E. in Scotland from 1946 until the summer of 1954. Owing to lack of members the Mission House had to be given up. Today there are no communities of men belonging to the Episcopal Church. As has been stated already, the Society first started to work in Scotland in 1897 when Bishop Chinnery-Haldane made over to them the House on Iona, but it was not found possible to maintain the place, and it was handed back to the Diocese of Argyll and the Isles after a few years. In 1942 the Bishop of St Andrews invited the Society to take charge of St Modoc's Church, Doune, Perthshire. One of the Fathers was made rector of the church and Superior of the small community which occupied the rectory. In this way the Cowley Fathers found their way back to Scotland, remaining at Doune for three years before they moved to Joppa, on the outskirts of Edinburgh, from which they withdrew in 1954.

Missionary Provinces

(1) *India.* The work started in India about ninety years ago was maintained in two centres. *St Peter's Church*, Mazagon, Bombay, used by English-speaking people, where schools and hostels were maintained, and Panch Howd, Poona, where the work is mainly among Indian Christians, with the magnificent Church of the Holy Name as its spiritual centre. Other work is also carried on, such as at Yerandawana, near Poona, where Comper's Church of St Crispin was erected in 1903. Panch Howd is the headquarters of the Society's work in India, and here are to be found all the usual activities of missionary apostolate, such as schools, workshops, dispensaries. The Society withdrew from Bombay in 1956, the work there being now fully diocesanized.

(2) *South Africa. The Mission House*, Cape Town, has been the headquarters of the S.S.J.E. in South Africa since 1884—a restful oasis in the midst of a district mainly inhabited by coloured people. It is next door to the fine church of St Philip, which was at one time under the control of the Fathers, though it is now in the charge of secular priests. At St Cyprian's, Langa, and at Nyanga, East and West, men, women, and children are cared for. The Fathers also minister to the Africans in a widely scattered area outside the city—from Cape Bay and Sea Point to Wynberg and Plumstead. African Christians gather together in their free time, often at night, for services, instruction, interviews, and confessions. There is no end to the varied work undertaken by the Fathers.

At St Cuthbert's Mission, Transkei, Kaffraria, the work initiated by the Brotherhood founded by Fr Callaway has long since passed into the hands of the Society. "The Church of St Cuthbert and the Fathers' Mission House form a quadrangle with a flower garden in the middle, and behind is a kitchen garden visited by numerous birds. . . . The weaving School is a great institution, doing excellent work and helping girls to earn a living in distant kraals. . . . There are schools at many of the Out stations, where children are taught by well-trained Christian teachers and given a meal of some kind every day. . . . Our Fathers and Brothers, with the Religious and Missionaries who work along with them, have a hard and delicate task in helping young Africans to rise to their full stature of spirit, soul, and body, while yet guiding them in the exercise of strong and enduring patience."[1] Two African Fathers have been professed after training at Cowley.

(B) AMERICAN CONGREGATION

The Monastery of St Mary and St John, 980 Memorial Drive, Cambridge, Massachusetts,[2] is the mother house and novitiate of the Society in the United States, formed into an autonomous Congregation in 1920. As has already been stated, two American clergymen, the Reverend Charles C. Grafton and the Reverend Oliver S. Prescott, had been members of the Society from its beginning. It was only natural that they wanted to found a house in the United States. The opportunity came in 1870. The vestry of the Advent Parish, Boston, which had been founded in 1844 as a stronghold of the principles of the Oxford Movement, asked Fr Benson if his Society would be prepared to take over the parish. Accompanied by Fr O'Neill he went to America. Bishop Manton Eastburn of Massachusetts, a bigoted Low Churchman, who had tried in vain to suppress the very mild "ritualism" practised in the Church of the Advent since it was opened, refused to allow Fr Benson to minister in his diocese. However, in 1872 he was succeeded by Bishop Benjamin H. Paddock. He proved to be more sympathetic, and approved the appointment of Fr Grafton as rector of the parish, also the ceremonial details in the services. In order to test the vocations of men who offered themselves to the Society a house was acquired in Connecticut. Fr Hall was nominated Superior. In 1876 Fr Prescott was sent to Philadelphia to take charge of St Clement's parish—another stronghold of the Catholic party in the Episcopal Church. Later on there were difficulties with the bishop over ceremonial details practised in this church. Eventually St Clement's ceased to be served by the Cowley Fathers. In 1883 both Fr Grafton and Fr Prescott withdrew from the Society, largely because Fr Benson did not see his way to grant independence to the American branch. Since 1882, when a new church was erected for the parish of the Advent in a new neighbourhood in Boston, the Fathers have continued their work at the old church in Bowdoin Street, which they named the Mission Church of St John the Evangelist. In spite of being dragged into the controversy which arose in 1891 over the election of the famous preacher Phillips Brooks, who was an extreme Broad Churchman, as Bishop of Massachusetts, the Society continued to prosper in America. In 1901 the Fathers opened the Church of St Augustine and St Martin, Boston, for coloured people. Another development was the establishment of St Augustine's Farm, Foxboro, Massachusetts, for social work. In 1921 the Church of the Advent, San Francisco, was placed under the Society. Five years later it took over St Paul's, Brooklyn. In 1930 the trustees of the Church of St Mary the Virgin, New York, appealed to the Cowley Fathers to take charge of the parish after the rector, the Reverend Selden P. Delany, had submitted to the Holy See. All these parishes were given up later on.

It was in 1920 that the American members of the Society became autonomous, although maintaining their full spiritual bonds with the brethren in England. Mission work was started in Korea in 1922, the year after the American Congregation had been constituted with Fr Powell as its first Superior.

Five bishops of the Episcopal Church were, or had been, members of the Society—Grafton of Fond du Lac (1889), Hall of Vermont (1893), Osborne of Springfield (1906), Burton (first suffragan Bishop of Haiti in 1939 and subsequently Bishop of Nassau), and Viall (sometime Assistant Bishop of Tokyo, 1949). The last two have remained members of the Society, notwithstanding their election to the episcopate.

At the present time the Cowley Fathers have the following houses in the United States in addition to the mother house: The Mission House, 33 Bowdoin Street, Boston 14, Mass. (with charge of the Church of St John the Evangelist)[1]; Church of St Augustine and St Martin (with mission work among coloured folk), 31 Lenox Street, Boston, Mass.[2]

Founded by the American Congregation in 1933 is the Japanese Province, which came into being when the first two Japanese Fathers, who had been professed in the United States, returned to their native land. During the Second World War the Fathers endured much suffering, but they survived the ordeal. The headquarters of the Society in Japan

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[1] B. D. Wilkins, S.S.J.E., *The Trumpet Shall Sound* (1950), pp. 24–7.

[2] Designed by Ralph Adams Cram.

[1] St John's was a Congregational Meeting House, adapted for use as an Episcopal Church. It was later remodelled by R. A. Cram.

[2] See Robert Cheney Smith, S.S.J.E., *The Cowley Fathers in America. The Early Years* and *The Shrine on Bowdoin Street, 1883–1958.*

is St Michael's Monastery, Oyama, Tochigi Ken, where there is a mission house and a novitiate. A branch house in Tokyo, St John's House, was dedicated on 1 January, 1960. A Japanese office book was published in 1956.

There is now a growing Japanese women's *Community of Divine Charity* at Harunaso, founded by Fr Kimura, S.S.J.E., in 1949. (See p. 592.)

(c) CANADIAN CONGREGATION

The House of the Transfiguration, Bracebridge, Ontario, is the headquarters of the Canadian Congregation formed in 1927, and which was made autonomous in 1939. The Fathers started their apostolate in the District of Muskoka, situated on the east of Georgian Bay on Lake Huron, where there were a few and seldom served mission chapels. Parochial Missions are conducted. At Bracebridge there is a Guest House, Art Department and Print Shop. The Canadian Fathers are Mission Priests in the fullest sense.

The three Congregations which now make up the Society of St John the Evangelist are of equal status. A Central Council, consisting of the three Superiors and their Assessors, meets every five years.

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Such is our brief survey of the work being carried on today by the Cowley Fathers in four continents, bound together by one Rule of Life and by the spirit of their founder. Each of the Congregations and Provinces has some gift to bring, some quality of its own mother country which enriches the whole corporate life of the Society. Fr Benson's dream of devoting himself to foreign mission work has been more than realized in the expansion of his little community in Oxford to a world-wide organization. Both at home and abroad it has done much to advance the Kingdom of Christ by works missionary and educational, but above all by the cultivation of a life dedicated to God, according to the principles of poverty, chastity, and obedience.

The priest members of the Society wear a double-breasted black cassock with a black girdle. The lay brothers wear a dark grey cassock, with a black girdle. At the mother house at Cowley the weekday timetable is as follows, and the differences in other houses are very slight:

5.15 a.m.	Rise
5.45	Mattins, Lauds, and Prime
7.00	Mass
8.00	Breakfast
9.00	Meditation
10.00	Terce (9.00 on Sundays)
12.45 p.m.	Sext
1.00	Dinner, followed by Recreation
2.00	None
6.00	Evensong
6.45	Supper
9.15	Compline

The original Office Book used by the Society was *The Day Hours of the Church of England.* This was superseded in 1910 by *Hours of Prayer from Lauds to Compline,* compiled by the late Fr Trenholme, S.S.J.E. It is mainly a translation of the Day Hours of the Sarum Breviary, but enriched from other sources.[1] At least one hour daily is spent in mental prayer by the Fathers. Half an hour is devoted to meditation by the Brothers. Silence is observed for part of the day. The minimum period of postulancy is three months, followed by a novitiate of at least two years in the case of priests, three in the case of lay brothers. Permanent vows are not taken under the age of thirty; before that age only temporary vows are allowed. Lay brothers, whether over thirty or not, take temporary vows for three years before their final profession.

Various groups of seculars are associated with the Society in differing degrees of closeness. There are priests and laymen as Oblates and Associates, the latter having a simpler rule; priests, laymen, and women in the Fellowship of St John for those who feel drawn to a connection with the Society and who keep a simple rule of prayer. The *Cowley Evangelist* is published every month and contains letters from Fathers overseas, and articles dealing with spiritual matters. The American Congregation has its own illustrated quarterly magazine *Cowley*. The Japanese Province publishes the magazine *Mi Tsukai.* One of the Canadian Fathers edits a quarterly, *His Dominion,* which is printed by the community print shop.

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Here are some of the chief literary works by members of the S.S.J.E.:

Fr Benson (died 1915), *The Final Passover* (4 vols.); *War Songs of the Prince of Peace*; *The Way of Holiness*; *Bible Teachings*; *Followers of the Lamb*; *Wisdom of the Son of David*; *Readings for Advent* (ditto *Christmas, Epiphany*); *Instructions on the Religious Life* (Series I, II, and III); *The Religious Vocation* (Instructions on the Society's Rule); *Sermons*; *Epistle to the Romans* (Commentary).

Fr Hollings (died 1914), *Considerations on the Wisdom of God*; *The Heavenly Stair*; *Meditations on the Divine Life*; *Porta Regalis*; *One Born of the Spirit*; *Paradoxes of the Love of God.*

Fr Congreve (died 1918), *The Spiritual Order*; *Christian Progress*; *The Interior Life*; *Christian Life, a Response*; *Parable of the Ten Virgins*; *The Incarnation and the Religious Life.*

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[1] Revised editions were published in 1914, 1928, and 1939. The American Congregation of the Society has issued a special supplement to *Hours of Prayer*, the latest edition having appeared in 1961.

Fr Longridge (died 1930), *Spiritual Exercises of St Ignatius Loyola*; *Retreats for Priests*; *Ignatian Retreats*; *Retreats for Religious*; ed. *Spiritual Letters of Fr Congreve*; ed. *Letters of Richard Meux Benson*; ed. *Further Letters of R. M. Benson.*

Fr Waggett (died 1939), *The Holy Eucharist*; *Religion and Science*; *The Age of Decision*; *The Heart of Jesus*; *Knowledge and Virtue* (Hulsean Lectures); *The Scientific Temper in Religion*; *Hope and Strength*; *Industry of Faith.*

Fr Trenholme (died 1949), *The Story of Iona*; *Rescue Work*; *The Hours of Prayer*; *The Altar Missal.*

Fr O'Brien (died 1960), *Letters of a Cowley Father.*

Fr Sedding, *Godfrey Callaway*; *The Flame of Prayer*; *In the Voice of Praise*; *The Hidden Garden of Prayer.*

Fr Gibbard, *Tomorrow's Church.*

John Nias, *Flame from an Oxford Cloister* (1961) is a study of the life and writings of Fr Waggett. Dame Rose Macaulay's letters to the late Fr Johnson of the American Congregation were published in *Letters to a Friend* (1961) and *Last Letters to a Friend* (1962).

5. ORDER OF ST AUGUSTINE, AND OTHER BROTHERHOODS (1865–1900)

It may surprise critical readers of this book to find a long section devoted to what deserve to be regarded as quite unimportant examples of Anglican monasticism which it might be better to forget, since most of them were merely mushroom growths which sprang up in the ecclesiastical underworld of the second half of the nineteenth century. The so-called "Order of St Augustine", and quite a number of similar Brotherhoods, most of which are now quite forgotten and all long since extinct, cannot be dismissed in a few lines. Their story helps towards a better understanding of the more stable community life for men that came into existence in the last decade of the century. Without these amateurish and sometimes pathetic gropings to answer the call of the cloister, it is possible that communities such as Mirfield, Kelham, Society of the Divine Compassion, and others which succeeded them, would never have taken root.

The so-called *Order of St Joseph* was a typical example of those little brotherhoods. Its founder, the Rev. R. Tuke, as has been related, was one of the most enthusiastic promoters of the missionary brotherhood which evolved into the Society of St John the Evangelist in 1865. Perhaps he did not feel that the Superior, Mr Benson, was sufficiently "catholic" in his opinions; anyhow he did not become a novice. Within a short time of moving from St Mary's, Soho, to St John's, Hackney, in the summer of 1866, Mr Tuke "set on foot an attempt he had for some time contemplated, of a small religious house for men. Two tiny houses in Ash Grove, opposite the Sisters [of St Margaret, East Grinstead], were rented and thrown into one.... [In the October of 1866] several young men joined, some of them giving themselves entirely to the life, and some going into the city to business in the day, and devoting themselves to the work in the evening. They held classes for young men and boys, and started a small Orphanage, originally for boys whose parents had died of cholera [in the recent epidemic], but eventually receiving others."[1]

It has been stated that this Brotherhood followed the Rule of St Augustine, but Mother Kate says that "they wore a brown Franciscan habit, a cord, and sandals; and caused great excitement in the neighbourhood; indeed when Mr Tuke—Father Basil, as he was called—preached one Sunday night at St. Augustine's, there was quite a riot, and somebody had to be given in charge". All this dressing up in Franciscan habits and playing at being Friars is reminiscent of Br Ignatius's method of "reviving" the Benedictine Order in the Church of England only three years previously: it had nothing in common with the spirit of that "College" of clergymen directed by Mr Benson in Oxford. The experiment only lasted ten months. In July 1867 the Order of St Joseph was disbanded after "Father Basil" had decided to take the road to Rome. The orphan boys were placed under the care of Mother Kate and the Sisterhood.

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The Order of St Augustine, which was founded about the same time as the former Brotherhood, had a much longer existence and a far wider influence. This was due to the versatile personality of its now almost forgotten founder, the Reverend George Nugée.[2] He was the son of Francis James Nugée, who had prospered as a fashionable Bond Street tailor, and was born in 1819. After being educated at Shrewsbury School, and a brilliant career at Trinity College, Cambridge, he became a Student at the Inner Temple, but was never called to the Bar. At Cambridge Nugée may have been in touch with the leaders of the Ecclesiological Society, which would explain why he went to St Paul's, Knightsbridge, after his ordination as deacon in 1845. Here he started the work which developed into the daughter church of St Barnabas', Pimlico, which was consecrated in 1850. Nugée was largely responsible for the founding in 1846 of the London Diocesan Penitentiary at Highgate. He was nominated the first Warden, and formed a small Sisterhood to run it. He established another Sisterhood in the parish of St Matthew, City Road, London (see p. 92). With the approval of Bishop Tait he founded a community of priests for mission work among the poor. It was known as St Paul's Mission College, and its headquarters were in Dean Street, Soho, within easy access of the already famous "ritualistic" church of St Mary's, Crown Street, where Sister Kate and other members of the East Grinstead Community were working.

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[1] Mother Kate, *Memories of a Sister of St Saviour's Priory* (1912 ed.), p. 91.

[2] Cf. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, Part II, vol. IV (Cambridge, 1951); *Shrewsbury School Register*; *The Guardian*, 12 October, 1892.

The wealthy young curate of St Paul's, Knightsbridge, was no insular Anglican. He belonged to that small but enthusiastic group who were confident that in God's good time there would be reunion with the English, Roman, and Eastern Churches. It was in 1857 that the Association for the Promotion of the Unity of Christendom was founded, and Nugée became its Secretary. In 1859 he succeeded his younger brother as incumbent of the family livings of Wymering and Widley in Hampshire, of which he was the patron. He lost no time in restoring Wymering Church, and refurnished it on catholic lines. The Sisterhood of St Mary which he had founded in the City Road, London, was installed in the vicarage. The vicar himself took up his residence in the picturesque old Manor House, where he started to entertain on a lavish scale. He did not confine his pastoral work to his two wide-spread parishes, in which he erected schools, and opened an orphanage. Before long he took on the young officers in the Portsmouth barracks as his "special mission", extending this military apostolate to the soldiers quartered at Hilsea Barracks. Every Sunday a number of the young officers came over from Portsmouth, dined at the Manor House, and attended a special service during the afternoon. In the summer of 1865 Queen Emma, widow of King Kamehameha of the Sandwich Islands, and her suite, stayed with Mr Nugée, after calling on Mr Keble at Hursley.[1]

Meanwhile the Vicar, who had already presided at the inaugural meeting of the Eastern Church Association which had been founded in 1863, largely through the influence of Dr Neale, was much preoccupied with the affairs of the Association for the Promotion of the Unity of Christendom, which had been condemned by the Holy See in a letter signed by Cardinal Patrizi, dated 16 September 1864. It was Nugée's duty as Secretary to write a letter in defence to *The Weekly Register*. This letter proved fairly conclusively that he and "another priest of the English Church" had been received in private audience by Pius IX at an earlier date, when His Holiness gave a whole-hearted commendation to the form of prayer of the Association.[2]

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[1] The Queen also went to Ascot Priory to negotiate with Mother Lydia Sellon about sending more Sisters to work at Honolulu. (See p. 275.)

[2] Cf. Dom Cuthbert Butler, *Life and Times of Bishop Ullathorne* (1926), vol. II, p. 345; H. R. T. Brandreth, *Dr Lee of Lambeth* (1951), p. 104.

In the midst of all this controversial correspondence Nugée found time to organize spectacular fêtes for charitable purposes. He was no cautious Tractarian who believed in teaching the Faith gradually. Crowds came from far and near to gaze at what an Admiral of the Fleet, in a Memorial addressed to Dr Sumner, Bishop of Winchester, on behalf of some aggrieved parishioners, described as "the strange histrionic performances" in Wymering Church. It was reported that there were "processions of choristers, priests and acolytes; chantings and banners and garlands; smoking incense, and candles burning at noon-day; brazen crosses lifted high upon the Communion table, and embroidered crosses covering the vestments of the officiating clergy."[1]

Even Roman Catholics found their way from Portsmouth to Wymering, curious to see what went on in this much publicized Anglican church. Eventually Bishop Grant of Southwark felt it his duty to warn them against taking part in schismatic worship. Foreign bishops stayed at the Manor House from time to time. Among them was that mysterious ex-Dominican prelate, Julius Ferrette, who styled himself Bishop of Iona, and who was wandering round England in 1866. However, Nugée assured the Ritual Commissioners that this Bishop merely occupied a seat in the chancel and did not pontificate. Such was the exotic background against which the Order of St Augustine was founded. No greater contrast could be found to the world in which Fr Benson established his Society of St John the Evangelist about the same date.

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By the middle of the 'sixties there was much talk about Brotherhoods. Mr Benson's "College of Clergymen" had been established in 1865, Br Ignatius of Jesus and his small community of Benedictines, founded two years earlier, were becoming more and more a subject of gossip. Neither of these communities were exactly in keeping with Mr Nugée's self-denial, labour and prayer", as he expressed it in the Chronicle he kept from time to time. The two men lived in a hut, and it is almost a miracle that they survived the rigours of that winter. On St Patrick's day 1870 the foundation stone of the new monastery was laid.[1] Five months later, a temporary chapel had been furnished with its altar "decently vested in blue velvet and silver".[2] A visiting priest sang High Mass on the feast of the Assumption. On 22 August 1872 Fr Ignatius laid the foundation stone of the great church. Ten years elapsed before the choir was completed. The nave was never started. The total cost of the buildings is not known. Practically all the money was raised by Fr Ignatius himself by the appeals made on his preaching tours.

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[1] *Report of Royal Commission on Ritual* (1867), Appendix B., p. 123. The "Wymering Use" is just what one would expect to have been devised by the Secretary for the Promotion of the Reunion of Christendom. It reveals the mentality of the founder of the Order of St Augustine and the framework within which it came into being. Nugée had no hesitation in adopting any ceremonial detail which seemed to be common to both East and West. His aim was "the restoration of the whole character of the Church of England in her proper ancient form"; nevertheless he was sufficiently eclectic to use leavened bread (in emulation of the Eastern Churches), wear vestments modelled on those of the "Illustrious Church of Sarum", but steer clear of revival of the Sarum Rite, because he felt that this might be a hindrance towards reunion with the Latin Church. He informed the Ritual Commissioners that "what the Saxon wants is a grand ritual in its bolder and nobler features, without all the minutiae which would suit an Italian". It appears that Nugée based the "Wymering Use" on the *Directorium Anglicanum*, the first edition of which, compiled by the Reverend John Purchas, appeared in 1858.

Fr Ignatius was utterly convinced that it was his vocation to restore the

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[1] The architect was Charles Buckeridge, who had designed the convent at Oxford for the Sisters of the Holy and Undivided Trinity, begun in 1866.

[2] Vivid descriptions of the building of the new monastery at Llanthony are given in *Kilvert's Diary* (1870–1, edited by William Plomer (London, 1938)). The Rev. Francis Kilvert paid his first visit on 5 April 1870, but he did not speak to the two monks he found working in the garden. They "both seemed studiously unconscious" of the presence of sightseers (pp. 77–8). There is a much more detailed account of the second visit on 2 September (pp. 219–25). Kilvert's impression of Fr Ignatius was of a "man of gentle simple kind manners, excitable, and entirely possessed by the one idea. His head and brow are very fine, the forehead beautifully rounded and highly imaginative. The face is a very saintly one and the eyes extremely beautiful, earnest and expressive, a dark soft brown. When excited they seem absolutely to flame. He wears the Greek or early British tonsure all round the temples, leaving the hair of the crown untouched. . . . [He] wore the black Benedictine habit with the two loose wings or pieces falling in front and behind, two violet tassels behind, the knotted scourge girdle, a silver cross on the breast, and a brazen or golden cross hanging from the rosary of black beads under the left arm."

Not much progress had been made on the building, for there was no one to look after the workmen. When completed, the west cloister was to provide temporary accommodation for the monks. But a tiny room had been fitted up as an oratory with a lace and silk-covered altar upon which stands a super altar or Tabernacle in 'which [Fr Ignatius] informed us in a low awestruck voice was 'the Blessed Sacrament'. . . . There was a crucifix above the altar. . . . He said that once when he was praying Gerard Moultrie who was present saw the crucifix roll its eyes, then turn its head and look at Fr. Ignatius. He confessed that neither he nor any of his monks had ever seen the crucifix move. He did not know what to make about it, but he could not help believing that Moultrie saw what he declared he saw. He says that Moultrie is not at all an excitable, imaginative man. As he was talking about this in a low eager whisper, he looked strange and wild and his eyes were starting and blazing."

Kilvert writes that Fr. Ignatius was hoping that Lord Bute would contribute to the building. He describes the two or three novices—one was "a fine noble looking boy, a gentleman's son, with a sweet open face and fair clustering hair". Another was "of a lower rank in life", but he too "had a peculiarly sweet and beautiful face". Fr. Ignatius admitted to Kilvert that "monkery has a strong tendency to drive people mad", and that "out of fifty novices he could only reckon on making three monks". The remarkable thing is that an old-fashioned country parson like Kilvert, who was not even a High Churchman, could have recorded those visits to the monastery so sympathetically.

cloistered Benedictine life in the Church of England. Llanthony to him was the spot chosen by God, and he was God's chosen instrument. From the human point of view he was the worst possible man for this difficult task. He was extraordinarily simple, with no sense of discretion, no judge of character, gullible and easily deceived, loving and lovable. His conception of the monastic vocation is thus summed up by one of his community who eventually joined the Benedictines of Downside. The late Dom Cyprian Alston wrote: "as in matters of doctrine, so also in management of his monastery, he acknowledged no Superior or higher authority over himself. Though professing to follow the Rule of St Benedict, it was his own interpretation of it, coloured by his own whims and fancies, and a somewhat variable will, that became the standard of life at Llanthony. This vacillation has been, I think, one of the causes of its failure. Men with real vocations and true ideals felt that the real monastic life needed some firmer basis than the changing will of one man and so left Llanthony to seek it elsewhere. In spite of his claims to be a Benedictine, the rule at Llanthony was in fact an eclectic one devised by the Superior himself. Parts of the Holy Rule that did not appeal to him were unhesitatingly set aside and ignored, whilst, on the other hand, customs and traditions from elsewhere, however un-Benedictine, that he had read of or heard of, but which took his fancy, he incorporated without scruple."[1]

Fantastic penances were imposed for breaches of the rule.[2] There were quite untraditional rites for the clothing and profession of monks and nuns; always those curious polygot choir offices—Welsh being added

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[1] *Pax*, No. 38, 1913, p. 241.

[2] We are told in *Leonard Morris, or The Benedictine Novice* (London, 1871, p. 158) that every day, during the adoration before the tabernacle, a brother, each in his turn, stripped himself of scapular, girdle, and sandals, and before Prime, "spread them before the Blessed Sacrament on the altar steps". He also wore a rope round his neck and was led into choir at each service by a rope, as if he were a criminal going to execution. For that day he was given no food, but he was allowed to beg from each brother a portion from his plate. It was also the custom for the community to spit on the victim and to walk over him as he lay on the floor of the sanctuary (p. 159). Fr Ignatius regarded "the Perpetual Adoration as the great, the grand work of the religious . . . " (p. 288). "The monks 'relieving guard' before the Glorious Sacrament . . . carrying on the *one work* to which they have dedicated their lives" (p. 107). In 1870 there were not many Anglican churches of which it could have been written that "the Most Holy Sacrament was exposed in a magnificent ostensorium, which stood in a throne over the tabernacle; a rich canopy of velvet and lace hung over it". One can quite understand that "unmistakably awful was the sacred mountain shrine. The deep silence, the mystic light, the gorgeous altar, glittering among the shadows, which thirty or forty crimson lamps flung over it; a soft glow of holy fire seemed to wrap the choir, falling from the ruby glasses of the lamps, swinging in the air, high up before the Exalted Presence." (p. 276).

The harrying of ritualistic clergymen which began in the 'fifties and continued for nearly thirty years had reached a crisis when the Order of St Augustine moved to London. Considerable pressure was now being exerted on the parochial clergy to obey the rulings of the bishops or the judgements of the Privy Council in ceremonial matters. A few of the ritualistic clergy considered it necessary to concentrate on the erection of chapels or oratories on private property, retaining the freehold of the land. Such places of worship would then be outside the jurisdiction of Church or State. With the passing of the Public Worship Regulation Act of 1873 it began to look as if the strongholds of Anglo-Catholicism might be "lost to the cause", and that it would be merely throwing away money to build any more stately parish churches, such as All Saints', Margaret Street (1859); St. Alban's, Holborn (1863); St Mary Magdalene's, Paddington (1868); St Michael's, Shoreditch (1865); or St John's, Kennington (1874).

To turn over the pages of *Punch* of this period is enough to show that "Ritualism" was in the air—it was being talked about by the "man in the street". There were many other young men, besides the members of the Order of St Augustine, who "delighted in high altars banked with flowers—the arum, the narcissus, the jonquil—the innumerable candles forming a pyramid of fire; priests in transplendent copes, stiff with gold; incense rising in swelling clouds, bell ringing, genuflecting".[1] Before long many Anglo-Catholic parishes had their Guilds, Brotherhoods, and Confraternities. Most of these associations had quasi-monastic rules, involving the admission of "postulants" and the clothing of "novices", sometimes with a rite of profession. Not a few of the more esoteric Brotherhoods of this type had their own private oratories wherein the members recited offices in choir,[2] or assisted at such rites and ceremonies

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[1] Thomas Wright, *Life of Walter Pater* (1907), vol. II, pp. 30, 31.

[2] The most popular diurnal among the more extreme Ritualists was *The Day Office of the Church, According to the Kalendar of the Church of England*, a translation of the Roman diurnal, based on the Mechlin editions of the *Breviarium Romanum* (1852 and 1862 editions). The compilers were the Reverend H. A. Walker and the Reverend T. I. Ball. It seems to have emanated from the Society of the Holy Cross. It is believed that the Reverend Orby Shipley may have had something to do with this book also. His translation of *Ave Maris Stella* is the one used. It was published in 1870 by Walker, Paternoster Row, after the famous Tractarian firm of Masters went out of existence. There are many affinities between this Office Book and the "people's missal", entitled *The Divine Service*. Until the publication of the *Monastic Diurnal* the *Day Office* was used by the Order of the Holy Cross, the Poor Brethren of St Francis, and several other communities in North America. In Great Britain it was used by the Scottish Society of Reparation from its foundation in 1870. At one time clergymen who belonged to the Society of the Holy Cross in England were accustomed to recite the Day Hours from this book. It was far less "Anglican" in tone than *The Day Hours of the Church of England*.

as were now discouraged in parish churches. Thus St Austin's Priory, Walworth, was not the only example of such establishments.[1]

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Fr Nugée was still a close friend of Dr Lee, who since 1867 had been Vicar of All Saints', Lambeth. He was also in touch with the Reverend W. T. W. Mossman, and Dr John T. Seccombe, a physician and magistrate who lived near King's Lynn. With the encouragement of some of the original Roman Catholic members of the A.P.U.C., such as Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle, and H. N. Oxenham, who had been opposed to the definition of Papal Infallibility in 1870, this group of what would now be called "Anglican Papalists" evolved the mysterious body known as *The Order of Corporate Reunion.*[2]

It is more than likely, considering Nugée's previous contacts with Cardinal Patrizi in connection with the A.P.U.C. and his insight into the workings of the Roman Curia, that it was he who undertook to negotiate with the authorities, in regard to the foundation of this Church within the Church, and to "persuade the Pope to turn a pontifical 'blind eye' to the proceeding until it should be seen how the venture would fare".[3] One interpretation of the facts is that "in the summer of 1877 Lee, Mossman and Seccombe went to Venice and near that place, probably at Murano, were conditionally re-baptized and confirmed, made deacon, ordained priest, and consecrated bishop by a mysterious triumvirate of prelates, the identity of whom has never been divulged, but who were popularly supposed to have been a Greek, a Copt, and either a Roman or an Old Catholic".[4] Dr S. L. Ollard inclines to think that it was De Lisle who "was the effective organizer of the O.C.R."; then if so, it was doubtless he who assisted Nugée to make the necessary arrangements. On the other hand this may be untrue.

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[1] Five years before the Public Worship Regulation Act became law, the Society of the Holy Cross was considering the foundation of an "oratory" in London, where the services would be conducted with the same splendour as those in the Church of the Oratorian Fathers in the Brompton Road. It is probable that a community would have been formed to ensure the ceremonial desiderata enumerated by the Reverend Orby Shipley in the privately printed pamphlet *On the Establishment of an Oratory by the S.H.C.* The author stated that the founders of this Anglican Oratory "would not feel satisfied until they had restored to the Church of England a rendering of the sacred Mass which is fully Medieval in the richness, costliness, taste, and perfection of its details". The scheme to establish an oratory in London was abandoned. For some curious reason Carlisle was finally chosen. An oratory was opened there in January 1873. A storm of protests from most of the local clergy, headed by the Dean, was the immediate result. The venture was a failure. So far as is known, no other similar attempt was made. (Cf. *Carlisle Journal*, 31 January 1873.)

[2] The story of the O.C.R. will be found in *Dr Lee of Lambeth*, by H. R. T. Brandreth (1951), pp. 118–45. This long chapter contains several references to Fr Nugée. What is said of the O.C.R. has been supplemented and partially corrected in "Black Market in Episcopal Orders" by J. H. Crehan, S. J. (*The Month*, June, 1953). See also Peter F. Anson, *Bishops at Large* (1963).

[3] Brandreth, op. cit., p. 125. [4] Ibid., p. 124.

The Order of Corporate Reunion was inaugurated in London on 2 July 1877 when the first Pastoral Letter of the Bishops of Dorchester (Lee?), Selby (Mossman?), and Caerleon (Seccombe?) was read at dawn on the steps of St Paul's Cathedral. We may be certain that there was a solemn High Mass in the chapel of St Austin's Priory. Shortly afterwards it was laid down that "in all chapels and oratories of this Our Order . . . the Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England according to the use of Sarum be used in the celebration of the Sacred Mysteries of the Altar."[1]

From now onwards the Order of St Augustine lived its own life, more or less apart from the Church of England. The three bishops of the O.C.R. reordained a certain number of Anglican clergymen. Fr Nugée may have been among them, but such elaborate precautions were taken to keep

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[1] *Reunion Magazine* (London, 1877–9), p. 99. To understand the ethos of those ritualistic brotherhoods which flourished in the Anglo-Catholic underworld after 1865, it must be remembered that they began to be divided into two groups: those that conducted their services according to the Sarum Use, and the rival party which encouraged the Western or Roman Use.

Several scholarly publications had helped to spread a knowledge of the pre-Reformation rites of the Church of England, e.g. W. Maskell, *The Ancient Liturgy, according to the Uses of Sarum, Bangor, York and Hereford* (2nd ed., 1846); A. Harford Pearson, *The Sarum Missal, done into English* (1868); and the editions of *Directorium Anglicanum* (1858, 1865, and 1879), in which the Reverend J. Purchas and the Reverend F. G. Lee had done their best "to accommodate the rubrics of the Holy Communion Service Book of Common Prayer to the ceremonial of the Mass in the Sarum Missal".

In 1868 Charles Walker of Brighton brought out the first edition of *Services of the Church, with rubrical directions according to the Use of the Illustrious Church of Sarum*. As he explained in the preface, "with this book the reader will be able to use the Prayer Book as a Catholic priest, educated in the olden rite, undoubtedly used the first reformed Liturgy (i.e. by the light of his previous habits and the yet unrepealed requirements of his Church)." This most comprehensive but unauthorized service book was reprinted within a few years. It was used in ritualistic churches, but more so in the chapels of Sisterhoods and the oratories of Brotherhoods.

With the help of *Notitia Liturgica* (1870), *Notes on Ceremonial* (1875), or *The Priest to the Altar* (3rd ed., 1879) it was easy for a clergyman to celebrate the Communion Service with interpolations and ceremonial from "the Ancient English Use of Sarum".

The protagonists of "The Western Use" also issued many liturgical books of the same character. In 1870 the Reverend Orby Shipley brought out the first edition of *The Ritual of the Altar*, showing how the rubrics of the *Missale Romanum* could be used with the Prayer Book rite. Four years later appeared *The People's Mass Book, with complete devotions, literally translated from the Ancient Liturgy of the Western Church*. Another manual of ceremonial based on the Roman rubrics was *Ritual Notes* (Oxford, 1894). Fr Stanton's *Catholic Prayers for Church of England People* (1st ed., 1891) helped to popularize ultramontane devotions at a later date.

everything secret that it has proved almost impossible to glean much about the workings of the O.C.R. "Not more than half a dozen of the members of the Order were ever discovered, among them H. N. Oxenham, George Nugée, and one or two more clergy and a few laity."[1]

From time to time reports did leak out of the strange happenings down in Walworth. On 30 August 1878 *The Times* newspaper informed its readers of the services which had been held two days previously in "the curious barn-like chapel" of St Austin's Priory. It may have surprised some of them to learn that the "monastic offices" had been recited since 2 a.m. on the feast of St Augustine, and that there had been a "High Celebration" at which Fr Nugée was celebrant; Fr Walker of Brighton, deacon; and Fr Ignatius of Llanthony, sub-deacon. It was stated that the altar was ablaze with lights and the chapel filled with the fumes of incense. At 5 p.m. Vespers were sung with much solemnity, the service ending with the rite of Benediction.

It was explained that the chapel was unlicensed, for Fr Nugée had refused to accept the terms laid down by Dr Thorold, Bishop of Rochester, who at that date was trying to stamp out ritualism in his diocese. Having a large income of his own, Fr Nugée could afford to ignore the opinions of the ecclesiastical authorities, and no action was taken against him. The same episcopal policy was adopted towards Dr Lee. He was left alone at All Saints', Lambeth, and ignored. It is probable that Dr Lee, in virtue of being "Bishop of Dorchester", pontificated occasionally at St Austin's Priory; if so, then one may be sure that only the initiated were admitted and that the functions were carried on behind locked doors. The line taken by the clergy who were members of the O.C.R. was that they were bound to "obey the State bishops *in foro externo*, which is all the obedience the State bishops or the law can claim. *In foro interno* they will preserve their freedom, and as an Order they will not cease to administer the Seven Sacraments as Catholic priests and Catholic bishops have the inalienable right to administer them".[2]

The "barn-like chapel" described in *The Times* soon had to be pulled down by order of the Metropolitan Board of Works. It may have been feared that there was danger for the crowds which attended the Mission Services. Fr Nugée decided to erect a brick chapel over the heads of the congregation without disturbing them. When completed this oratory was furnished with a dignified Renaissance rood-screen; its beam supported on fluted Corinthian columns. The sanctuary was paved with black and white marble. A marble altar, richly gilt, complete with tabernacle and exposition throne, was set up. Elaborately carved choir stalls were provided for the Brethren. The interior decorations of this chapel show that the Order of St Augustine was "Roman" in its artistic taste as well as in its attitude towards reunion. It must have been the first oratory of an English religious community to break away from the Gothic Revival.[1]

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[1] Brandreth, op. cit., p. 137.

[2] W. Grant. *Is the Order of Corporate Reunion Schismatical?* In Reply to the Reverend W. Allen Whitworth (London, 1878), p. 12.

By this time Fr Nugée had assumed the title of "Provost", and wore a pectoral cross, which suggests that the O.C.R. bishops may have bestowed on him a titular abbacy. Mr Thomas Wright tells us in his *Life of Walter Pater* (1907, vol. II, p. 32) that "presently Fr Nugée found himself surrounded by a number of helpers, including Mr Richard C. Jackson (or the Reverend Brother à Becket, to use his monastic name), and the Reverend E. Salisbury. Most of the brethren connected with St Austin's were men of ample private means—indeed to use Mr Jackson's term 'it was a Monkery of rich men'—and all wore, both in the chapel and in the street, the black gown of the Order. 'It was a hotbed of so-called Romanism', observed Mr Jackson, 'and glorious days they were.'"[2]

From every point of view this "Monkery" must have been a curious establishment, with very little of a normal religious community about its spirit or observances. Still, it may have been more comfortable and less eccentric than Fr Ignatius's "Monkery" at Llanthony! Fr Nugée was a man of the world, and his community do not appear to have indulged in any severe bodily mortifications. A photograph of the "Lecture Room", with its massive furniture, rococo statues, and rich carpet covering the entire floor, evokes memories of baroque Benedictine monasteries in Bavaria or Augustinian abbeys in Austria. The Priory may have been a "Monkery of rich men", whose members enjoyed playing about with exotic rites and ceremonies, but at the same time devoted mission work was carried on for many years among the poor of what was then one of the most squalid districts of South London. There were many sides to Fr Nugée's versatile character. He was just as happy running clubs for men and boys, composing sentimental hymns of the Faber type, as when he was plotting and scheming about the affairs of the Order of Corporate Reunion. There were usually half a dozen or so young men living at the Priory, supposed to be reading for Holy Orders, but it is not known whether any of them were ordained in the Church of England or elsewhere.

"The services at St Austin's were of a most ornate description", so Mr Wright tells us. "The Sacrament was reserved, incense was used, and there were processions with banners; the proceedings, indeed, being scarcely distinguishable from those in Roman churches at the present day." One ventures to think that he must have been letting his imagination run away with him when he wrote: "its chapel—the talk of London—became one of those exclusive places that everybody wished to see, and every Sunday crowds were turned away from the doors".[1] Yet people *did* find their way to Walworth, and among them was Walter Pater, who was introduced to the Priory by Richard Jackson.

Provost Nugée tried hard to bring Pater "into the Christian fold", for as Mr Wright tells us he disliked having the services of his chapel "regarded merely as a show". But Pater would explain that the Church of England meant nothing to him apart from ornate ritual. This attitude of mind was expressed more fully by one of the characters in William Mallock's now seldom-read story *The New Republic*, published about the same time as Pater's first visit to St Austin's Priory. "Mr Rose" (obviously inspired by Pater) remarks: "I every now and then, when I am in the weary mood for it, attend the services of our English Ritualists, and I admire their churches very much indeed. In some places the whole thing is really managed with surprising skill. The dim religious twilight, fragrant with the smoke of incense; the tangled roofs that the music seems to cling to; the tapers, the high altar, and the strange intonation of the priests, all produce a curious old-world effect, and seem to unite one with things that have been long dead. Indeed, it all seems to be far more a part of the past than the services of the Catholics. . . . Yes, there is a regretful insincerity about it all, that is very nice, and that at once appeals to me. . . . The priests are only half in earnest."[1] There is good reason to believe that it was the services at St Austin's Priory which roused Pater to start writing *Marius the Epicurean* in the summer of 1882. Gilbert and Sullivan's comic opera *Patience* had first been performed in the spring of the previous year. It parodied the type of devotee of the Aesthetic Movement as typified by "Mr Rose", and it was chiefly this sort of young man, so one suspects, who joined and then drifted away from the Order of St Augustine. The Priory and its inmates seem to have become more and more of a backwater during the 'eighties, regarded with suspicion by the anti-Roman ritualists such as Dr Littledale, who had washed their hands of everyone connected with the Order of Corporate Reunion.

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[1] Contemporary photographs of the chapels or oratories of Anglican religious communities in the 'sixties and 'seventies are becoming more and more rare, but an examination of the engravings in the first two editions of the *Directorium Anglicanum, according to the Ancient Uses of the Church of England*, which were published in 1858 and 1865, helps one to visualize how most of them were furnished.

The first edition was compiled by the Reverend John Purchas; the second by the Reverend F. G. Lee. It is interesting to note the advance in ceremonial details within seven years. The 1858 edition depicts altars with two candlesticks, cross, and flower vases on a fairly low gradine; usually with two standard candlesticks on the pavement. By 1865 there are generally two gradines and at least six candlesticks. In some of the plates the altars are provided with riddel curtains. Neither of the editions make provision for Reservation. Incidentally the furnishings of these chancels show little or no direct inspiration from what is now known as the "Ancient Uses of the Church of England". The source is Augustus Welby Pugin, with an obvious influence of Ruskin and the Pre-Raphaelites. Popular taste in ceremonial details was directed on similar lines by Charles Walker's little book entitled *The Ritual Reason Why* (1866). The second edition (1868) gives full rubrical directions for the Canonical Hours "as used in our Sisterhoods and religious houses" (p. 223).

[2] Jackson was a wealthy young man who had been introduced to Pater by Canon Liddon. He is said to have been "at once an authority on Dante and Greek Art, a Platonist, a Monk, and a Reunionist". He styled himself "Richard, Archprelate of the O.C.R.", and he may have been ordained priest by Dr Lee or by one of the other two bishops of the O.C.R. He died in 1937. Cf. Brandreth, *Episcopi Vagantes and the Anglican Church* (London, 2nd ed., 1961), p. 167.

[1] Op. cit., vol. II, p. 37.

One day George Tyrrell, not then suspecting that he would become a Jesuit, was taken to the Priory by his young Irish friend "Bob" Dolling, at that date running clubs for postmen in London. Tyrrell records that "the door was opened by an austere monk with a leathern girdle, whose conversation was so studiously belarded with monasticism as to make one think he thoroughly enjoyed the dramatic situation. The brethren were all of somewhat the same type; and it appeared that each morning they donned their homely tweed suits and sought their offices in the City on the top of the twopenny tram, and returned in the evening to the sad weeds of religious seclusion; thus ebbing and flowing between earth and heaven, fulfilling in some sort the words of the psalmist: 'They return at evening; they grin like a dog and go about the city.'" Apparently the future Jesuit was shocked rather than edified. He refers to the many photographs of Fr Nugée in "Mass vestments, in cassock and biretta". He dismisses the whole thing as "humbug" and "mortar of the Tower of Babel".[2]

Provost Nugée was certainly one of the most bizarre and original personalities of the second phase of the Anglo-Catholic movement in the Church of England—as eccentric in his own way as his life-long friend, Dr Lee of Lambeth. He himself was ignored by its authorities, because no doubt he was too rich to be attacked with impunity. Yet he was something more than an eccentric free-lance. After his death in October 1892 it was recorded that "many will miss him, more especially the poor and needy, and the little children whom he loved to gather

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[1] Op. cit. (2nd ed., 1877), vol. II, pp. 132, 133.

[2] Maude Petre, *Life of Fr Tyrrell* (1912), vol. I, p. 151.

round him. He never turned away from sorrow and need." That he chose to hide himself in the slums of South London, when he might have continued to live in comfort and luxury as a squire-parson in Hampshire, proves that he was not just playing at monasticism. Within a year or two of his death the remaining members of the "Order" were dispersed. "Brother à Becket" and the other quasi-monks in their black robes vanished from the streets of Walworth.

Just before the priory was closed, its chapel was the scene of the clothing of Benjamin Fearnley Carlyle—the future Abbot of Caldey—as a Benedictine Oblate. He relates that his own Brotherhood, when the property had been sold and its contents auctioned, "fell heir to some of the chapel furniture".[1] These Oblates of St Benedict, so Abbot Carlyle writes, were "a body of young men—a sort of Third Order—living in the world with the intention of later on adopting a monastic mode of life, and it was hoped eventually to form a community if it became clear that they had vocations. There were already six members of this group." They were under the direction of the Reverend Arthur Dale, the rather eccentric but devoted chaplain to the Convent of Benedictine nuns at Twickenham (see p. 424). "The nuns made our first Benedictine habits", writes the ex-abbot. "We met Fr Dale each month either at Twickenham, or at some London church for a conference and chapter and we soon had about twenty oblates in the London centre. As soon as the nuns moved from Twickenham to West Malling Abbey, later on in the same year 1893, we were frequently at the Abbey for feasts and great functions; and another centre was begun at Chatham in Kent."[2]

Then the Oblates rented a room over a fish shop at Ealing, where they used to meet to recite the office. Later on they took a small house in Ealing where the Community "lived a quasi-common life for a year or so, as far as their respective occupations allowed. Most of the young men helped in the parochial activities of their favourite Anglican churches; but on occasion Mass was said at the Oxford Road chapel by one of the clergy from St Cuthbert's, Philbeach Gardens."[3] This sort of existence was to be found in other similar lay Brotherhoods which functioned at the time. The group of Benedictine Oblates broke up at the Whitsuntide

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[1] P. F. Anson, *The Benedictines of Caldey* (1940), p. 8. The bulk of the furniture went ultimately to St Nicholas', Blackwall, and St Saviour's, Poplar. F. H. Hulme, *Blackwall to Bloemfontein* (Durban, 1950). The reredos, crucifix, and figures of St Mary and St John from the rood-beam were set up in the Lady Chapel of St John's, Walworth. There is good reason to believe that the candlesticks from the high altar went to St Agnes', Kennington. (Cf. *Southwark Diocesan Gazette*, November, 1938.)

[2] Ibid., pp. 8–9.

[3] Ibid., p. 9.

Chapter at Malling Abbey in 1895, when none of those present felt able to follow Br Aelred Carlyle, who was now resolved to found a regular monastic community. The house at Ealing was given up and Carlyle himself returned to live with his family (see p. 166).

The *Brotherhood of St Dunstan* was a much earlier venture, having been established in the Paddington district of West London in 1870. It was an offshoot from the Guild of St Alban. The object was to combine the monastic life with that of young men in business. We are told that the Brothers used to recite the office of Lauds in their oratory before attending daily Mass in the near-by parish church. Prime preceded breakfast, with Terce and meditation afterwards. Then the members went off to their respective jobs, reassembling for tea at 5 p.m. Vespers were recited before the Brothers departed to supervise night-schools, choir practices, or parochial clubs. Their day ended with Compline. By 1876 the Community had moved to Plaistow on the eastern outskirts of London, one of their numbers having been ordained as a curate to St Andrew's, Plaistow. The "monastery" was a rambling old house in Balaam Street, not far from where the Society of the Divine Compassion had its first friary eighteen years later.

A Brother George Malim was the Superior. Ivy House also provided accommodation for the two curates of St Andrew's. One of these, the Reverend E. Geldert, famous in his day as a designer of church embroidery, supervised the decoration of the oratory—far less ornate than that of St Austin's Priory, already described. A club for young men and boys was erected in the garden, primarily with the hope that some of the more devout would join the Brotherhood as Associates. About fifty did so, and they had the privilege of assisting at the offices and other services in the little chapel. The Brothers did parish work at St Gabriel's, Canning Town. Some took part in the Christian Socialist activities of the Guild of St. Matthew. The Community was disbanded in 1880 or shortly after.[1]

Another Brotherhood of early foundation was that of the *Holy Spirit* established by the Reverend R. W. Corbet, Rector of Stoke-on-Tern, Shropshire, in 1869. Its members were in Holy Orders. It seems to have existed for about ten years. The *Brotherhood of St Paul* was formed about 1891 by the Reverend W. Moultrie Roberts. The headquarters were in Lisson Grove, London, W. The members devoted themselves to street-preaching and visiting the poor. They were disbanded within less than a year. In 1889 there was a small brotherhood, known as the *Society of St Paul*, working in the parish of Holy Trinity, Shoreditch, London,

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[1] Cf. *A Franciscan Revival* (1908), pp. 15–17; also *The Story of the Guild of St Alban*, pp. 15, 16.

under the Reverend Osborne Jay. As will be related in the next section, although the Brotherhood itself was disbanded about 1894, it is perpetuated today in the *Order of St Paul*, whose founder became a member of the Shoreditch community, and afterwards its Indian Provincial.

Mr George H. Smith, Provost of the Guild of St Alban from 1922 to 1925, in his *Story* of this Guild, gives the names of forty-nine Brotherhoods which existed at some period. About twenty were established in or around London; the rest were to be found in other parts of England. Among these Brotherhoods are some of those which have been dealt with in this chapter. As to the rest, it is difficult to discover whether they were merely parish guilds of a quasi-monastic character, or communities with Houses in which the members lived.

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The existence of these many Brotherhoods proves how persistent was the call of the cloister during the second half of the nineteenth century. It shows that Anglican clergy and laymen in particular felt that there was room for other communities besides Llanthony and Cowley, which for many years were the only witnesses to the Religious Life for men in the Church of England.[1]

Those who were responsible for the foundation of such Brotherhoods had never been subject to any sort of religious discipline themselves. It was all rather like playing a game without being too sure of the rules; the "teams" never having been in direct contact with "professional players" from whose experience they might have benefited.

No doubt it was the clandestine nature of some of these quasi-communities, in which everything was kept as secret as possible, as if there were cabalistic mysteries which could not be disclosed to the uninitiated, which appealed to a certain type of mind. The whole business was definitely an "underground movement"—a sort of ritualistic *maquis*—and it would be a mistake to regard it as very important. In one sense it was nothing more than a backwash of the Gothic Revival and the Pre-Raphaelite movement—even a persistence after a hundred years of the same subconscious urge that found expression in the mock medievalism of the eighteenth century, with its "Gothick" novels and sham ruins.[1] To the student of history this curious phenomenon is not without interest. It seems to have had no counterpart in contemporary Roman Catholicism in England, other than such approximations to quasi-communities as "The Little Oratory" or the Jesuit "Sodality of our Lady".

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[1] The inquiring student who wishes to learn more of the character of Brotherhoods, such as have been described in this chapter, is advised to refer to [Sir] Compton Mackenzie's two novels, *Sinister Street* (Part I, 1913) and *The Altar Steps* (1922). The former contains vivid descriptions of "Clere Abbey on the Berkshire Downs", a small Benedictine community ruled over by "Dom Cuthbert Manners" (1939 edition, pp. 203–17). In the later novel "Malford Abbey" and "The Order of St George", whose members observe a modified form of the Benedictine rule and devote themselves to active work among soldiers, are treated with far greater detail (pp. 256–341). It is known that the author was familiar with two Brotherhoods which existed between 1896 and 1900, and it is quite obvious which ones provided inspiration. The characterization is generally life-like. Persons whose memories go back half a century can vouch for the accurate observation, even more for the sense of period. No official histories which have been written about such communities as these, whose members were laymen, directed by a superior who was in holy orders, manage to convey their isolation from the mainstream of Church life, as do these two novels. The experimental nature of such monastic ventures is also brought out clearly. However Canon Roger Lloyd is not far wrong when he says that the trilogy begun by *The Altar Steps* "leaves a nasty taste". (*The Church of England in the Twentieth Century*, vol. I, London, 1946, p. 129.)

6. ORDER OF ST PAUL

The Abbey, Alton, Hampshire (1889)

The Order of St Paul is an outstanding example of those Anglican communities which in recent years have given up some or all of their external activities and adopted a more conventual form of the religious life. Its story is unlike that of any other dealt with in this book. When the Order was established in 1889 its object was to promote the spiritual and material welfare of seamen of the mercantile marine. The motto "For God and Our Sailors" was chosen to express these ideals, but today the spirit of the members is conveyed better in the words of St Benedict: "Let nothing, then, be preferred to the work of God." In 1958 the celebration of the Divine Office in choir and the daily conventual Mass takes precedence over works of mercy and charity.

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Charles Plomer Hopkins—the founder of the Order—was born at Brewster, Massachusetts, on 7 March 1861. His father was a master mariner; proud to claim at least collateral descent from Oceanus Hopkins, who was born at sea as the *Mayflower* ploughed her way across the Atlantic during the autumn gales of 1620. Brewster is a small seaport on the north side of Cape Cod, but Charles only knew the home of his Puritan ancestors as a tiny baby. Before he was a year old he made his first long sea voyage, when his parents took him to England. They settled at Falmouth, where in those roaring days of sail it was no uncommon

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[1] Another instance of the survival of mock-medievalism is the completely unmonastic body known as "The Monks of St Giles", otherwise a social club in Edinburgh, founded in 1852, and which still functions.

sight to behold from fifteen to twenty outward bound big windjammers driven in by a Channel gale, or anchored in the Carrick Roads with their cargoes of grain, wool, or nitrates. There was a continual coming between sea and land. Such were the surroundings in which the boy grew up. When he was eight years old there followed another long voyage—one hundred and forty days in a sailing ship round the Cape of Good Hope to Rangoon. After a few years in the Far East young Hopkins was sent back to England—again in a sailing vessel. He records "the great-hearted tenderness of the big grizzly bearded seamen" as they handed him up the gangway of the *Geologist*, and afterwards tried in a hundred-and-one ways to make him forget his loneliness, "even if the tears would come. In this, my first great trouble, the sailors helped me and drew me towards them." Sailors were to go on drawing him for the rest of his life.[1]

Hopkins's schooldays were passed at Falmouth. We may be certain that he went on making friends with seamen, but strange to say he did not choose to follow his father's profession. Music called more strongly, so he was sent to study at Heidelberg. After some years in Germany he returned to England, where he continued his studies in London at Trinity College of Music. Then he returned to Rangoon, where his parents obtained for him the post of organist and choirmaster of the Anglican Cathedral there.

He did not remain a professional musician very long. The sea was still calling him. Ships of many nations were moored in the wide river or berthed alongside the wharves or pontoons of this the third seaport in British India. "One Sunday morning", to quote his own words, "after service was done, something—not duty—kept me longer than usual at the organ, and, when I looked round about me, the cathedral was quite empty. I closed the organ and passed out of God's House, to come face to face with a big crowd of excited natives surrounding six young Englishmen in the uniform of merchant apprentices. These lads were all drunk, and the natives were hooting and making fun of them. As I came up the crowd dispersed, and two of the lads managed to slip away. The other four were so drunk that they were lying or sitting on the ground in the blazing sun.

"To leave them as and where they were would have been cruel; and so, with the help of one or two natives, I got them into a *gharry*, and took them home with me. My home was a bachelor's flat, down by the river side, and not far from the cathedral. Here I had the fellows taken in hand by my bearer (valet) who made them as comfortable as he could in a spare bedroom, where they slept off their debauch."

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[1] Most of the historical facts recorded in this section are taken from an article "Father Hopkins—The Sky Pilot" which the present writer contributed to *The Irish Monthly* (October, 1922). The material was supplied by the Order of St Paul shortly after the death of the founder. Further details of the Order's history will be found in its magazine *The Messenger*, published since 1891.

Some hours later, when saying "Good-bye", after having entertained them to dinner, Hopkins asked the apprentices how they happened to be in the state in which he found them that morning. The lads explained that they had no friends ashore and nowhere to go. There was nothing else to do but to drift into the saloons. Hopkins told them to make use of his flat whenever they liked. "They came on Monday, they came on Tuesday, and yet again on Wednesday; and then they asked me if, on Thursday, they might bring some other fellows too."

Hopkins replied "Yes", and from that day his flat in Phayre Street was overrun with apprentices, not only on Sundays, but on every day of the week. "That was how I think my 'call' came", he used to explain in after years. Such was how he began his life-work for "God and Our Sailors"—the motto he adopted for the Order he founded later on.

The clergy were surprised to notice the crowds of young mercantile marine officers who began to attend the cathedral services. Hopkins himself now realized that music was not his true vocation. It struck him that there was need for a special kind of apostolate among seafarers, and that something was lacking. In 1884 he was ordained deacon, and the following year priest. After this he was appointed Port Chaplain at Rangoon.

Not many port chaplains have ever been able to claim the inside knowledge of maritime life which Hopkins had acquired already. Except for two or three years, he had been in close contact with merchant seamen since he was a small boy. There can be little doubt that during those two long voyages in windjammers he would have listened to the sailors discussing their pay, their work, the poor food and accommodation on board ships, the inadequate legal protection afforded to them, not to mention the moral condition of most seaports. It is probable that Hopkins, even before he became port chaplain at Rangoon, knew of the efforts which had been made by British seamen from about 1810 to organize local unions, and how in 1851 a fairly widespread national organization of seafarers had been formed on the east coast of Britain, and how this body had been largely instrumental in getting the Merchant Shipping Act of 1854 passed by Parliament. About four years before his ordination, a Sailors' and Sea-going Firemen's Friendly Association had been founded at Sunderland. One of its most active members, J. Havelock Wilson, who was to become one of Hopkins's closest friends later on, was already trying to organize the National Amalgamated Sailors' and Firemen's Union, which was finally established in 1887. Meanwhile the Board of Trade had arranged for a Royal Commission to inquire into the conditions of the mercantile marine.

At first all went well, but it was not long before Hopkins started to champion the cause of the seamen from the pulpit, in the Press, and even in the law courts. He gathered round him a small group of young laymen, mostly of the seafaring class, to help in his work. They became known as "The Seamen's Friendly Society", and were, in fact, a sort of embryo maritime Trade Union, something on the lines of those functioning in England. The Bishop of Rangoon grew alarmed. He begged the Port Chaplain to confine himself to purely spiritual ministrations and not to interfere in economic problems which, so the Bishop felt, were not his concern. But this young clergyman was no respecter of persons, not even of bishops—maybe an inheritance from his Puritan ancestors? He refused to comply with the episcopal orders. So the Bishop decided that Hopkins had better leave Rangoon. He moved him to Akyab, a smaller port on the west coast of Burma.

There was very little shipping at Akyab, and Hopkins had more time for prayer and meditation. From very much the same motives as the Rev. the Honourable James G. Adderley a few years later he began to visualize the formation of a religious community. The former would plan his Society of the Divine Compassion as a group of poor men in the midst of the poor of East London, with "a real sharing of the discomfort and restraint of the poor—a closer drawing together of class and class—more sympathy between the would-be prophets and those whom they propose to teach"; the latter pictured his Brotherhood identifying itself with the seafaring class, able, in the strength of its own working members, to exist independently of the favours and support of the shipping companies, as was the case with all existing Anglican organizations dedicated to the sea apostolate.[1]

To secure continuity and stability a higher motive for service was needed than a salary. "So it was", Hopkins wrote in after years, "the old works done in Poverty, Chastity, and Obedience rose up before me of what *might* be done for and amongst our sailors, if a community of men of the right sort could be formed. To seamen themselves I would turn for the material, for it seemed to me that only those who themselves had gone through ship life would ever understand what it really was, and so be able to sympathize with and work for seamen."[1]

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[1] The Church of England started mission work among seafarers in co-operation with Nonconformists in 1818, when the *British and Foreign Sailors Society* was formed in London. *The Missions to Seamen* was formed on exclusively Anglican lines in 1856. This organization did not quite satisfy the growing number of catholic-minded Church people, so in 1864 the *St Andrew's Waterside Church Mission* was set up. Not long after this *The Gibraltar Mission* to Seamen was established to provide Anglican chaplains for the chief ports around the Mediterranean, also to maintain Sailors' Homes in some places. Of a more "evangelical" character were the *Mission to Deep Sea Fishermen*, founded in 1881, and the *Royal Naval Scripture Readers Society*. Miss Agnes Weston's *Sailors' Rests*, which catered for the Royal Navy in the chief dockyard ports, were run on an undenominational Protestant basis. (Cf. P. F. Anson, *The Church and the Sailor*, 1948, pp. 40–56.)

It should be made clear that Hopkins was not drawn to the idea of the Religious Life as an end in itself, but only as a means to an end. He must be given the credit of being the first person ever to found a religious community for charitable and religious work among seafarers.

Just as Adderley and his friends in East London would realize that something more was needed than Trade Unions to achieve social reforms, so did Hopkins come to the same conclusion in a remote seaport in Burma.[2]

He had no practical knowledge of the Religious Life at this date, unless his contacts with the Cowley Fathers in India had been made already, which is not certain. His health broke down at Akyab and he was ordered home to England. During his stay in London, early in 1888, he happened to meet the Reverend Osborne Jay, who was carrying on an intensive but unconventional social and religious apostolate in the slum parish of Holy Trinity, Shoreditch. Fr Jay must have been a man after Hopkins's own heart. His aim was to penetrate the lives of his parishioners, even to welcoming notorious criminals to his clubs. The services in his church were conducted on lines which Charles Booth described some years later as "very high, very bright, and very short".[3]

Working in Fr Jay's parish was a small brotherhood, known as the Society of St Paul, whose Superior was a certain Br John. It was he who

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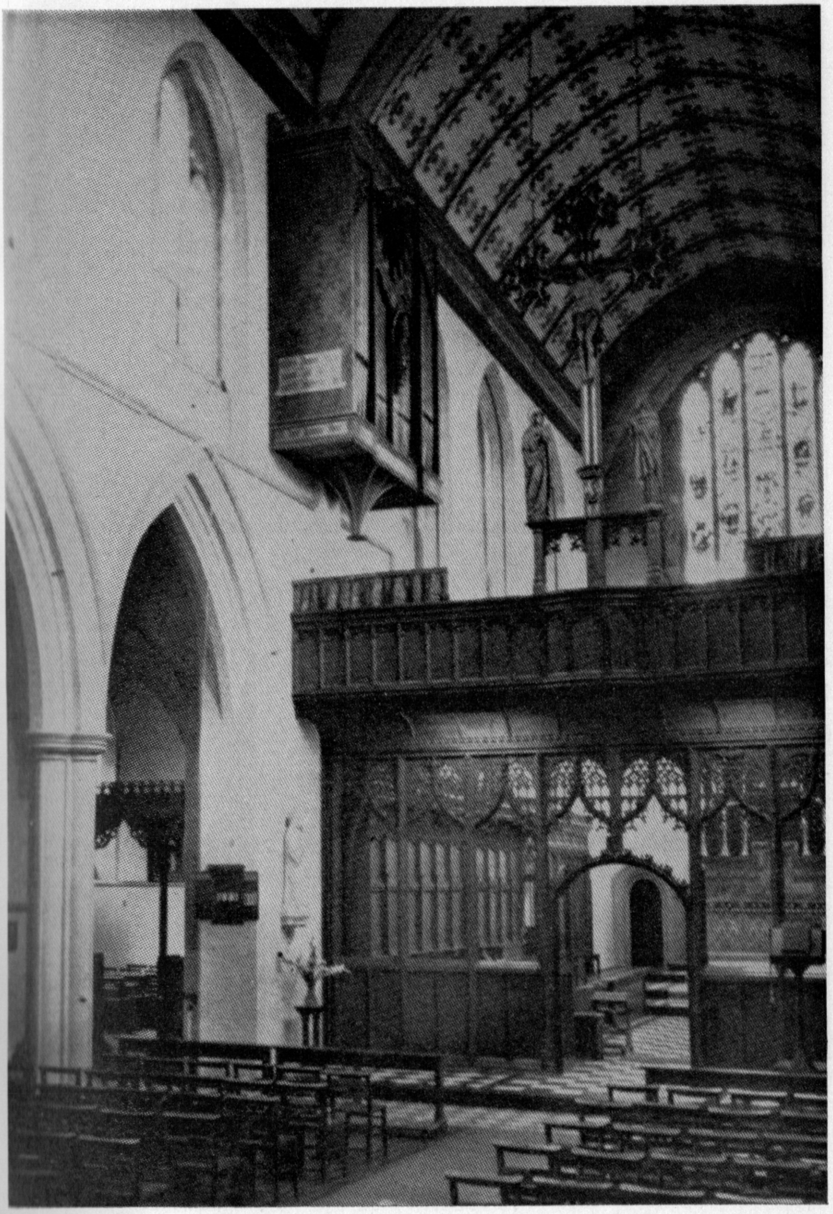
[1] Very much the same thing struck a group of Frenchmen more than sixty years later, and decided the Bishops to establish the *Mission de la Mer*. Before these priests were allowed to work as port chaplains they had to undergo a theoretical and professional training. This involved going to sea as members of the crews of mercantile marine ships or fishing vessels. These "seamen priests" were disbanded in 1955 at the same time as the French "priest-workmen".

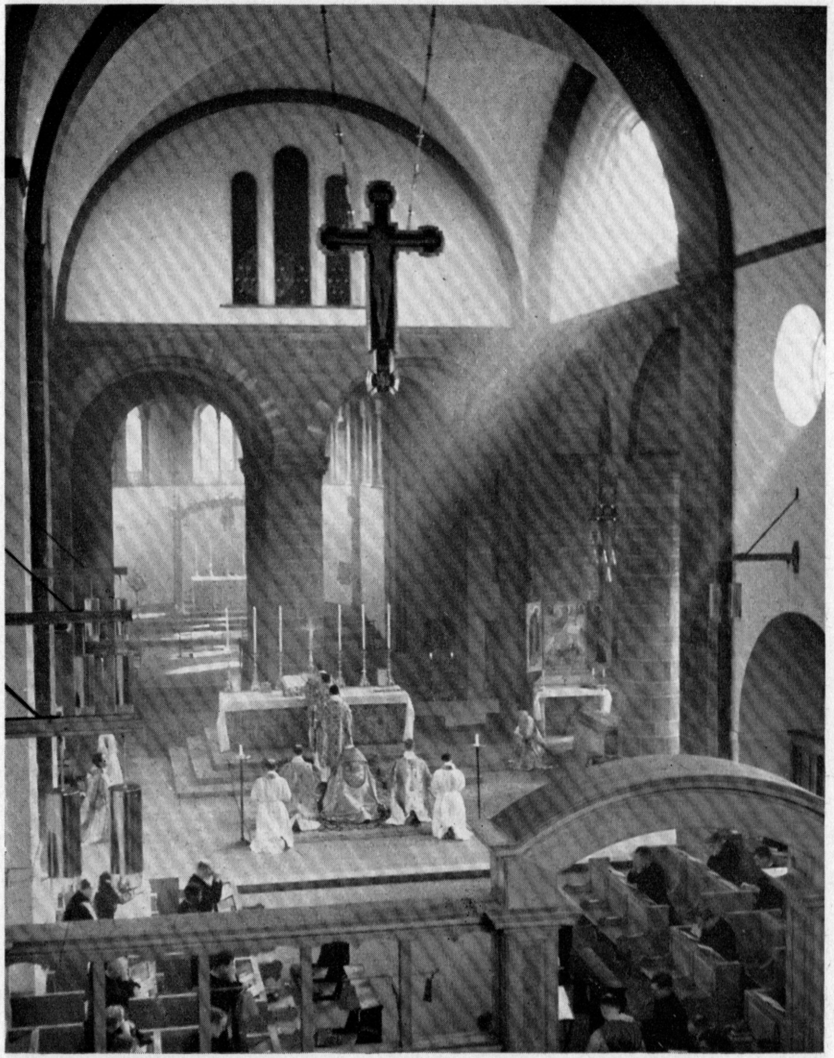
[2] Hopkins's approach to social service among seafarers was not unlike that of the French Dominican, Père Lebret, who between the two world wars founded the *Secrétariat Social Maritime* to investigate the economic problems of maritime life. Again his urge to identify himself and his Brotherhood with seamen has an affinity with the methods adopted by Peter Maurin, Dorothy Day, and other founders of the Catholic Worker Movement in America about the same time as Père Lebret's purely theoretical investigation into maritime economics. Sixty years ago it was a novel idea to try to see society from the bottom up, that is, from the person to the institution or organization. Hopkins seems to have felt that only by identification with seamen could he and his community obtain real contact with them and render practical service.

[3] *Life and Labour of the People in London*, Third Series: Religious Influences (1902), vol. II, p. 74.



CHURCH OF ST JOHN THE EVANGELIST, COWLEY, OXFORD (1896)
By George Frederick Bodley

See p. 72



House of the Resurrection, Mirfield (begun 1911)
By Sir Walter Tapper

See p. 123

suggested that Hopkins should join the Brotherhood, and set up a maritime branch in the Far East. The whole thing seemed providential. Hopkins wasted no time, for he was restless to get back to the scene of his previous activities. Within less than a year he appears to have made his vows as a member of the Society of St Paul, and taken the religious name of Michael. Having received an invitation from the Bishop of Calcutta to undertake the duties of seamen's chaplain in that busy port, he sailed for India, with the informal status of Provincial of the Society of St Paul.

Calcutta, with its port extending ten miles along the river Hugli, provided much more scope for the Seamen's Friendly Society than Rangoon. A house in a large garden on the banks of the river was turned into a priory. Some young sailors were clothed as novices. A large room was fitted up as a chapel. Here the Brethren recited the *Day Hours of the Church of England*. Every morning the Superior celebrated the Holy Eucharist. The nautical method of keeping time was adopted. Thus the Community arose at "four bells" and at "five bells" (6 a.m. and 6.30 a.m.), met in the chapel to say Mattins. Ship and hospital visitation, and above all, the entertainment of seafarers provided more than enough work for the Brethren. Seamen were coming and going all day long. Friendships were made. There was good cheer and conviviality; frequent concerts and "sing-songs". One forms the impression that this priory must have resembled a typical Trade Union "lodge" of that period rather than a normal monastery.[1]

But the religious side of the work was not neglected. Before Fr Hopkins took over the Seamen's Church the number of communicants was very small. They reached 1,450 by the close of the year 1892.

A constitution was drawn up in which it was stated that "the objects of the Society are charitable and religious work among seamen, particularly (a) to lead into the way of truth and righteousness of life those who go down to the sea in ships, and occupy their business in great waters (*i.e.* seafarers employed in the Mercantile Marine of all countries); (b) to administer in the private Oratories of the Order for the benefit of merchant seamen, the sacraments, rite and ceremonies of the Catholic Church according to the use of the Church of England; (c) to extend to merchant sailors (especially such as are homeless and destitute) the hand of fellowship and friendship in the Name of Christ."

At first the Bishop was quite sympathetic towards the Brotherhood, and so was the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, who wrote that its members were doing a "most useful work". But just as at Rangoon, so it was in Calcutta; Fr Hopkins refused to limit his activities to the spiritual welfare of seafarers. Early in 1893 he accepted the presidency of a branch of the National Sailors' and Firemen's Union which had been formed in Calcutta and placed all the machinery of his Brotherhood at the disposal of this organization. About the same time a general office of his Seamen's Friendly Society had been opened in London, and district secretaries appointed. Meanwhile a Federation of Shipowners of the United Kingdom had been set up to counteract what were regarded as the revolutionary demands of the seamen and firemen. Business men and clerical circles were shocked at the Society of St Paul being mixed up with disputes concerning the material conditions of maritime life; even more when the Father Provincial forced the Bengal government officials to pass measures for the benefit of these men. The newspapers gave great publicity to all this sort of thing. The Bishop insisted that Fr Hopkins should sever his connection with the Sailors' and Firemen's Union. He obeyed orders, but established a "Seamen's Guild" in Calcutta, which occupied itself with precisely the same economic problems as the local branch of the Union.

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[1] Cf. Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *The History of Trade Unionism* (Revised edition, 1926), pp. 444–50.

The increasingly strained relations between the Brotherhood and the civil and ecclesiastical authorities in Calcutta finally decided the founder to move its headquarters to England. It is possible that the passing of the Merchant Shipping Act in 1894 influenced Fr Hopkins, for he may have realized that he ought to be closer to the heart of the battle. Another reason for the move was the difficulty of finding the right type of vocations in India. There would be a larger maritime community to draw on in home ports. Leaving a few Brothers in charge of the priory, he sailed for England with the others, armed with "letters commendatory" from the Bishop of Calcutta to the bishops at home.

The previous year Hopkins had sent one of the Brethren to open a small priory at Barry, a South Wales port with a growing export trade in coal and iron. Cardiff was only seven miles distant, and was one of the strategic points for the activities of the Sailors' and Firemen's Union. For about a year Barry remained the Mother House of the Brotherhood. Its style was changed to the Order of St Paul since the original Society of this name in Shoreditch had been disbanded by this time. The title of Seamen's Friendly Society was retained to describe the nature of the Order's active work among seafarers.[1]

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[1] The Spirit of God was moving on the waters during those years, not in one spot or in one Church, but in conditions and places far removed from each other. Almost at the same moment that the Seamen's Friendly Society became a religious community, the Apostleship of Prayer started its work for Roman Catholic seafarers.

There followed a phase in the history of the Order when the emphasis appeared to be laid more on the monastic than on the maritime aspect of its ideals. Within a year of settling at Barry Fr Hopkins bought some land, situated near the village of Medstead, about four miles from Alton in Hampshire. Some of the Brethren arrived there in the early spring of 1895, "footsore and weary after a long tramp from Barry, without money or worldly goods. The land on which they settled was a few acres of virgin copse. Trees had first to be cut down and sufficient ground cleared to enable them to pitch their tents. In these they lived for many months whilst busily engaged in building a little wattle church and temporary abbey. In addition, there was the necessary work of cutting down the copse-wood, planting vegetables on the land so cleared, which vegetables were to be their main, almost their only diet for some time to come. The work was hard, the food scanty, the ordinary comforts and even conveniences of life were non-existent; but they were happy and content for they were supported by a great ideal. They had forsaken all to follow Christ."[1]

The founder's intention was that this remote monastery should be the novitiate, where men could be trained for their future work as maritime missionaries, away from the distractions of ships and sailors. But seafarers soon discovered the Abbey Camp (as it was called), although it was far from any main road and not on the direct route between any south of England shipping centres. Some of the seamen who turned up were too old or infirm ever to go to sea again. Either they had to be sent away to end their days in the workhouse, or provision had to be made for them by the Brothers. Thus it was that a start was made to erect a temporary Home for these aged "shell-backs".

More Brethren were needed at home to staff the Priory at Barry and help with the varied work at Alton. In 1896 Fr Hopkins recalled the few still remaining in India. Three years later he opened another Priory at Greenwich to enable the Community to extend its apostolate to the Port of London. At the Mother House the Brethren "toiled for many weary and back-aching months in gathering in and stacking the larger flints which 'grew' so plentifully upon the soil. Plans were prepared; technical books studied; and a start was made at length upon the permanent Abbey Church."[2]

When Fr Hopkins was moving his maritime Brotherhood to England the Augustinians of the Assumption in France were founding the *Société des Œuvres de Mer* to bring medical, moral, and religious assistance to seamen, especially those engaged in the deep-sea fisheries.

[1] *For God and our Sailors* (Alton Abbey, 1930), p. 7.

[2] Ibid., p. 8. The designs were made by Percy Green, A.R.I.B.A.

The north transept was opened in 1901. The following year the Reverend J. C. Hawes designed the Gothic gatehouse, which was finished in 1903. The nave and south transept of the church were begun in 1905 and ready for use two years later, when the original wooden chapel was pulled down.

In spite of this material progress the internal state of the Order was far from stable, the reasons for which are best explained in the founder's own words: "Up to the time of our withdrawal from India, the Brothers and the would-be Brothers of the Order had come from the seafaring community itself, although there was no rule to that effect. On establishing ourselves in England, however, it became otherwise; chiefly landsmen applied for admission to the Brotherhood and were accepted for training. At that time considerable interest was being manifested in the revival of the Religious Life in the Church of England and many aspirants came to us.

"As a natural consequence, I suppose, the Community of Brothers commenced to show signs of being more concerned for 'recognition', 'orthodoxy', and the 'real thing in Monasticism' than for the battles or betterment of seamen. I had adopted the religious life myself, and established my Brotherhood as a Religious Community because, and only because, I felt it would make more efficient our endeavours for the seamen. The seamen and their causes were our first concern. An element in the Brotherhood after we had settled in England protested that the life —the religious life—must be our first concern, and that activities for and amongst the sailors should be spiritual and philanthropic, nothing more.

"I could not agree, and insisted on my freedom and the freedom of other Brothers too—of the whole Brotherhood in fact—to co-operate with any movement which had for its object the betterment of the conditions and surroundings of the seafaring class. This domestic difference resulted in some of the more spiritual and monastic-minded Brethren leaving the Community—and eventually getting married, most of them! Whilst the more earthly—'worldly' minded would not convey the true significance—remained and continued to carry on along the old lines."

It is easy to understand that the Anglo-Catholic layman of the average type of half a century ago did not find what he wanted at Alton Abbey. The general instability of this curious experiment in maritime monasticism, where nobody cared much about details of ritual or ceremonial, must have been disturbing, even more so the aggressively Socialist atmosphere. A postulant who turned up in 1906 would have found the Superior far more preoccupied with the passing of the Merchant Shipping Act than with the outward observances of the Community. Four years later he would have been full of even greater enthusiasm at the prospect of the

establishment of the Transport Workers' Federation. Then in 1911 Fr Hopkins found strong reasons for long absences from the Abbey. In June that year the seamen and firemen went out on strike in all British ports. Within a short time they were followed by every worker in the Port of London. Hopkins, in order to identify himself more closely with the cause of the sailor, now discarded his monastic habit when away from his monastery. His uniform consisted of a blue pilot-cloth suit, peaked cap, blue seaman's jersey and a pectoral cross. He became a familiar figure addressing mass meetings, sitting on committees, and marching in processions.[1]

"He was one of our star turns", records J. Havelock Wilson, then Secretary of the Sailors' and Firemen's Union. A newspaper reporter, writing-up one of the open-air meetings during the strike, described how a sailor asked: "Who's that chap?" Another sailor replied: "Why, don't you know? That's Father Hopkins—The Sky Pilot. Met him out in Calcutta years ago. They say he's a monk, or something of that sort, but he's a good friend to seamen." The fame of the Superior-General of the Order of St Paul spread to many countries, even Germany. The *Frankfürter Zeitung*, commenting on the 1911 seamen's strike, wrote: "The men were only feebly organized, and yet, against all rules of the Trade Union art of war, have won greater victories than ever have been won by their well-developed and well-directed Trade Union. Because their hour had struck. Because a man is their banner-bearer who seeks nothing for himself and serves these proletarians with a pure heart—an Anglican clergyman of the middle-classes—'Father' he is called by the seamen." That this great strike resulted in another victory for seafarers, after a conference between Lord Devonport, acting on behalf of the Government, and the Union leaders, was due in no small measure to the efforts of Fr Hopkins. The Merchant Shipping (Convention) Act became law not long afterwards.

Granted that Hopkins's battles for the betterment of seafarers were entirely in keeping with the objects of his Order, it must be admitted that they did not help the life of the Order *as a Community*. There is a limit to what any one man can do, and Hopkins obviously did not leave himself enough time or energy to be a genuine religious superior, even if he had wanted to be so, which is rather doubtful. After all, he always insisted that the seamen and their causes were far more important than the Brotherhood itself. Although Hopkins was Founder of the Order of St Paul, and its Superior for rather less than half of its existence, one may be permitted to think that it is alive today in spite of, rather than because of him. Considering that he had identified his Brotherhood with the more revolutionary aspects of the Trade Union movement from the time of its foundation, it is not surprising that most Anglican bishops, clergy, and layfolk refused to have anything to do with it after 1911. On the other hand the Order could still count on a loyal body of friends and benefactors. Thanks to their financial support it was possible to maintain the charitable works for sailors.

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[1] It is curious that a more or less similar uniform has been adopted in recent times by the seamen-priests of the *Mission de la Mer*; however, in their case a cross and anchor badge took the place of a pectoral cross, with a beret instead of the "cheese-cutter" cap.

Having found that he could not obtain enough men from the seafaring class, and that landsmen did not appear to possess the right qualifications for carrying on the works undertaken by the Brotherhood, Hopkins resolved to enrol the services of women. Here, once again, he was in advance of his own generation. Nearly half a century later a port chaplain at Bordeaux made use of a community of nuns to run his *Foyer du Marin*. More recently some of the Apostleship of the Sea Clubs in the larger English ports have formed groups of the "Guild of our Lady of the Ships". Their members observe a fairly strict rule of life, and act as hostesses in the Clubs. But Hopkins's "Second Order", like most of his excellent projects, did not succeed, and only one member persevered in the religious state.

Maybe he had begun to realize that his work was a failure, at least so far as the monastic side was concerned. For health reasons Hopkins was obliged to give up most of his active work with the Sailors' and Firemen's Union. By 1913 he was often staying in a cottage at St Mawes, Cornwall, which was renamed "The Priory". It was here in the surroundings of his boyhood that he wrote a pamphlet entitled *Altering Plimsoll's Mark*, which was published that year, with the object of ensuring a stricter enforcement of loadline regulations. In this pamphlet he styled himself "Chaplain Mercantile Marine", and explained that although he had worked amongst merchant seamen as a minister of religion since he received holy orders in 1883, he had not confined himself "to spiritual ministrations only".

Then came the first world war, and the Superior-General's "spiritual ministrations" faded into the background. All the Brothers, except one who was rejected as medically unfit, joined the Forces. Four lost their lives. Only one returned after the war. In the autumn of 1914 Alton Abbey was transformed into an Aliens' Camp and two hundred German seamen were received there. Later on the local inhabitants protested and the aliens were moved elsewhere. The novitiate was closed down. All building operations came to a standstill, but the old "shell-backs" were still cared for by Br George, who was left in charge of the Abbey. Sister Francis, the only member of the Second Order for women, remained on at Greenwich.

Fr Hopkins's unique knowledge of maritime life was now put to good use. He was consulted by the seamen's and shipowners' organizations. The Shipping Controller, Sir Joseph Maclay, asked him to assist with the setting up of the National Maritime Board, established in 1917, in order to conciliate the employers and the employees in the Mercantile Marine. The history of this movement, which resulted in a new relationship between the masters and men of the Merchant Navy, was told by Hopkins himself in the book entitled *National Service of British Merchant Seamen 1914–1919*, published in 1919. He was appointed to the Board as the representative of the Sailors' and Firemen's Panel. In recognition of his services to his country during the war he was appointed an Officer of the Order of the British Empire in 1916, and raised to the rank of a Commander in 1920. Among positions held by the Superior-General of the Order of St Paul during the latter years of his life were those of Honorary Treasurer of the Seafarers' Joint Council, and Deputy Chairman of the National War Savings Committee. He was also a member of the Mercantile Marine Service Association, of the Society for Nautical Research, an Honorary Trustee of the National Union of British Seafarers, and a member of the Council of the Gravesend Sea School. It would be true to say that no other Superior of an Anglican religious community has ever obtained such recognition outside clerical circles.

The night and day labour, with its never-ending worry and anxiety, played no small part in permanently undermining Fr Hopkins's health. In March 1922 he went off to St Mawes to recuperate, and had a stroke from which he never recovered. He died on 24 March within sight of the sea and ships. His body was brought back to Hampshire and laid to rest in the Abbey cemetery, beside the graves of many of his sailor sons. Later on, a memorial cross was erected to the memory of this man whose whole life had been spent in the service of seafarers.

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All seemed at an end after the funeral of the man who had been the Order's driving force from the time of its foundation. The membership was reduced to three—two men and one woman. To all intents and purposes the Order had ceased to exist so far as the Church of England was concerned.[1]

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[1] It was not even mentioned by A. T. Cameron in *The Religious Communities of the Church of England*, published in 1918.

The easiest way to solve the problems which confronted Brothers George and Aidan and Sister Francis in March 1922 would have been to admit defeat; wind up the affairs of the practically defunct Community, and hand over the works of charity to another Anglican organization. These three survivors from the wreck were thrown back on their own resources. From the purely human point of view none of them showed signs of possessing the qualities needed to re-establish the Order. But all of them had been trained by Fr Hopkins and believed in his ideals. After struggling along for two years to keep the ship afloat, they met in Chapter at Greenwich early in 1924. Here it was resolved to reopen the novitiate which had been in abeyance for ten years. It was agreed that the full observance of the Rule, which, owing to depleted personnel, had been largely given up, should be resumed as soon as possible. Sister Francis, who in virtue of seniority of profession had become Superior-General after the death of Fr Hopkins, decided to remain in charge of the Greenwich Priory. Br Aidan was appointed Prior of Alton, and Br George nominated Sub-Prior and Novice-Master.

"It will easily be realized," so one of this heroic trio wrote in after years, "that it was with no sense of pride or worldly ambition that we undertook so great a responsibility—one that involved the accepting of men with religious vocations, and the testing and training of them through the years of their Novitiate. It meant, in effect, the refounding of the Community, and the building it up again from the beginning. We distrusted our own ability to undertake so exacting a task, and hardly dared to hope for success; perhaps we should hardly dare to hope for it now were it not that we see the hand of God so manifestly in it. Our obligations to make provision for the future of the work were clear, and we had not considered how far we could fulfil them in other ways; but no other possibility presented itself; the revival of the Community was the only means, and it is with the deepest thankfulness that we can say that God has blessed our efforts."[1]

The Rule was revised and brought into closer conformity with the Rule of St. Benedict. A new Constitution was drawn up and certain changes made in the observances. Br George set to work on the compilation of a new diurnal, to take the place of *The Day Hours of the Church of England*. It was printed for the private use of the Order in 1925.[2] The ecclesiastical authorities began to look on the Community in a more friendly manner. Eventually they granted it full recognition. Advice was sought from the Community of the Resurrection, and some of the Mirfield Fathers came to give Retreats. Before long the available accommodation in the Gatehouse was insufficient for the postulants and novices. Just as it seemed that the Order had taken on a new lease of life, it suffered a severe blow in April 1928 by the destruction by fire of some of the temporary buildings. An appeal was made for £6,000 to erect at least part of the permanent Abbey. Money flowed in, and in July 1929 Bishop Randolph, Dean of Salisbury, blessed the foundation stone of the pensioners' wing, which was laid by the Earl of Selborne. Largely through the energy of Br George, who had succeeded Sister Francis as Superior-General, the church was finished from the designs of the late Sir Charles Nicholson, Bt. The Bishop of Southampton and the Abbot of Nashdom took part in the solemn dedication function. Another proof that the Order had now managed to obtain official recognition was the ordination of Br Aidan by the Bishop of Winchester. It was Sir Charles Nicholson who was responsible for further additions to the Abbey, including a small Guest House, which was ready for occupation in 1936. Alton Abbey, as it stands today, is one of the most striking groups of conventual buildings in England—simple and dignified. Having been constructed of local materials it is in keeping with its natural setting. The domestic quarters on the east side of the cloister garth were first of all completed. A building fund which had been accumulating slowly enabled the Brethren to look forward to the day when the whole Abbey would be finished. In 1955 the refectory was enlarged, a Community common room built, cells added, and two sides of the cloister completed.

* * *

The Priory at Barry was closed by Fr Hopkins in 1913, but the Priory at 38, Hyde Vale, Greenwich, continued to function until after the second world war. It provided a temporary home for unemployed seamen seeking ships in the Port of London, or attending hospitals as out-patients. Any applicant for assistance was sure of a Christian welcome. The buildings were old and lacked all modern conveniences, but there was sufficient space for twenty lodgers. Most years between five and six hundred seafarers stayed at the Priory. Many a sailor turned to its door knowing that here he would find food, clothing, and shelter; the right type of companionship, and the chance of a fresh start in life. Others found more than this—a knowledge and understanding of the love of God. In the earlier years there were generally two or three Brothers in residence. The Day Hours were recited in the chapel and the religious observances of the Mother House carried out as far as possible. After 1914 it was Sister Francis who took charge of the Priory. She spent herself in the service of God and seafarers through two world wars.

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[1] *For God and our Sailors*, p. 12.

[2] *The Choir Office* (now superseded by *The Monastic Diurnal*) is an original, although somewhat complicated diurnal, which incorporates the whole psalter, also a regular sequence of Scripture lessons.

This somewhat unconventional nun, the only survivor of Fr Hopkins's attempt to form a community of women to work among seafarers, had been educated in a French convent. A former member of the Order, who knew her intimately and who often worked under her, writes that "she was utterly honest and straightforward in her dealings with everybody. Her great virtue was a complete loyalty to God and what she understood of the Religious life."

Another man, who was a member of the Order for eighteen years, writes that "seamen loved and respected her. Tiny and frail as she was, she could deal with the roughest types. She had a love for 'nice things'—good china, glass, etc., but spent the greater part of her life in the most squalid surroundings, devoting herself to what were often the lowest class of humanity. She had a great sense of humour, and even when she was buried beneath a pile of rubbish when a house at Greenwich was blitzed during the Second World War—she must have been nearly eighty at the time—she just picked herself up, laughed, and insisted on walking back to the Priory. She did not eat enough (humanly speaking) to keep a bird alive. A slice of toast for breakfast, the same with cheese for dinner, and that was her usual fare. A boiled egg was a very special treat. She kept hens at Greenwich, knew them all by name, and let them all die of old age. To me she was a saint, and remains the contradiction to the saying that 'the Church of England does not produce saints, only decent men and women'." Eventually, her never robust health broke down, and she was taken care of by the Nursing Sisters of St John the Divine. After her death in 1950 it was decided to close the Greenwich Priory. The property, which had been purchased by the Order in 1926, was then sold.

From time to time there had been talk of rebuilding the Priory, and of opening similar branch houses in other ports, but after the Second World War it was felt that conditions of life in the Mercantile Marine had changed so greatly that this type of work for seafarers was needed no longer. The creation of the Shipping Pool by the Ministry of Transport has meant that most employable and reliable men are now reasonably sure of obtaining berths in normal times. Unemployment and the relief of destitution, like so many other things, have been nationalized in recent years.

On the other hand, maritime missionaries, very much as Fr Hopkins conceived them seventy years ago, are required today as never before. The French bishops realized this when they established the *Mission de la Mer* in 1947. Not long after this a maritime fraternity of the *Petits Frères de Jésus* was founded at Concarneau in Brittany. Hopkins would have approved of these Brothers working as deck-hands in deep-sea trawlers. Were he alive today one may be sure he would have encouraged another scheme which has been discussed—the foundation of a "maritime monastery", composed of monks drawn from the seafaring class. Finally, it would have pleased him that in 1952 the Successor of Peter the Fisherman should single out seafarers as one of the classes of "displaced persons" for whom the Roman Church must now make special provision.

As for the Order founded by Charles Plomer Hopkins, the present generation of its members believe that its future depends on the development of the monastic rather than the maritime spirit. For many years the call of the cloister has been heard more clearly than the call of the sea. There has been an ever-increasing attraction to the contemplative and not to the active life. Vocations to the Order have come from men wanting to be monks, not maritime missionaries. Men who wish to devote themselves to the sea apostolate can do so as chaplains or lay-assistants in any of the Anglican organizations which exist for this object.

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The Order has its monastery high up on the chalk hills of Hampshire. A lane which leaves the main road to Basingstoke, west of the market-town of Alton, winds upwards for about three miles, its eventual destination being the village of Medstead. Suddenly the traveller is confronted by a picturesque Gothic gatehouse, built of flints. Behind it, half hidden among trees, the squat spire of a church rises above buildings of a conventual character. A pull at the rope of a ship's bell which hangs beside the archway of the gatehouse will summon the brother-porter to open the closed door. On admission to the monastic enclosure, a first glance across the flower-beds reveals that there have been various stages of building at different periods but the whole work is now quite complete. Straight ahead are the newest domestic quarters with their flint walls, red brick dressings, and red tiled roofs.

Passing through a cloister, looking into a small enclosed garth, one reaches the church. This consists of a nave of five bays, side aisles, central tower, transepts, and choir. The interior walls are of dressed flints. The monastic status of the church is emphasized by the solid screen which cuts off the nave from the choir. Built of flints, it is surmounted by a rood, with figures of our Lady and St John. Alton Abbey is the only modern conventual church in England possessing a typical medieval *pulpitum*. Immediately in front of the pointed archway in the centre of the rood-screen is a "People's Altar". Behind it, through an iron grille, can be seen the high altar erected in 1955 in memory of Henry Douglas Oldfield, priest. The lectern standing between the returned-stalls helps to stress the Benedictine nature of the Community. Within this choir, invisible from the nave, the Brethren carry out the *Opus Dei*—the Work of God—according to the *Monastic Diurnal*, and assist at the conventual Mass. Secluded in a chapel at the end of the north aisle is a small altar with a veiled tabernacle.

The Order of St Paul now consists of priests and lay brothers who follow the Rule of St Benedict. It enables men to lead the monastic life, with its due provision for regular times of prayer, study, and silence. At the time of writing the Community numbers about a dozen all told, three of them being in Holy Orders. A six months' postulancy is followed by a novitiate of one year. Life vows are taken after three years in simple vows. The horarium is similar to that of most normal Benedictine communities. The black habit worn conforms to Benedictine tradition. The spirit of the community is best expressed in its own words: that it "exists quite independently of any missionary or philanthropic work in which it may be engaged. It has a distinct and independent life of its own, flowing from no other source save that from which monasticism emerged, the counsels of Christ."

The only philanthropic work now undertaken by the Order is quite in keeping with the Benedictine Rule, which lays such emphasis on the reception of guests—with special care for "the poor and strangers, because in them Christ is more truly welcomed." The Brethren still maintain the permanent Home for aged and infirm seamen of the mercantile marine which is a reminder of the original ideals of the founder. This institution has been given official recognition by the Hampshire County Council. It is supported by annual grants from King George's Fund for Sailors, but, just as in the past, much more by voluntary subscriptions, donations, and church collections. The Abbey Guest House, with its own chapel, has accommodation for priests and laymen needing rest or retreat. The Prior is the Reverend Father Peter, O.S.P., and the Visitor is the Right Reverend N. W. Newnham Davis.

7. COMMUNITY OF THE RESURRECTION

House of the Resurrection, Mirfield, Yorkshire (1892)

Mirfield is a small scattered town in the West Riding of Yorkshire, standing in a wide valley—a country of bleak hills and stone walls, more often than not covered with the pall of smoke that rises from the chimneys of Huddersfield and other industrial towns which surround it on all sides. For it lies in the heart of the coal and "heavy woollens" district. A mile or more from the station, on the outskirts of the town—typical of many another in the West Riding—standing on a ridge, facing south across the valley, through which flows the River Calder, beside which trains pass in frequent succession, are three distinct groups of smoke-grimed buildings. The first group, with its square tower partly hidden by trees, is the College of the Resurrection; the second consists of a large church, and the third is a characteristic nineteenth-century wool manufacturer's mansion, with later additions jutting out of it in several directions. This last is the mother house of the Community of the Resurrection. The character of the house recalls the times when mill owners made money rapidly and took steps to impress the fact on the outside world.

The grounds are spacious, with trees, lawns, flower beds and a vegetable garden. In the Calvary Garden, just beyond the community cemetery, is a crucifix, standing on the edge of a cliff, facing across the valley, with its busy traffic of road, railway, and canal. The River Calder, once clear-flowing and the haunt of trout, but now polluted and black, is a symbol of the world that needs cleansing and restoration. Within the cemetery are two rows of simple wooden crosses, each bearing the Christian name of the Brother buried here, and the words "Jesus Mercy". Close by, a quarry has been made into an open-air theatre, where other meetings take place. The annual "Commemoration Day" is marked by High Mass in the church, at which for many there is only standing room. The Mass is followed in the afternoon by a play acted by the students in the quarry-theatre. This is an occasion for the friends of the Community to gather here from all parts of England.

The church dominates all the other buildings. The foundation stone was laid by Bishop Gore on 22 July 1911. It is original in design, and no other church in England resembles it. The architect, the late Sir Walter Tapper, derived his inspiration both from Byzantine and Romanesque styles, but there is nothing of a "period-piece" about this building of Indian-red Runcorn stone, which the rain and smoke have now mellowed to an indefinite shade of warm grey-purple. The barrel vaults of the nave and apsidal east end are roofed with copper, the green of which makes a vivid contrast to the red sandstone walls. The western façade, whose main features are a deeply recessed arch forming a rose window and two octagonal turrets, also roofed in copper, is much loftier than the east end, owing to the sloping ground on which the church is built.

The nature of the ground permitted a spacious crypt, consisting of the

Lady Chapel, the crypt proper, and their sacristies, providing five altars in all. The predominant note of the interior of the upper church is one of extreme simplicity. The white walls of the nave intensify the rich red of the sandstone columns and arches surrounding the sanctuary, which is approximately in the middle of the building. Beyond the sanctuary is the large Chapel of the Resurrection, a glimpse of which can be had between the massive arches and an ambulatory. The high altar, normally vested with a cloth-of-gold frontal, has six gilded candlesticks and a crucifix standing directly on the mensa, and forms the focal point of the church. On either side of the sanctuary are the tombs of Bishop Gore and Bishop Frere. Behind the former is a simple stone altar dedicated to St Benedict: behind the latter a similar altar, dedicated to St Basil, with a striking reredos painted by a Russian nun. Within the Chapel of the Resurrection is a suspended veiled pyx enshrined beneath a white-painted wooden ciborium. On either side of this chapel are two smaller apsidal chapels dedicated to the Holy Cross and the Ascension respectively. Each seems to express Sir Ninian Comper's favourite axiom that beauty can only be achieved by *inclusion* and not by *exclusion* of styles of architecture.

Altogether this is a happy church. Since it is dedicated to the Risen Christ it is fitting that the great hanging rood above the sanctuary speaks of the Glory of the Cross rather than of the sufferings of the Passion. It is no sad *Mater Dolorosa* that is recorded in the carved statue of our Lady, but a gentle Mother playing with a smiling Child.

The church, in itself, is expressive of the spirit and achievement of the Community which erected it: the living of the "mixed life", in which all forms of apostolic activity must always be balanced and supported by a constant life of worship. St Benedict's injunction that "nothing is to be preferred to the Work of God" is emphasized by the prominence and spaciousness of the choir. The custom of the apostolic Church that the brethren should continue steadfastly in "the breaking of bread" as well as in the "prayers, teaching, and fellowship" is stressed by the position of the Holy Table.

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It is possible that the Community of the Resurrection might not have come into being without the influence of Christian Socialism, which was the result of a new emphasis on the doctrine of the Incarnation found in the writings of certain Anglican theologians. The Christian Social Union had been founded in June 1889, and its first President was Bishop Westcott, whose sermon, preached to the boys of Harrow School many years before, is said to have turned the thoughts of Charles Gore towards the Religious Life. To Gore and many of his friends, the most practical way to promote the three objects of the Christian Social Union seemed to be the formation of a small community "to claim for the Christian Law the ultimate authority to rule social practice, and to present Christ in practical life as the Living Master and King, the enemy of wrong and selfishness, the power of righteousness and love". By trying to live the life of the first Christian community, they would be able "to study in common how to apply the moral truths and principles of Christianity to the social and economic difficulties of the present time". But this was only one of several influences at work.

Actually the Community evolved from the Society of the Resurrection, which consisted of celibate priests under a common rule of life. They kept in touch with each other by letter and, when possible, by visits, and were mostly town or country parsons, one or two being college dons. The Society itself grew out of what was known familiarly as "The Holy Party" formed at Brighstone in the Isle of Wight about 1875. Dr Illingworth, afterwards Rector of Longworth, Berkshire, where these friends used to foregather, maintained that the original Holy Party was "the germ of Mirfield", and that it was at Longworth Rectory that a group of clergymen (among whom was Charles Gore) first discussed the possibility of founding "an Anglican Oratorian community".[1] The Reverend V. S. S. Coles relates that it was "in the summer of 1890 that some ten priests, including the librarians [of Pusey House], met to exchange thought on the nature and history of the religious life". He goes on to say: "Our president directed our thoughts to the Eastern rule of St Basil, pointing out that its spirit was in some respects less rigid than that of the later Western rules. The interest felt in the English workman suggested that the aim of a modern religious order might be to live, as regards food, house, and furniture, on the scale which would be desired for an English artisan. Much was said on the advantage of an obedience given rather to the chapter than to the superior."[2] Canon Liddon suggested the name of the "Society of the Resurrection" for the proposed community, and it was adopted.

On St James' Day, 25 July 1892, the Community of the Resurrection was born. That morning, Charles Gore, Cyril Bickersteth, John Carter, Walter Frere, George Longridge, and James Nash made their professions in the Chapel of Pusey House, Oxford. Another Anglican religious community of men had come into being.[1]

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[1] Cf. G. L. Prestige, *Life of Charles Gore* (1935), p. 25; also J. M. C. Crum, *Francis Paget* (1912), p. 50. The Society of the Resurrection continued to exist and flourish after the foundation of the community but eventually separated. About 1920 some of its members joined the Fraternity of the Resurrection (see p. 136) as priest companions, while others joined a similar association of clergymen, known as The Society of the Holy Ghost. The obligations of both bodies were much the same.

[2] V. S. S. Coles, *Letters, Papers, etc.*, edited by J. F. Briscoe (1930), p. 208.

Not long afterwards Dr Gore wrote in answer to an inquiry: "We aim at devoting our life to prayer, study, and work. Thus you will arrange your life so that what is not occupied by prayer or work or wholesome recreation, should be given to the systematic study of theology, or studies conducing thereto. Whether in the future we are to go beyond this by the vows of religion is quite an open question, in which we may hope our minds may be formed by prayer." He added: "Besides the (Society of the) Resurrection Rule, we aim at saying the whole of the 119th psalm (if we can) and making a daily half-hour meditation. Also we do our own bedrooms, before Terce if possible. We do not talk before Terce and after Compline—nor before Sext for mere conversation sake. . . . We do not go out without leave except in the afternoon. This can always be asked, and is not needed for fixed arrangements, e.g. to preach or lecture."

Carter and Nash decided to stay with the Cowley Fathers for a time, to gain practical experience of the Religious Life, and to benefit by Fr Benson's spiritual direction. But Nash broke down under the rigours of Cowley. The experience was useful, for it enabled them to realize that their own ideal of community life was quite different from that of the Society of St John the Evangelist. "The Cowley Society again was ruled by a Superior, who after his election held more or less autocratic powers for his period of office. Gore and his friends were aiming quite deliberately at fostering a democratic spirit in their community. Their superior, when he should come to be elected, was not to be an abbot, but merely the senior among brethren, and they were determined that governing authority should be committed to the full chapter."[2]

Canon Stuckey Coles recalls that "for a moment it seemed as if Pusey House was trying to become a monastery. Silence was observed at dinner on Friday. Great regularity of attendance at the chapel offices, and regulation as to the times of retirement and rising, began to be practised, and undergraduates dropping in to tea at four-thirty found not only the familiar librarians, but quite a little crowd of serious neophytes. It was not long, however, before the leader of these aspirations felt that he must pursue his ideal further from the centre of moving life."[1]

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[1] The fact that Gore was the editor of *Lux Mundi*, a collection of essays on the Christian faith, published in 1889, which were regarded as somewhat heterodox by old-fashioned High Churchmen, tended to make them suspicious of this new Community.

[2] Prestige, op. cit., p. 111.

The chance came in 1894 when Gore was offered the living of Radley, a small village five miles south of Oxford. His community moved with him, living in the typical Victorian brick vicarage, and overflowing to a neighbouring farm-house. Gore tried to make clear that this was not a monastic community—it was "only a few clergymen trying to be good", so he explained. He refused to accept the title of Superior, and insisted on being called "Senior". A few students were admitted to read for ordination: referred to by the housekeeper and her husband as "the young gentlemen". To the Community they were the "Y.G.s".

"Radley was an experiment", so Canon Campbell Crum remarks. "Here was a Community, each working in his own way, each in some sense a specialist and coming home for peace and renewal to that brotherhood, with their regular life: very unworldly people. Silence was observed until noon. They made their own beds. Some sometimes smoked. Some never did. Sometimes the Senior would read a book, or read aloud. Some of the talking was, I should say, very 'good' talking: not competitive, but, if I were the umpire, I should award the prize to the talking of the Senior and Walter Frere."[2]

In 1894 Dr Gore was appointed Canon of Westminster. A branch house of the Community was established in the Little Cloisters of the Abbey. Here the Senior lived with a few of the Brethren; the others remaining at Radley. At first Frere feared that the Westminster Canonry might break up the Community, but in some ways it was strengthened by it.

The two outstanding marks of the Community of the Resurrection in those early days were simplicity and democracy. Dr Prestige stresses that "the Brethren desired to learn from all good precedents of the Religious Life, but not to be bound to any particular form that might have proved valuable in the past. Their venture was a fresh experiment to meet modern needs. . . ." Each member retained his private capital, but handed over the income to a common fund. The brethren professed their intention to remain in the Community for life. This promise was renewed annually. Later on in the history of the Community life-vows were taken after three years in simple vows. The point to note is that it was a life intention to observe a common rule, not so much a promise of obedience to an individual. The Superior was elected for a period of three years. There was to be no distinctive habit—merely the ordinary cassock worn by Anglican clergymen. The ideal aimed at was to be as unobtrusive as possible.

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[1] Op. cit., p. 209.

[2] *Walter Howard Frere*, A Memoir by C. S. Phillips and others (1947), p. 41.

But the Community were in peril of finding themselves not monks but hermits; they needed a really strong community centre. Fr Frere wrote in 1895 that both Radley and Westminster "are much too respectable to attract the sort of person whom we want, and if we don't take care we shall become a little body of middle-aged clergymen of unimpeachable respectability, polite manners, and various sorts and degrees of individual usefulness; but no community—much; no poverty—much; no obedience—much; everything in fact that Archdeacon Farrar would like to see. *Absit omen*." He went on to say that there was needed "a much more pronounced place than either Radley or Westminster can be". There was no attraction for recruits in the "repose" of Radley or the "smug respectability" of the Abbey.[1]

It was partly due to the above-mentioned reasons, also to growing consciousness of the need of a college where young men, who for lack of private means were debarred from the priesthood, could be educated for Holy Orders, which decided the Community to find larger and permanent quarters. "We have invented a class priesthood with a money qualification", the Senior remarked one day, adding grimly, "Yes. We seem in the Church of England to have patented a new form of simony."[2] It was eminently characteristic of Gore's social ideals and practical outlook (not shared by all the brethren) that he should have decided to establish this college in the heart of industrial Yorkshire and not in the south of England.

The Community migrated from Radley Vicarage to Mirfield in January 1898. But it was not until four years later that the college was definitely founded. At the opening of the latter, Dr Eden, Bishop of Wakefield, said that as domestic chaplain to the Bishop of Durham he had once seen a thirteenth-century college for priests transformed into a stable for the episcopal horses; Mirfield was reversing the process by transforming a stable into a college for priests![3] That same year, on the appointment of Dr Gore to the See of Worcester, Fr Walter Frere was elected Superior. Thus ended the first chapter in the history of the Community of the Resurrection.

As the late Fr Keble Talbot, who himself became Superior in after years, pointed out, "nobody could have been less disposed and nobody more inexorably destined than Charles Gore to impress his personal stamp upon any institution with which he was connected. In after years any reference to the 'mind of the Founder' would draw from him a

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[1] Prestige, op. cit., pp. 216–17.
[2] Ibid., p. 218.
[3] Ibid., p. 219.

derisory shrug of depreciation. Yet of that mind our rule in some of its basic principles is almost an audible echo. Indeed it would not be untrue to say that the interior development of the Community has been determined by the tensions, the qualifications or endorsements which experience has wrought upon the principles represented by our Founder. His fear of autocracy, heightened probably by a certain capacity for it in himself; his distaste for minute regulations to implement broad principles; his reverence for individual conscience; his insistence on free discussion; his suspicion of appearance outpacing reality; all these were reflected in the Rule and ethos of the Community at its start. And the impress of his mind and spirit is indelible."

Fr Talbot adds that it was the founder's elevation to the episcopate that "enabled the Community to move more freely on the line of its vocation than if it had been held within the orbit of one whose personal endowments marked him inevitably for a public life in Church and Nation". Walter Howard Frere might be compared to a master builder upon the foundations, who formed "the little group of disciples of a great teacher" into a fully organized religious community, translating principles into a detailed order. There were some who doubted if "the principle of liberty of conscience, so dearly prized by Bishop Gore, or the 'democratic principle' by which the Community had been inoculated in the great liberal period of its beginnings, could be accommodated to the cohesion, stability and obedience required by life in Religion". But Fr Frere proved conclusively that it was possible. Archbishop Davidson—the Visitor of the Community at one time—once remarked: "It seems to me that you are trying to combine two incompatibles—individual liberty and corporate authority." The answer given was: "But is that not precisely the difficult essay which the Church of England has been attempting for the last four hundred years?" In a certain sense the ideal of the Community of the Resurrection in the early days was not unlike that of the Paulist Fathers in America, founded by the ex-Redemptorist Fr Isaac Hecker in 1858: a fearless experiment to adapt the basic principles of the Religious Life to the needs and spirit of the age, together with a greater liberty for individual action than in many of the older orders. Mirfield, as it exists today, bears the stamp of the outstanding personality of the second Superior of the Community who remained in office until 1922, save for the years 1913–16.

It needed a Superior with a light but firm hold on the reins to direct and govern a community whose constitution was coloured by the liberal and democratic ideas astir at the date of its foundation, and which was composed of men of forcible character and strongly marked individuality.[1] "Sometimes he could give a sharp pull upon the curb, or by an incisive word check some incongruity. But in the main he used his authority to stimulate and give direction to the capacities of the brethren. He was more concerned to enlist their co-operation and to develop their initiative than to impose his orders."[2] What men they were, most of that first generation of the Community! "Unity in diversity" best sums up the spirit of this fraternity: "there are different kinds of gifts, though it is the same Spirit who gives them, just as there are different kinds of service, though it is the same Lord we serve, and different manifestations of power, though it is the same God who manifests his power everywhere in all of us. The revelation of the Spirit is imparted to each, to make the best advantage of it." What St Paul wrote in his First Epistle to the Corinthians might have been written with the Community of the Resurrection in mind.

There was nothing rigid about the Superior himself, and he infused his brethren with this same spirit, but as Fr Talbot reminds us "the secret of his liberty and gaiety was a steely discipline . . . So blithe, so easy and light was the way of him that you might miss the secret of his spiritual greatness. . . . there was nothing grim or strained in his austerity. Rather, it gave an unencumbered swiftness and readiness to the movement of his life."[3] The Superior's versatility was expressive of the Community as a whole. His learning and erudition were prodigious and ranged over a wide field. This can be best realized from the list of his writings given at the end of the *in memoriam* volume already mentioned (pp. 204–13). In 1923 Fr Frere was made Bishop of Truro. He remained a member of the Community, two other brethren living with him and "Lis Escop" for the time being a branch house. No other English bishop since the Reformation has lived in community in this manner. The last three years of his life were spent at Mirfield where he died on 2 April 1938.

He was succeeded by Fr E. Keble Talbot, who described himself as a

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[1] Among those "men of forcible character and strongly marked individuality" whom Fr Frere tried to control "with a light but firm hold on the reins" was Robert Hugh Benson, the youngest son of the late Archbishop of Canterbury, who joined the Community soon after it moved to Mirfield. It was during the three or four years that he was a member of the Community that Benson wrote *The Light Invisible* (published in 1903). Not long after this his symptoms of "Roman Fever" became so acute that he left Mirfield, and soon afterwards made his submission to the Holy See. A vivid and sympathetic picture of the pioneer days of the Community is given by Fr Martindale, S.J., in the first volume of his *Life of R. H. Benson* (London, 1916). Mgr Benson died in 1914.

[2] Fr E. K. Talbot in *Walter Howard Frere*. A Memoir by C. S. Phillips and others (1947), p. 54.

[3] Ibid., pp. 48 and 50.

dachshund following a greyhound, but as Fr Richard Barnes explains "the greyhound is apt for Frere; but Keble was never a pet dog, perhaps a wise foxhound capable of ranging far and wide and following a faint trail and bringing its pack after it in the pursuit". It was his particular task to build up a more effective organization for the many works initiated by Fr Frere. He has been summed up as "a great Superior of the Community: the embodiment of the collective wisdom and affections of the society which he governed. . . . Great government is greatly human, and Keble was a great humanist. He loved human society and each individual of it. One knew it and was happy in the sense of that care."[1] In 1940 Fr Bernard Horner became Superior, in succession to Fr Talbot, and was succeeded in 1943 by Fr Raymond Raynes who held office until the election of Fr Jonathan Graham in 1958.

There has been a steady growth and expansion of the Community in recent years. The novitiate is at the Mother House, Mirfield, for all aspirants. Life at the mother house is more and more self-supporting with gardening and household "chores" as part of the normal routine. In spite of the enormous extension of exterior work, the founder's ideals are still maintained, of keeping in their right order—Prayer, Study, and Work.

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In the preface to the Rule of the Community of the Resurrection one reads that "it shall consist of celibate priests who combine together to reproduce at the call of God the life of the first Christians, of whom it is recorded in the Acts of the Apostles that they continued steadfastly in the Apostles' teaching and fellowship . . . and not one of them said aught of the things which he possessed was his own, but they had all things common." But laymen who have a vocation to the Religious life and are likely to prove valuable helpers in the Community's life and work are admitted to full membership of the Community. Indeed there are few religious communities which so closely reproduce the spirit of the Early Church at Jerusalem. At Mirfield one is constantly reminded how those Christians "occupied themselves continually with the Apostles' teaching and fellowship, the breaking of the bread, and the prayers (i.e. the daily Office and Mass) . . . taking their share of food with gladness and simplicity of heart, praising God and winning favour with all the people"

The works of the Community growing out of the living of the Common Life could be summed up as: (1) Pastoral; (2) Evangelistic; (3)

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[1] Fr Richard Barnes, C.R., article, "Memories of Fr Talbot" in *C.R.* (Christmas, 1949), and Lucy Menzies, "Retreat Addresses of E.K. Talbot", 1954.

Study; (4) Educational; (5) the Development of the Religious Life; and (6) the Reunion of Christendom.

All these activities are based on a life of prayer. The corporate worship of the Community consists of the Prayer Book offices of Mattins and Evensong (with the addition of invitatories, antiphons, etc.) as the principal daily services. The Day Hours of the Sarum Breviary (omitting Lauds and Vespers) are co-ordinated with the above, the whole office being recited in the vernacular. The Kalendar of the Book of Common Prayer has been enriched by additional feast days.[1] Evensong is sung daily. High Mass is celebrated on Sundays and greater Feasts. The priests of the Community have the opportunity of saying Mass daily, except that every Tuesday there is only one Mass, the Chapter Mass at which all assist. Mass is celebrated according to the rite of the Book of Common Prayer or according to that rite as revised by the Church of the Province of South Africa in 1927. It should be pointed out that the celebration of the Divine Office has as much prominence in the life of the Community of the Resurrection as with the Friars Preachers. Like the sons of St Dominic, the Mirfield Fathers feel that the full development of their clerical-apostolic work must be based on the strong foundation of corporate worship, expressed in the Dominican formula *contemplare et contemplata aliis tradere* (to contemplate and to give others the fruits of contemplation) and thus labour for the salvation of souls. In addition to the recitation of the Canonical Hours, each member of the Community has his prescribed times for mental prayer, spiritual reading, etc.

It may interest liturgically minded readers to learn that at Mirfield, as in practically every Anglican religious community, the Divine Office is broken up and recited more or less at the hours found in the ancient Roman divisions of the day. Although this is a very busy establishment, with members coming and going all the time, the bell summons the Community to choir at three-hourly intervals throughout the day. Thus

one does not find the incongruity of None recited before breakfast, or Matins anticipated overnight.

The pastoral and evangelistic work of the Community expanded with the building of the Retreat House at Mirfield. "Meanwhile", so Fr Talbot recalls, "the social ferment of the times challenged many of the Community to a fresh appreciation of the Faith in its bearings upon the life of human society. Heads began to wag at teaching which appeared to be dangerously revolutionary. Not without qualms within the Community itself, liberty was allowed to individuals to proclaim their social convictions, to appear on Labour platforms, even to declare themselves Socialists—at a time when that title was one of opprobrium in the minds of many Church people. The presence of Mr Keir Hardie at a conference in the Quarry between clergy and Labour leaders was greeted as a portent of sinister import to some, to others of hope."

Today contacts with human society take the form of a constant exodus of priests for the direction of missions, retreats, conventions, "Summer Schools" of Christian Doctrine, not only at home but abroad. Retreats for clergy and laymen are held regularly at Mirfield, where the Retreat House can accommodate about forty at a time.

The London headquarters of the Community (The Priory of St Paul, 8 Holland Park, W.11) is used by the brethren engaged in pastoral and evangelistic work in the south of England. It is well suited for private retreats and similar purposes. The furnishings of the chapel were designed by Martin Travers.

The urge to extend the Kingdom of God overseas was first answered in 1903 when a call came from Bishop Carter of Pretoria to take over St John's College, Johannesburg, which, as the result of the Boer War, was in danger of being closed. Fr Nash became headmaster, and four of the Brethren assisted him in reorganizing the College. He moved it to a new site, and erected magnificent buildings, designed by Mr Herbert Fleming, a partner of Sir Herbert Baker, and St John's became so prosperous, despite the competition of Government schools which were free, that in 1933 the Community decided to hand it back to the diocese, so that they could devote themselves specially to mission work among the African peoples. There was a vast field waiting to be evangelized in the "locations" around Johannesburg. St Peter's Priory, Rosettenville, Johannesburg, became the base for this missionary apostolate, while the Priory of Christ the King, 74 Meyer Street, Sophiatown, Johannesburg, was another centre for work among Africans.

At Rosettenville the work of the Fathers is now of a pastoral kind. St Peter's School which provided a secondary education for African boys and girls, most of them boarders, was closed by the Government of S. Africa in April 1956. The girls were under the care of the Order of the Holy Paraclete, which has replaced the Community of the Resurrection (Grahamstown). A Theological College for the training of African clergy and catechists from a large area has been in existence since 1903.[1] Over one hundred men have been ordained from here during the past forty-five years. St Benedict's Retreat House, opened in 1945, is much appreciated by the clergy of the diocese. There is a large and dignified church, built by native labour, and expressive of the African background.

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[1] The Community, with the sanction of its Visitor, has recently compiled a handy little "Breviary" for the use of its brethren, in accordance with the above requirements. The Little Hours were adapted from those found in *Prime and Hours*.

This vernacular diurnal grew out of *The Priest's Book of Private Devotions*, brought out in 1872 by the Rev. Joseph Oldknow and the Rev. Augustine D. Crake. It contained abbreviated forms of Prime, Terce, Sext, None, and Compline. The second edition had full versions of the Little Hours of the Sarum Breviary. Compline, however, was according to that of the Roman Breviary. These offices were then issued separately as *Prime and Hours* (1897). Fr Frere edited later editions of *The Priest's Book of Private Devotions*, and this led to the adoption of a revised version of *Prime and Hours* (1929) by the Community; used until the production of the two-volume complete Office Book in 1950.

In 1934 the Community was asked by the Bishop of Johannesburg to take over the pastoral care of Africans in Sophiatown and Orlando. In both of these thickly-populated areas the Fathers have had the assistance of the Wantage Sisters. The great Church of Christ the King was built to serve the spiritual needs of Sophiatown, and the Community was also responsible for building several churches in Orlando. The Community withdrew from Orlando in 1959, the pastoral care of which is now being carried out by African priests. The bulk of the population of Sophiatown has now been transferred to Meadowlands, one of the new African townships lying to the south-west of Johannesburg, and the work of C. R. in Sophiatown itself came to an end in 1962. In 1938 the Bishop of Pretoria invited the Community to take charge of the large Mission District of Sekukuniland in the N. Transvaal, and the Priory of St Francis was established alongside the Jane Furse Memorial Hospital (founded by a former Bishop of Pretoria, Bishop Furse). The Community relinquished its work here at the end of 1961, the Bishop having arranged for the Oratory of the Good Shepherd to take over.

Mission work in Southern Rhodesia was started in 1919; the Fathers now have the assistance of the Sisters of the Order of the Holy Paraclete, Whitby, who are training a community of African Sisters, several of whom have been professed. The headquarters of the work is St Augustine's Priory, Penhalonga, where there is a magnificent basilican church designed by one of the Fathers and built by local labour, including the brick making. Penhalonga is the centre of numerous activities—educational and pastoral. The native boys and girls are taught every sort of useful craft, most of them being boarders whose homes are far distant. More than fifty out-stations, each with a church, some with a school under a native teacher, are served by the Fathers, who also have care of scattered Europeans on farms and in mining camps.

The community at home has the preparation of candidates for

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[1] Now St Alice, C.P., where is also the new Priory of Christ the King, blessed on 4 February 1963. (See p. 136 n.1.)

ordination. The College of the Resurrection, Mirfield, has since 1902 provided a two years' course for men (originally of limited means) training for the Anglican priesthood. The college is quite separate from the Community House, and has been built round the former stables. The refectory, which is the latest addition, is a striking piece of architecture.[1] There is room for fifty-one students in the college, which is under the direction of a Principal and Vice-Principal. The establishment is fully recognized by the academic and ecclesiastical authorities. Although there is a small endowment, the greater part of the money required for its maintenance is derived from annual subscriptions, donations, collections in churches, etc. After ordination the students work in parishes. Later on many go abroad, and today old students of Mirfield are to be found in all parts of the world. Some of them find their way back, after working in a parish, and become members of the Community.

Before the majority of the students have reached the college at Mirfield, they have obtained degrees at Leeds University while residing in the Hostel of the Resurrection, Springfield Mount, Leeds. A number also are graduates of Oxford and Cambridge and of other universities. The Leeds hostel was opened in 1904 and accommodates fifty-six students, who attend lectures at the university: the usual course lasting for three years. This is preparatory to the two years' course in theology at Mirfield. The students play their full part in all the university activities, but at the same time the ideal of their vocation is kept before them. The hostel is in charge of a Warden and Sub-Warden, with other members of the Mirfield community to help them. The buildings, designed by the late Mr Temple Moore, were completed in 1928. They are a most happy example of this architect's adaptation of late medieval Gothic to modern needs. The chapel, with its five-light window above the altar, is one of the most beautiful conventual chapels in England, where every article of furniture harmonizes with its surroundings. The suspended pyx, originally designed by the late [Sir] Ninian Comper for the Abbey Church on Caldey Island, and which from there went first to Pershore Abbey and thence to Truro Cathedral, has found a home here. Under the name of the Priory of St Wilfrid, the hostel also serves as a house of the Community, where much the same regular observance of the rule is to be found as in other houses.

The Priory of St Teilo, Church Terrace, Roath, Cardiff, was opened in 1945 at the request of Dr John Morgan, Bishop of Llandaff, later Archbishop of Wales. This would have rejoiced the heart of his predecessor, Bishop Timothy Rees, who was a member of the Community of the Resurrection. This was a hostel for students of the University College of Cardiff. Mainly owing to the bad condition of the buildings, the Community, with the concurrence of the Archbishop of Wales and other officials, closed St Teilo's Hostel in 1955. Here, as at Leeds, the university authorities were both sympathetic and actively helpful to the Brethren of St Teilo's, who themselves are able to help by conducting retreats, lecturing, and preaching in Wales and the West of England.[1] A Retreat House at St Teilo's was opened in 1958.

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[1] Designed by Sir Hubert Worthington.

Most of the original members of the Community were famous scholars, each in his own particular sphere, and a high standard of literary work has always been a mark of the brethren. Bishop Gore is best remembered for his contributions to Dogmatic Theology and Biblical exegesis. Reference has been made already to the amazing versatility of Bishop Frere. Fr Rackham's literary remains were few but solid. Fr Figgis was a prophet, warning his own generation that both civilization and Christianity were at the cross-roads, but not all his readers received his message. Fr Bull turned out books and pamphlets of a more popular character. Fr Sampson's writings were mostly of a devotional nature. There were other Fathers who kept busy with their pens, but their books had only a passing interest. Fr Talbot pointed out in 1942 that "the theological climate of the last twenty years has changed", and this change in outlook has affected the literary work of a later generation in the Community, marked by "an increased interest in mystical and ascetical theology". Dr Lionel Thornton, Dr Edward Symonds, and Fr Godfrey Pawson are but three of the Mirfield Community who have maintained its name for solid literary work. There has also been a world-wide distribution of popular theological literature. The Mirfield "Manuals for the Million" and the *Mirfield Mission Hymn Book* should be mentioned.[2]

The development of the Religious Life is fostered in several ways. Many of the Fathers are the wardens or chaplains of communities of women, both active and contemplative. The *Fraternity of the Resurrection*, founded in 1903, binds together priests and lay-folk who desire to live under a definite rule of life and feel drawn to support the Community and its works by their prayers and alms. Its nearly six thousand members endeavour to interest others in the special aims of the Community. The

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[1] In 1955 the Priory of St Mary Magdalene, adjacent to Codrington College, Barbados (see p. 22), was opened. Some of the Mirfield Fathers now serve the College, and engage in mission work in the West Indies. Another Priory has just been opened at Alice, Cape Province, South Africa. This is attached to a Theological College for Africans, which is part of an inter-denominational establishment.

[2] See p. 138 for a list of books.

Fraternity comprises: the Priest Oblates; the Priest and Lay Companions; and the Priest and Lay Associates; each group having its own rule of life and prayer adapted to their different levels. Finally, there are the Friends of the Fraternity who undertake no obligation beyond the payment of a small annual subscription. Branches of the "F.R." have been formed in many parishes. Quiet Days and branch meetings are held at intervals, addressed whenever possible by one of the Fathers. The work of prayer is fostered by the use of an intercession leaflet enclosed in each number of the "C.R." Chronicle, and in other ways. The life of this now vast Fraternity is kept alive by steady perseverance in prayer and good works. It fulfils much the same object as that of the Third Orders of St Francis and St Dominic, where they happen to be functioning in their primitive spirit.[1]

The work for Christian Unity has been of real importance in that field of history. Two of the prelate-brethren—Bishop Gore and Bishop Frere —took part in the Malines Conferences. The contacts with the Eastern Orthodox Church, beginning with Bishop Frere's first visit to Russia in 1909, followed by a lecture tour in the winter of 1914, led to the foundation of the Fellowship of St Alban and Sergius in 1928, of which Bishop Frere was the first Anglican President. These close contacts maintained by the Community of the Resurrection with the Eastern Churches for over half a century have counted for a good deal in the recent history of the Church of England. In later years there have been frequent contacts with the Swedish and other Scandinavian Churches.[2] The Community tries through constant conference, study, and correspondence to keep in touch with representatives of the Church of Rome. Some of the Fathers are in close touch with the World Council of Churches, and do their best to confer from time to time with leaders of Protestant schools of thought. They have been in intimate contact with the first two religious communities to come to birth in the Reformed Church; the Community (of men religious) at Taizé, near Cluny, and that of women at Grandchamp in Switzerland. Each of these is moving slowly but surely towards a more catholic conception of Christianity. A similar call of the cloister is being heard in the Swedish Church.

So year by year pilgrims of almost all denominations find their way to Mirfield to discuss their common problems. The ministry of hospitality to such, including representatives of every race, is by some regarded as perhaps the most important work of the Community. For as the late Fr Talbot expressed it: "there is a readier hospitality of mind in the younger men towards other forms of piety and methods of prayer than were indigenous in the Anglican Communion fifty years ago. The longing for Catholic unity has deepened: we are more sensible of the treasures of the great Roman and Orthodox Communions, and are, perhaps, excessively conscious of Anglican provincialism." But there is certainly no "Anglican provincialism" in the spirit and outlook of Mirfield today! From their hillside in Yorkshire the vision of the Community embraces the whole Christian and pagan world with constant prayer: *ut omnes unum sint.*

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[1] St Francis' Retreat House, Hemingford Grey, near St Ives (Huntingdonshire), was opened in 1951 to offer facilities for retreats to the Fraternity and friends of the Community.

[2] For a Swedish impression of Mirfield see Albert Lysander, *Kyrkliga Resebilder* (Lund, 1920), pp. 90–102.

Since its foundation over seventy years ago, the Community of the Resurrection has given other bishops to the Church besides its two first Superiors who were raised to the Sees of Worcester and Truro. The late Bishop Timothy Rees of Llandaff was a Mirfield Father, so also was Bishop Thomas Hannay of the Diocese of Argyll and the Isles and Primus of the Scottish Episcopal Church. Fr Victor Shearburn has become Bishop of Rangoon in 1955 and Fr Trevor Huddleston, Bishop of Masasi, in 1960. Three bishops of the Province of South Africa and one in the West Indies were students of the college at Mirfield. This in itself is enough to show how the venture of faith on the part of those six men who initiated the Community of the Resurrection in the Chapel of Pusey House, Oxford, on St James' Day, 1892, has been blessed and prospered. The rhythm of history has changed since those placid times, but the Community is still faithful to its first ideals of Prayer, Study, and Work; reminding us in these dark days, not to be afraid, for Jesus the only-begotten Son of God has overcome death, and opened for us the gate of everlasting life.[1] The present Visitor is the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Most Reverend Arthur Michael Ramsey.

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To give an idea of the literary work done by members of the Community this list of their more important books may be of interest:

Charles Gore (died 1932), *Lux Mundi* (editor, 1889); *The Sermon on the Mount* (1910); *Epistle to the Romans* (1900); *Epistle to the Ephesians* (1898); *Epistles of St John* (1920); *Reflections on the Litany* (1932); *Bampton Lectures on the Incarnation* (1891); *The Church and the Ministry* (1919); *The Philosophy of the Good Life* (1930); *Belief in God* (1921); *Belief in Christ* (1921); *The Holy Spirit and the Church* (1924); *The New Theology and the Old Religion* (1908).

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[1] *C.R.* 1892–1952 (Mirfield, 1952) is a detailed and up-to-date history of the Community of the Resurrection. *C. R. Mirfield* (1960) is an illustrated brochure published by Mirfield Publications. *The Life of Raymond Raynes* by Nicholas Mosley (1961) was written at the request of C.R. and gives many glimpses of its life.

Walter Howard Frere (died 1938), *The English Church in the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I* (1904); *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Period of the Reformation* (3 vols, 1910); *Some Links in the Chain of Russian Church History* (1918); *Registrum Matthei Parker, diocesis Cantuariensis* (3 vols, 1928–35); *Recollections of Malines* (1935); *The Use of Sarum* (2 vols, 1898–1901); *Some Principles of Liturgical Reform* (1911); *Studies in the Early Roman Liturgy* (3 vols, 1930–5); *Bibliotheca-musico-liturgica* (2 vols, 1901–32); *Sursum Corda* (with Agnes Illingworth); *Walter Howard Frere: a collection of papers on liturgical and historical subjects*, edited by J. H. Arnold and E. G. P. Wyatt (1940); *A New History of the Book of Common Prayer* (based on F. Procter, 1901).

William Freestone (died 1916), *The Sacrament Reserved.*

Neville Figgis (died 1915), *Churches and the Modern State* (1914); *The Divine Right of Kings* (1914); *The Gospel and Human Needs* (1901); *The Will to Freedom* (1917); *The Fellowship of the Mystery* (1914); *The Political Aspects of St Augustine's City of God* (1921); *Civilization at the Cross Roads* (1912); *Antichrist and other Sermons* (1913).

Edward Symonds, *The Council of Trent and Anglican Formularies* (1933); *The Church Universal and the See of Rome* (1939); *What Happened at the Reformation* (1953).

Lionel Thornton (died 1960), *Richard Hooker* (1924); *The Incarnate Lord* (1928); *The Common Life in the Body of Christ* (1942); *Revelation and the Modern World* (1950).

Denys Shropshire (died 1962), *The Church and Primitive Peoples* (1938).

Reginald Smith, *Pagans—Black and White* (1946).

Godfrey Pawson, *The Cambridge Platonists* (1930); *E. K. Talbot* (1954).

Geoffrey Curtis, *William of Glasshampton* (1947).

Douglas Edwards (died 1953), *The Virgin Birth in History and Faith* (1943); *Jesus, the Gospel Portrait* (1947); *The Ultimate Choice* (1948).

Trevor Huddleston, *Naught for Your Comfort* (1956).

Martin Jarrett-Kerr, *Our Trespasses* (1948), *The Hope of Glory, the Atonement in our Time* (1952).

Hubert Northcott, *The Venture of Prayer* (1950); *Man, God and Prayer* (1954), *The Gardens of the Lord* (1963).

Jonathan Graham, *He came unto His own* (1955), *With my whole heart* (1962).

Hugh Bishop, *The Passion Drama* (1955), *The Easter Drama* (1958).

Mirfield Essays in Christian Belief (1962).

8. SOCIETY OF THE SACRED MISSION

House of the Sacred Mission, Kelham, Newark, Nottinghamshire (1894)

The story of the foundation and growth of the Society of the Sacred Mission during the first fifteen years of its existence has been told in an inimitable manner by the founder himself, Fr Herbert Kelly, who died in the autumn of 1950 at the age of ninety. This book, entitled *An Idea in the Working*, first published in 1908, is the source from which the facts here related about its early history have been taken. In 1890, the Reverend H. H. Kelly was a young curate at St Paul's, Wimbledon Park. Moved by the desire for work on the foreign missions, he offered himself to Dr Corfe, Bishop in Korea, for work in his diocese. The bishop replied that about a dozen young men skilled in various trades wanted to go out to the Far East, but he did not see his way to accepting them, unless he could find somebody to take charge of them. He explained that he had already thought of founding a missionary college in England, and that his commissary, Canon Brooke, of St John's, Kennington, was prepared to help with the realization of this scheme.

It was in May and June 1890 that the tiny seed which in after years would grow up into the Society of the Sacred Mission was planted. "There were three principles even then clear to us", Fr Kelly explains: "(1) Freedom of opportunity; (2) Thoroughness of education; and (3) Reality of sacrifice. We have lived by them and for them ever since." He goes on to say: "We laid down, therefore, three conditions: (1) A man must be ready to work without pay; and (2) therefore he must intend to live unmarried; (3) he must come simply to serve Christ, and be equally ready to take whatever place or work was assigned to him." A house was taken in Vassall Road, Kennington, opposite St John's Church, and here on 1 January 1891 eight young students and two clergymen took up their abode. From the very start the life followed the lines of a religious community, with the recitation of the Day Hours, Mattins, and Evensong, and a daily Eucharist as the basis of the spiritual life. A plain, wholesome, matter-of-fact observance was practised, with few, if any, of the more romantic externals of monasticism. All the inmates took their share in domestic work, and the day was fully occupied with study and manual labour. At the end of six years, seven men had been sent to Central Africa; one was a deacon, the rest lay workers. Three others went to Korea for ordination, and three for lay work. Most, if not all, of these students were drawn from the lower middle class, and had received their previous education in elementary schools. By 1897 there were thirteen students in residence, and no more could be accommodated. A move to larger quarters became imperative.

Canon Bullock-Webster, then chaplain to the Bishop of Ely, urged that the little missionary college should be installed in a manor house at Mildenhall, Suffolk, which happened to be vacant. It had large grounds and room for thirty or forty men. Here the work went on and prospered for the next five years. Until Holy Week, 1893, the men who were behind this missionary movement called themselves the "Korean Missionary Brotherhood". By this time they numbered six. Gradually it dawned on them that such work as they were engaged in could only be stabilized on the basis of a properly organized religious community. So a novitiate was started in 1894, and the name changed to the "Society of the Sacred Mission". Fr Kelly remarks: "I may as well anticipate all criticism by saying that like most things we have done when we look at them, the step seems to have been wholly premature. . . . We ourselves, though we had a clear vision of the end we meant to reach, had no charts and only the vaguest ideas as to the course. We could hardly feel our way out of the harbour. . . . Certainly it was not the 'correct' way, but it was the way God chose, as the results proved, I think, fairly well." This is perfectly true: Fr Kelly had that "clear vision", a clarity of mind which is rare, and, what is more, a hard, practical outlook. The astonishing thing is that the Society, as he visualized it seventy years ago, has altered its course so little. The founder may have "had no charts", but he was a born navigator, who could steer his ship without any lights to guide him, and with only his intense faith in God for a compass. Needless to say, storms arose, but one by one they were weathered. The college was recognized by the diocesan and various boards concerned, and financial help came in more rapidly.

The lease of the house at Mildenhall was due to end in 1903, and the landlord wanted to resume possession. Properties were inspected all over England—including a derelict East Anglian workhouse. Finally Kelham Hall, near Newark, was leased for a term of seven years. In July 1903 the Community and forty students migrated to the stately Gothic Revival mansion which was their new home.

By 1900 attention had been drawn to the steady drop in the numbers of those presenting themselves for ordination in the Church of England. It was realized that it was no longer possible to rely for a sufficiency of clergy on men who had passed through the universities. One result was that in 1902 the Community of the Resurrection opened their college at Mirfield to train for ordination men who lacked the means for obtaining a university education. The Society of the Sacred Mission now decided that it must open its doors wider and train ordinands not only for the foreign but for the home missions as well. From now onwards the society grew rapidly. The Constitutions had received confirmation in 1896 when Dr Talbot, Bishop of Rochester, became the Visitor. In 1902 the first members of the S.S.M. sailed for South Africa to lay the foundations of missionary work which has increased and multiplied in the past half century. Those who remained at home had more than enough to do in teaching the ever-increasing number of students at Kelham. But while allowing for some mistakes, as might be expected from such an experiment, the essential unity of spirit between the college and the society, which is now so remarkable, was achieved.

During the first World War, Kelham was taken over by the military authorities, and the Community and students were given accommodation at Mirfield. Fr Kelly resigned the office of Director in 1910, and was succeeded by Fr D. Jenks. So the work went on, and nothing startling happened to mar the regular observance. Then came the Second World War, when the college was reduced to a very small total. The present-day work of the Society is described further on.

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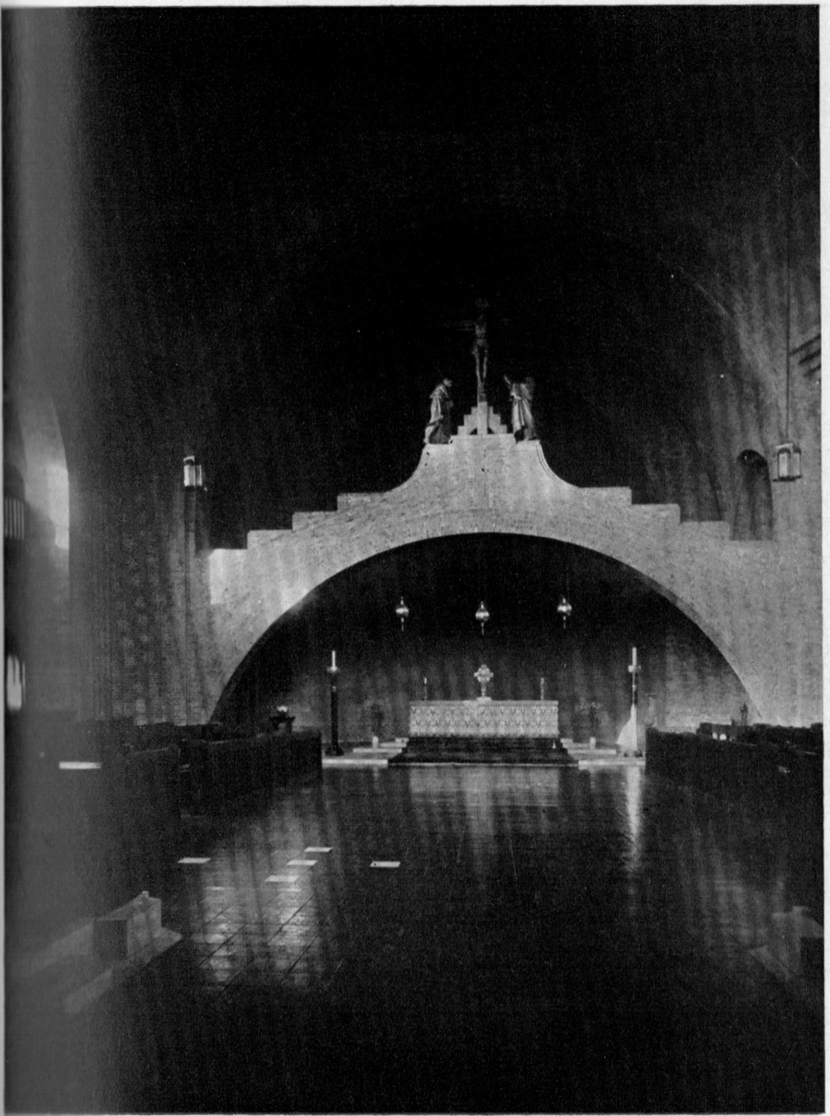
The principles and aims of the Society of the Sacred Mission are best given in the words of its official publications, which tell us that, "according to its Constitution, the Society is formed of those who 'retain in it the profession of their intention and desire to sacrifice their lives, after the example and with the aid of the Holy Angels, and for the promotion of God's Glory by the performance of God's Will'. Its members vow themselves to the divine service under the conditions of Poverty, Chastity and Obedience."

The primary aims of the S.S.M. are thus stated in its Constitution: "Let it be regarded as the first aim to increase the number of those who give their lives to the divine service, especially by training those of whom at present use cannot be made or is not made, whether through their lack of means or of education, or through other causes; and to deepen the wholeness of sacrifice in them, where their vocation exists, by building them into the organization of the Religious Life. Next let the Society labour for the conversion and perfection of souls, especially among the heathen and in the Church abroad. Thirdly, let regard be had for the cultivation of Divine Service."

The vow of poverty involves the giving up of private means and the sharing of a common purse. It is ruled that "the life of all must be kept in real simplicity and poverty:" Wherever possible the employment of a paid staff is avoided in houses of the Society and work is shared by all members of the house. The vow of obedience is taken in a strict sense, for "not only in work, but in every detail of life must this spirit be exercised unhesitatingly and without murmuring, in order that the whole soul may be trained in the bond of continual discipline". Members of the Society do not choose their work, but are directed to it.

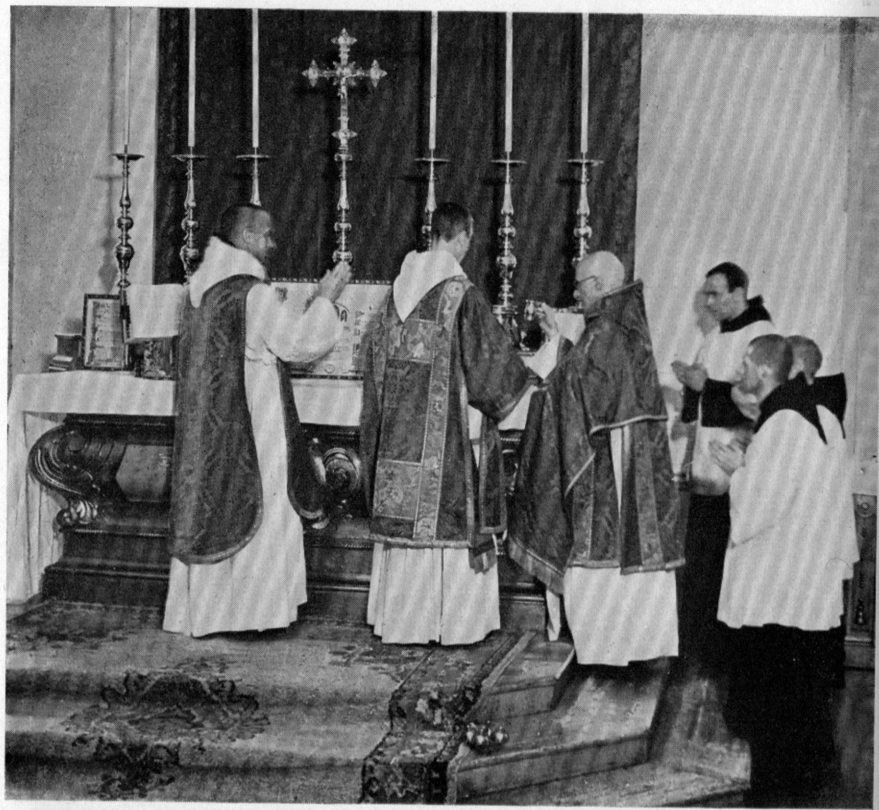
The Society is an "active" as distinct from a "contemplative" community, "called into being for the service of the Church. Its members seek that 'perfection in charity' which is held to be the 'end' of the Religious State in a practical consecration of their lives to the divine service in worship and work."

There are some Anglican communities whose relationship to the Church of England is vague and undefined. This is definitely not the case with the Society of the Sacred Mission, for its Constitution lays it down that the Society "*can have no end or aim of its own except the good of the*



HOUSE OF THE SACRED MISSION, KELHAM (begun 1927)
By Charles Clayton Thompson

See p. 144



HIGH MASS AT NASHDOM ABBEY
Altar designed by Martin Travers (1926); crucifix and candlesticks by Sir Ninian Comper

See p. 188

Church, and, further, that it should be its aim to take from those whom God has appointed to be the Bishops of his Church the direction of its efforts." Normally the Society enters upon a work at the invitation of the responsible bishop; it never does so without his goodwill.

The novitiate must last for at least two years and may be prolonged if necessary. Only after seven years in the Society are members "invited to make a *Promise* to remain within it for life". The priests of the Society are engaged in teaching and lecturing, in pastoral work at home and abroad, in taking missions and retreats, and in literary work. Lay brothers are admitted, and employed in any direction for which they possess the aptitude. They may be cooks or carpenters; secretaries or schoolmasters; gardeners or artists. It should be noted that "*ordination confers no precedence within the Society and all live under a common rule. Lay brotherhood is not considered as a step towards ordination, but as a distinctive form of service within the common vocation of the Society.*"

In regard to the training of ordinands the Society has, from the first, proceeded upon certain principles, which may be summarized as follows: (1) selection of men upon evidence of vocation alone; (2) the recognition of vocation in the young; (3) a long and thorough training; (4) the training of ordinands under religious discipline. This means that a college of the Society is, in effect, a single "Religious" household, "whose members may range from sixteen to eighty; in it, obedience means for all alike Religious obedience; and the controlling principle of all activity is that expressed in the Society's own motto: 'To the Glory of God in His Will'".

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Kelham Hall is situated on the banks of the River Trent, about two miles from Newark. It is a stately Gothic Revival mansion, designed by Sir Gilbert Scott in his most ornate manner, and built between 1859 and 1863. Surrounded by large gardens Kelham Hall reflects the social atmosphere of the age in which it was erected. It might be described as a smaller edition of the Midland Hotel, St Pancras Station, London.[1] After considerable alterations had been made, accommodation was provided for ninety students. In 1920 the Society bought the property, and during the next twenty years the buildings were much enlarged, the additions being dignified simple wings which do not make any attempt to harmonize with the elaborate Gothic mansion which they adjoin.

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[1] The house was designed just at the time when Sir George Gilbert Scott wrote his *Remarks on Secular Domestic Architecture, Present and Future*. The following passage appears in "The Buildings of England" Guide Books—*Nottinghamshire*—by Nikolaus Pevsner (Penguin Books, 1951). "The house is of prime importance for an understanding of Scott's ideas on the use of Gothic forms in secular buildings. The exterior is entirely asymmetrical, that is picturesque, tall, of unattractive brick with unattractive stone dressings. . . . The state rooms inside are equally freely and equally consistently Gothic. The Hall, the Chapel, and other main chambers are rib-vaulted. The capitals are mostly naturalistic, the one thing in which the Victorians thought they could beat the Middle Ages, outdoing Southwell by means of scientific progress, as it were" (p. 87).

There was already within the house a small chapel, now used as the Lady Chapel, but it was far too small for the Community and students. So before long what had originally been a glass-roofed courtyard, designed to enable carriages to draw up under cover at the front door, was transformed into a chapel. Today it serves as the refectory. But the need for a permanent place of worship became more and more imperative, and in 1927 a start was made on the present chapel. To quote from the official guide book: "The architect was Charles Clayton Thompson, who showed an extraordinary understanding of our spiritual aims, and succeeded, with a power that deserves to be called genius, in expressing what he had seen in the chapel he built for us. This is no conventional 'religious building', but one which is determined at every point by the particular needs which had to be met." Corporate worship was the fundamental need, and this was met by a square area, containing what is the largest choir in Britain, roofed as it is with an immense dome. The remote inspiration is Byzantine, but Kelham Chapel is infinitely more original and far less of a mingling of bits and pieces than Bentley's Westminster Cathedral. Moreover, "the beauty of the building depends, not on carvings, stone facings, or wall coverings of any kind, but on the structural lines and the way in which the materials, brick and concrete are used". This great chapel is still incomplete, for the narrow transepts and another side chapel have yet to be added.

No better impression of this chapel could be given than that published in *The Architect* shortly after it was opened: "One enters the new buildings from the old. The door is closed on the Gothic Revival. On the other side of it comes the complete antithesis, the new work. On the one side, a revival. On the other, what? The answer is hard to give. Perhaps one should say, 'Just architecture'. For that is the impression of the cloister-like corridor which leads from the old building to the new. Bare brick walls, of a warm friendly texture and colour, but not smooth; bricks, that are honestly glad to be bricks. And overhead a barrel vault, in a rough plaster, textured with lines, giving the surface something of the coarse quality of a homespun cloth: no art, no carefully devised texture faking, but a curious naive atmosphere of country architecture. . . . Passing through the cloister-like approach, one imagines a chapel of conventional form; a narrow nave, aisles, a chancel, executed perhaps in a similar note

of unaffected simplicity. Great therefore is the surprise of beholding the reality: a vast open space (it is 62 feet square in the clear), and four great arches which share with generously broad pedentures the task of supporting a noble dome. Here is a chapel which is a place of assembly, a concourse, majestic, ample, treated with a broad simplicity of handling, its structure of humble materials yet noble in conception. The impression is heightened by the pervading sense of large scale, conveyed by a sure sense of the rightness of sizes, and a use, without any kind of exaggeration, of the element of contrast. And to complete the effect of bigness of feeling, of generosity and space, is the dramatic touch of the bridge-like screen which spans the sanctuary arch. Behind it is the altar: a large altar, but small by comparison: green against the blue background of the apse, rich with the black and silver of the sanctuary fittings."

Actually the wall of the apse behind the altar is a dull Roman purple or an indefinite shade. Against this background stand out the two massive ebony and silver candlesticks and the enamel decorated cross on the altar, designed by Mr Alexander Fisher. Three sanctuary lamps of original design, with scarlet tassels attached, hang from the roof of the apse. Two tall and solid candlesticks stand on the lower step of the sanctuary. All these furnishings are reflected on the highly polished black squared flooring. Every detail of the side altars is worth studying. But the supreme feature of this majestic church is the group of figures on the arch above the sanctuary. They are the work of Sargent Jagger, the sculptor of the Artillery Memorial at Hyde Park Corner. Here is a rood which is the antithesis of those exquisite medieval re-creations of Sir Ninian Comper realistic, virile, poignant with emotion, and yet completely decorative, in the sense that the crucifix and the figures of our Lady and St John merge into their setting quite naturally. If there was ever a place of worship which expressed the spirit of its religious community, it is the chapel of the mother house of the Society of the Sacred Mission, which combines a fearless acceptance of its own age with a strong hold of all that is best in the past. At the same time the planning and furnishing of this chapel owe little or nothing to contemporary Roman Catholic usages. For instance, the place of Reservation is a secluded side-chapel, hidden away in one of the galleries, where the presence of an aumbry is unsuspected by the ordinary visitor.[1]

When you behold the rows of stalls on either side of the great choir, filled with the students in their dark-grey habits and blue linen scapulars, you are convinced that the architect must have chosen the particular colour of the bricks as the only possible tone for the background. The longer you linger in this chapel, the more you marvel at its consummate perfection. Perhaps you will recall the favourite saying of Eric Gill: "*Look after goodness and truth, and beauty will take care of herself.*"[1]

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[1] Photographs of the interior of the chapel are reproduced in *Liturgy and Society* by A. G. Hebert, S.S.M. (London, 1935). A detailed description of the building, with many illustrations, is given in *Kelham Chapel* (S.S.M. Press, n.d.).

A brief picture of the daily life at Kelham must be given, just because it is *sui generis*, and in some ways utterly different from that found in any other religious community of men—Anglican or Roman Catholic. There is probably no other "monastery" in the world, certainly not in the English-speaking world, which is so democratic in atmosphere and ethos. The point to be made clear is that there is no apparent distinction of persons—all share and share alike in whatever has to be done. For instance, a senior Father will certainly find himself under obedience to a student when it comes to manual work. You may find a learned professor of Old Testament theology standing over the kitchen range. The Community and the students make up one large family, and except for insignificant details, there is no difference in the habit worn by either section of the family. But there are certain differences in the liturgical life. For instance, the Community recite Prime in the Lady Chapel before they join the students in the large chapel for the Prayer Book office of Mattins at 6.30. After twenty minutes for meditation from 7.10, Mass is said at the high altar with a deacon and subdeacon who wear albs, but not tunicles, and only one server. The propers are recited by the whole choir. Some priests of the Community say Private Masses before and during this Priory Mass at the high altar, but it is not their custom that each priest should celebrate every day. Breakfast is at 8 o'clock—a good solid meal. After this domestic work is done in the house and chapel. Those whose other tasks excuse them from this say Terce in the Lady Chapel. Study, including lectures for tutors and students, fills the rest of the morning from 9.30 to 12.45. Sext is recited by all at 12.50 in the large chapel, and then there is a light lunch. On a notice board will be found the names of those who are put down to play games or do various forms of manual work—there is no individual choice in such matters; in this respect the discipline of Kelham is military or naval in character. "You do as you're told, and it's no good grousing!" The Society and novices recite None at 3.50, after which tea is taken by everybody in the common room—a very informal meal where you fend for yourself and there is plenty of talking. Study time begins again at 4.30 and lasts until the bell rings for Evensong at 7 p.m. All the other services are austerely simple, with no singing except the office hymn. But Evensong at Kelham is "fully choral", and it is doubtful if there is any other church in Britain where plain-chant set to English words is rendered with such perfection. If hitherto you have been convinced that plain-chant can only be sung to Latin words, then go to Kelham and be converted! At the dinner that follows talking is allowed except on Fridays and in Advent and Lent when a book is read. Except for those who wash-up there is free time after this until Compline at 9.30. Then the Greater Silence begins and everybody slips away to bed. There are slight differences in the timetable on Sundays and festivals, e.g. a High Mass at 7.55 with a general Communion; and after dinner in the evening, members of the House meet for coffee in the common room. There is free time for all in the morning and afternoon. Such is a rough idea of how the Society of the Sacred Mission functions at its mother house.

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[1] *Beauty Looks After Herself* (1933), p. 245.

At the present time the S.S.M. continues its principal work of training ordinands at the mother house at Kelham, where there is accommodation for over a hundred students. It is also a centre for literary work towards the promotion of theological learning. Some of the priests undertake retreats and missions, also special preaching. Guests are often received for private retreats or for opportunities of reading and study. Ladies and family parties can stay near by in the "Red House", run by the Sisters from the Community of St Laurence at Belper. There retreats and small conferences for both sexes are organized.

In 1911 the Society was asked to take over the industrial parish of St George's, Nottingham, and this is still in its charge. Like requests led to the undertaking of other parishes at St John's, Bedminster in Bristol, from 1934–46, and at Parson's Cross, a large housing estate in the suburbs of Sheffield, from 1937–56. For a number of years from 1942 the Society also had charge of its home parish of Averham with Kelham. From 1932–40 a Priory in the centre of Liverpool, without particular parochial responsibilities, was able to undertake a variety of works for the parishes and the diocese. It is hoped that ventures of this kind will be possible again.

The Province of South Africa now comprises St Augustine's Priory, Modderpoort; St Gabriel's Priory, Welkom; St Patrick's Priory, Bloemfontein (all in Orange Free State); and St Agnes' Priory, Teyateyenang, and St James' Mission, Ho Chooko, in the highlands of Basutoland. At Modderpoort there was a residential college for boys and girls from 1928 to 1955 now closed as a result of the Bantu Education Act. Educational work among Africans remains an important task of the S.S.M.

Two members of the Society have been raised to the episcopate—Fr Richard Roseveare, Bishop of Accra, 1956, and Fr Nicholas Allenby, Bishop of Kuching, 1962.

Much is being done, at great labours and cost, for schools at Teyateyenang and elsewhere in the Basutoland Protectorate.[1]

In 1947 Bishop Robin of Adelaide, supported by most of the bishops of Australia, appealed to the Society to provide an opportunity for the development of the Religious Life for men in Australasia, and to train men for the priesthood on the lines followed at Kelham. After sixteen years this work is firmly established. The Australian Province has its headquarters at St Michael's House, Summit Road, Crafers, South Australia. There are now in the Society seven priests and six lay brothers who have made their profession in Australia, and more novices are testing their vocation. In 1963 an Australian priest, Fr John Lewis, who had entered St Michael's House at the outset, was elected Provincial. Priests trained at Crafers are working in every state of the Commonwealth. Requests to establish houses in various parts of Australia and the Pacific continue to be made. A Priory has already been established at Perth, and it is expected that new ventures will soon be undertaken. Meanwhile the brethren are in wide demand for retreats, conferences, and missions throughout Australia.

A considerable amount of literary work has been done by members of the Society in the course of its history. Books which deserve mention include those by the founder himself, especially *The Church and Religious Unity*, *Catholicity*, and *The Gospel of God*, lately republished with a memoir by Br George Every, who has also collected and edited some of Fr Kelly's autobiographical writings and other occasional pieces, under the title, *No Pious Person*. Fr Gabriel Herbert's books have had many readers, especially *Liturgy and Society*, but also *The Form of the Church* and his books on the Old Testament, from *The Throne of David* to *Fundamentalism and the Church of God*, and more lately *God's Kingdom and Ours*. His last book, *Apostle and Bishop*, was published just before he died in 1963. He is also known as a translator of Swedish theology. Fr David Jenks was the author of a number of devotional works, especially *A Study of Intercession* and *In the Face of Jesus Christ*. Br George Every has also, besides his work on Fr Kelly, produced books of his own on such varied subjects as *The Byzantine Patriarchate*, *Poetry and Personal Responsibility*, *The Baptismal Sacrifice*, *The High Church Party, 1688–1718* and *Basic Liturgy*. The S.S.M. Quarterly, at present published only twice a year, contains news of the

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[1] A small community—the Society of St Augustine—preceded the S.S.M. at Modderpoort, and made history by living for a time in a cave.

[2] An account of the Society is to be found in Volume I of *The Church of England in the Twentieth Century*, by Roger Lloyd (London, 1946), pp. 187–97.

Society's activities and generally one or more scholarly articles. At the time of writing the Visitor of the S.S.M. is their diocesan at Kelham, the Bishop of Southwell.

9. SOCIETY OF THE DIVINE COMPASSION

*42 Balaam Street, Plaistow, London, E.*13 (1894)

The direct source of inspiration of this the first Anglican community whose Rule and manner of life approximated to that of the primitive followers of St Francis of Assisi can be traced to a little book published in 1893. Its title was *Stephen Remarx—The Story of a Venture in Ethics*; its author the Reverend the Honourable James G. Adderley, a son of Lord Norton. This effort to popularize the principles of Christian Socialism in the form of fiction reached its fourth impression by the following year, and its twelfth cheap edition by 1904. It is largely autobiographical, for the hero, like the author, is the son of a peer who became an Anglican parson, and worked in an East London parish. His old-fashioned rector is horrified by his consorting with Socialists, and much relieved when he is moved to a fashionable church in Chelsea. Then comes the Sunday morning when Remarx preaches a sermon, based on the text: "Ye are the light of the world. A city that is set on a hill cannot be hid." He is obliged to resign his living, but "resignation enabled him to achieve his aim—the foundation of a new community of six who live together . . . and possess no private property, putting their money into a common fund. Associates all over the country were enrolled. These 'irregulars' ('Remarkables' they were nicknamed) were drawn from all walks of life. They undertook to model their lives on the teaching of Jesus. . . . Meanwhile the founder of this crusade went about doing good, which was carried on by his friends after he was run down by a cart one dark night and killed. *Stephen Remarx* reads like a Christian Socialist tract. Its colours are crude, but the autobiographical strain gives it a basis of reality. Mr Adderley's other books have a Kingsleyan flavour."[1] . . .

This remark about the "Kingsleyan flavour" is true, and the remote inspiration of the Society of the Divine Compassion might be discovered in the writings of Charles Kingsley and Frederick Denison Maurice, who preached the Gospel of the Brotherhood of Man, or even the ideas of J. M. Ludlow who, as early as 1848 (after a visit to Paris), stated that 'Socialism must be Christianized or it would shake Christianity to its foundations, precisely because it appeals to the higher and not the lower instincts of the men."[1]

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[1] A. L. Drummond, *The Churches in English Fiction* (Leicester, 1950), pp. 152, 153.

Then came the foundation of the Working Men's College in London in 1854; the foundation of the Guild of St Matthew in 1877, and the opening of Toynbee Hall, Whitechapel, in 1884. The era of "Settlements" had begun. "Slumming" became fashionable in the 'eighties, as can be seen from the jokes in *Punch*. Canon Barnett's pioneer work in Whitechapel led to the establishments of University Settlements in Bethnal Green and Walworth. In 1889 Charles Booth drew further attention to the conditions of the poor with the publication of the first volume of *Life and Labour in London*. That same year saw the foundation of the Christian Social Union.

Some of the pioneers of English Socialism devoted their lives to the working classes from a sense of justice and kindliness. They were keenly alive to this misery of the cruelty suffered by the huge mass of unskilled labour. They wanted to care for the underdog. They had no idea of abolishing the prosperous middle classes, but tried to convert them. In 1890 William Morris published *News from Nowhere*, which somebody once remarked is "as far removed from Marx's *Das Kapital* as the Gospel of St John is from the Book of Judges". At the same time there were other Socialists who belonged to the working classes, such as John Burns. These men were trying in a much more practical manner to save the underdog from sweated labour and exploitation. Hence the establishment of the Trade Unions, and those processions of the unemployed which culminated in the disgraceful scenes of "Bloody Sunday" in November 1887. "No one who saw it will ever forget the strange and indeed terrible sight on that grey winter day; the vast, sombre coloured crowd, the brief but fierce struggle at the corner of the Strand, and the river of steel and scarlet that moved slowly through the dusky swaying masses, when the two squadrons of the Life Guards were summoned up from Whitehall."[2]

All this sort of thing had affected the younger generation by 1890. Some of the more liberal-minded Anglo-Catholic clergy were drawn together by an enthusiasm for socialism and Fabianism. Most of them were convinced that it would not take long "to build Jerusalem in England's green and pleasant land". There was Conrad Noel, the future Vicar of Thaxted, staying at Rowton House, Vauxhall, the first of the improved common lodging-houses, so that he could learn by personal experience how the down-and-out lived. "Joe" Clayton—an Anglo-Catholic layman, well known in after years as a writer on sociology and

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[1] F. Maurice, *Life of F. D. Maurice* (1885), vol. I, p. 458.
[2] J. W. Muckail, *Life of William Morris* (1899), vol. II, p. 191.

history—was working as a labourer in the South London Gas Works for similar reasons. Percy Dearmer, who had just been appointed curate at St Anne's, South Lambeth, wrote to Lord Beauchamp early in 1893 that Dr Randall Davidson, then Bishop of Rochester, had "recommended his clergy to read the Fabian Essays, *Progress and Poverty*, and Marx's *Das Kapital*".[1]

Similar Socialist ideals were to be found among the young men who worked at Oxford House, Bethnal Green, which was one of the most flourishing Settlements in the East End of London. It was run on more definite church lines than Toynbee Hall. The Reverend A. F. Winnington-Ingram, later Bishop of London, was its Head. Among his staff in 1891 was Ernest Hardy, just down from Keble College. He became very friendly with James G. Adderley, a former Head of Oxford House, who was eight years his senior. Adderley had been a curate in Bethnal Green and also at the Christ Church Mission in Poplar. When he met Hardy he was attached to All Hallows, Barking.[2] By this date he had formed strong views on the urgent need for a change of methods to deal with the poverty of the East End of London. He related in after years that he had always wanted to be "a sort of friar", and on one occasion he had advertised secretly in the *Church Times* for a like-minded parson to come and live with him. Oddly enough the only reply received was from Walter Howard Frere, the future Superior of the Community of the Resurrection, and later Bishop of Truro.[3] Then, to quote his own words, "I learnt to be a missioner, and in a year's time I felt I must change again. Henry Chappel and Ernest Hardy allowed me to join them in beginning the Society of the Divine Compassion."[4]

This Henry Chappel mentioned by Adderley was another young man who, like Hardy, had begun to feel that something more was needed than the method of settlements. They visualized a closer and more intimate contact with the poor, and a complete dedication of themselves to the service of the patient, suffering humanity of East London. Meanwhile Adderley was working up these ideas into his story of a venture in ethics—*Stephen Remarx*. By Easter 1893—about the same time as the publication of this book—Archbishop Benson had expressed his firm conviction that "Brotherhoods are rapidly becoming a necessity for the discharge of our work in dense populations". Here was *Stephen Remarx* to show how at least one such Brotherhood could achieve what the archbishop had stated publicly. Adderley's sense of timing was perfect—he struck the iron while it was hot. Here were Chappel and Hardy prepared to help him to put into practice something on the lines of that community of six men, drawn from all classes of society, who had taken over "Alphege House" in Mayfair, left to "Stephen Remarx" by his uncle the "Marquis of St Alphege". They lived "in the top part of the house, in what used to be the servants' bedrooms. . . . We have one room each, no carpets, no curtains, and a simple little bed. The whole of the rest of the house, with the exception of some spare rooms which we are keeping unfurnished, is given to the people. . . . Anyone can come: rich and poor meet together. . . . I must not forget the chapel, where each day we receive the Sacrament, and where for an hour each day Stephen expounds to us the Gospel."[1]

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[1] Nan Dearmer, *Life of Percy Dearmer* (1940), p. 78. The Fabian Society was founded in 1885. In 1893 it demanded the ownership by the community of the means of production, distribution, and exchange. The Independent Labour Party was founded in the same year. It sought direct socialist representation in Parliament and on local authorities. Many of the younger Anglo-Catholic clergymen at that time supported both these organizations.

[2] See p. 218. [3] J. G. Adderley, *In Slums and Society* (1916), p. 70.

[4] "It is impossible to place Adderley, because he was a pilgrim always wayfaring in search of the light. His clothes suggested a pilgrim who had been on the road for many years." T. P. Stevens, *Cassock and Surplus* (1947), p. 27. See also T. P. Stevens, *Father Adderley* (1943).

By September 1893 Hardy was able to write to his mother: "It is pretty well settled that Adderley is going to pitch his tent in Canning Town. The Bishop of St Albans has offered him a parish, and he will be among his beloved dockers again."[2] Three months later he wrote again: "Adderley has practically settled on Plaistow. . . . There is a little church . . . and a district joined on to it, everything, I believe, very nice for a start."[3]

Fr Adderley, writing three years after the above events, tells us that it was the great Dock Strike of 1889 which gradually led to the realization that Community Life must be the basis of social reform. To live the life of Christ seemed to him and his friends the best way to apply Socialism to Christianity. What was needed was a literal reproduction of the Christ-life by a few persons living as poor men in the midst of the poor: "a real sharing of the discomfort and restraint of the poor—a closer drawing together of class and class—more sympathy between the would-be prophets and those whom they propose to teach. Such a life would be a witness to the dignity of labour."[4]

The Society of the Divine Compassion came into being, so far as its founder was concerned, not so much from any positive urge to be Franciscans, as from the conviction that the Co-operative Movement,

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[1] Op. cit., pp. 122, 124.

[2] K. E. Burne, *The Life and Letters of Father Andrew, S.D.C.* (1948), p. 26.

[3] Ibid., p. 27.

[4] *Looking Upwards* (1896), p. 29.

Trade Unionism, and Socialism had failed largely because working men were unwilling to accept leadership; hence the hope that the example of a small group of men living under vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience might achieve more in the long run than further schemes for social reform. On the other hand, while Hardy and Chappel shared Adderley's social conscience, it seems probable that they were more concerned than he was with the Religious Life as an end in itself.

What one would like to find out is, had any of these three founders a positive intention of establishing a *Franciscan* Brotherhood? Was it merely an afterthought? At that date the only English biography of St Francis of Assisi was the one written by Mrs Oliphant, published in 1871. Paul Sabatier's epoch-making *Vie de Saint François* did not appear until just after the foundation of the Society of the Divine Compassion. In 1893 there was very little Franciscan literature available in English. It is improbable that any of the three pioneers had contact with either the Friars Minor of the Regular Observance who had been working in East London since 1868, or with the Friars Minor Capuchin who had settled in South London in 1855. There is no evidence that James Adderley or his two companions investigated the Third Order Rule as a practical basis for the community they visualized. None of the letters of that period of preparation hint that these three men had seen anything of Franciscan life on the continent of Europe. It is their apparent ignorance of the obvious sources of inspiration that makes the establishment of the Society of the Divine Compassion so interesting. It evolved into a quasi-Franciscan community simply because its ideals were akin to those of St Francis—to imitate literally the life of Christ.

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Here is the official story of how the Brotherhood came into being: "It may be said to have had its beginning in Oxford, where, at a retreat conducted by Father Waggett, S.S.J.E., the Rule was drawn up. On 20 January 1894, in the Chapel in the garden of Pusey House the Holy Eucharist was celebrated, and at the close of the service, those who had been in retreat bound themselves to the observance of the Rule and the three vows of Poverty, Chastity and Obedience for the space of one year. They emerged into the world again after their week's retreat as the first novices of the 'Society of the Divine Compassion'—a name chosen as representing that aspect of Almighty God, which they wished specially to hold up as the light of the world in all social distress."[1]

Fr Adderley and Fr Chappel went direct to Plaistow after the retreat was over. They were joined by Ernest Hardy in March after he had completed his last term at Ely Theological College. By that time four lay brothers had joined the fraternity. It was a curious coincidence that this the first Anglican Franciscan community should have taken root in just that particular district of East London where the Friars Minor had been entrenched for over a quarter of a century, for it was in 1868 that Archbishop Manning had placed the Belgian Recollect Fathers in charge of the parish of Stratford. In 1884 they had established themselves in their large Friary at Forest Gate, which became the residence of the Provincial. Almost at the same time as the Society of Divine Compassion began work in Plaistow, yet another Franciscan friary was founded at Woodford Green, about four miles distant. Here was a community of the Observant Friars of the Province of Toulouse, one of several which had been driven out of France in the 'eighties and had found a refuge in England. Less than a mile away from St Philip's Church was a convent of the Franciscan Missionaries of Mary, established in Canning Town in 1887. In no other part of England at that date were so many Roman Catholic Franciscans—male and female—congregated within so small an area.

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[1] *A Franciscan Revival*, edited by A. Clifton Kelway (Plaistow, 1908), p. 1.

There was no danger of the members of the Society of the Divine Compassion being mistaken for either the Recollect Fathers at Stratford and Forest Gate, or the French Observants at Woodford Green, as they had adopted the black habit and capuce worn by the Friars Minor Conventual since the eighteenth century, when the original dark-grey habit was discarded. Unlike either of the two Roman Catholic groups of Friars Minor in East London, these Anglican friars went about in their habits, and were not disguised as mere secular clergymen. It may have been from a wish to be as inconspicuous as possible that they chose a black habit rather than a brown one, for the particular observance of the Rule of St Francis they followed had little or nothing in common with that of the Conventuals—they had no desire to avail themselves of medieval Papal dispensations from the primitive rule of Holy Poverty.

The purpose and spirit of the Society of the Divine Compassion were summed up in its definition: "a community of priests, deacons, and communicant laymen, banded together in a common life of Poverty, Chastity, and Obedience for the glory of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ and the benefit of His Holy Catholic Church, to worship Him and to work for Him and all mankind, especially the poor and suffering, in imitation of the Divine Master, seeking the help of one another in thus obeying Him".

"The members of the society are not by their constitutions tied down to any particular work, they desire to obey the call of Almighty God, whatever it may be and wherever it may lead them. A great desire to share and sanctify the experience of the poor, to hallow commercial life, and to recognize the dignity of labour were the ruling impulses in the genesis of the Society, and it would wish that all its activities might always be biased in these directions."[1]

The Rule was taken to Lambeth Palace, where it was signed by Dr Benson, Archbishop of Canterbury. Since that day, the Society of the Divine Compassion continued in the imitation of the Incarnate Life of our Lord. Its members were engaged in parish work, living the same life as those around them. They have gone out to the more active work of preaching and conducting missions. They have had workshops among the people, repairing clocks and watches, and running a small printing-press. These Anglican Franciscans steadily tried to live a poor life, sharing the privation and discomfort of those who have no choice but to be poor.

The Community has been built upon a basis, pure and simple, of brotherhood in the three Vows of Religion. There has never been any distinction between "lay" and "choir" Brothers. There has never been anything to prevent a layman being the Superior. All work has been regarded as equally sacred; all men held in equal respect.

Plaistow, seventy years ago, was a very different sort of district from what it is today. "Unemployment, poverty, disease, dirt and drunkenness were rife. There was often real starvation." Fr Andrew wrote to his mother in April 1894: "As regards money, of course we live very cheaply ourselves, but as while there is any room in the house we should never refuse any one a bed, we often have a good many mouths to feed, though the food is always of the simplest. We all share our money, because some of the brethren are just at work, earning twelve shillings a week, and as they hand over their twelve shillings to the common fund so I should have to hand over any money you sent me." He goes on to say: "It makes one feel very sad to hear the little children praying, 'Give us this day our daily bread' when one knows there is nothing at home for them . . . the poverty here is something fearful. I have found families without even the light of a candle sitting silently and starving in the dark."

St Philip's Church, a plain, red-brick building, whose walls, even then, were no longer red, but grimy with the acid-laden air, with the soot, damp, and fog of that low-lying district, once marshes, was the spiritual heart of the Society's work. The Northern Outfall Sewer burrowed through the middle of the parish. The waste land above and around it formed a playground for the children. Next door to the church was an ugly corrugated-iron structure known as the "Iron Rooms". Here on Monday nights it soon became usual to find assembled from forty to one hundred and fifty men, listening to lectures, taking part in debates—sure of the warm-hearted fellowship, sympathy, and brotherly love of the friars who had come to live in their midst, and who lived as poor men. On Sundays the "Iron Rooms" were used for catechism classes. Fr Andrew describes the parish as "a great nursery of noisy children", and records how every morning when he went into church there were always lots of little children praying there. In the evenings these same children, for whom the world had so cold a welcome, met in the "Iron Rooms", to play games, or with their mothers to partake of a social tea. For the men and boys, there was always a welcome to tea in the community refectory.

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[1] *A Franciscan Revival*, p. 1.

On Trinity Sunday, 9 June 1895, Bishop Festing ordained Ernest Hardy (Fr Andrew) to the priesthood in St Albans Cathedral. It was the first occasion since the Reformation on which a cleric of *Ecclesia Anglicana* had been ordained in the habit of a religious order. Again and again in his letters he refers to the dire poverty—"all the people are pretty well starving", he says during the winter of 1895, but he adds: "our dear people here are so good and the church is so loved. There are twenty or thirty people in the church every morning at seven now, and one often sees some poor patient mother kneeling quietly praying during the daytime." All around there was sickness and death, but babies were born, and Fr Andrew remarks, "we have baptized ninety-three children in three months. Poor little things, what a life seems in front of them. However, work has been better lately at the Docks, so distress has been less."

In 1896 the Community moved from its original quarters in Meredith Street to another larger house in Balaam Street, which remained its headquarters to the end. Towards the end of 1897 Fr James Adderley, who had already become priest-in-charge of Berkeley Chapel, Mayfair, resigned his Superiorship, and ceased to belong to the Society of which he was a co-founder. The view handed down in the Community was that it was his vocation to be the founder but not to remain in holy religion. Some years later he was appointed to the parish of Saltley, Birmingham, and took with him the Sisters of the Incarnation of the Eternal Son, who had also been working in Plaistow on Franciscan lines since 1894.[1] Fr Henry Chappel was chosen as the second Superior. Two years later, on 20 January 1899, the fifth anniversary of the day on which they took their first temporary vows, Fr Henry and Fr Andrew were professed

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[1] See pp. 468, 469.

in St Pancras' Church, London, by Dr Festing, Bishop of St Albans, who ever since the inception of the Society had taken a fatherly interest in its affairs.

From now onwards the active work began to develop under the new Superior's strong and steady guidance. The Brothers had already undertaken the chaplaincy of the East London Cemetery, in which most of the parishioners were buried. They were kept busy here throughout the terrible smallpox epidemic of 1901 and 1902. The Bishop of London appointed the Community to minister to the patients, not only on the hospital ships moored in the Thames, but in the great isolation hospital erected on Dagenham Marshes, where at one moment there were four hundred victims of the disease. Ten of the brethren were fully occupied with this work of mercy.

It was in the middle of the smallpox epidemic that Fr William Sirr joined the S.D.C. He had already learnt by practical experience the life of the poor, having dwelt in a common lodging-house for two years while working as an assistant curate in Vauxhall. With the S.D.C. he found the sort of community life he had been craving for. His Superior, realizing his remarkable gifts with working men, gave him a free hand, and so were started the weekly gatherings called "Thoughts for Thinking Men". They were held first in a room under the workshop in Balaam Street, from eight to nine every Monday evening, later on transferred to the "Iron Rooms". "Impulsive, warm-hearted, always a friend, undoubtedly the strongest impression was of Fr William's immense affection for *men*. It was so genuine. He understood, valued and saw all the good in the dock-labourers. And they responded. It was not a professional interest. He valued them for themselves, and they knew it."[1]

On 15 May 1906, the front page of the *Daily Mirror* came out with the headline "Clergy Join the Procession of London's Unemployed" over four photographs. One of these shows Fr William, in his black habit and cloak, surrounded by some clergymen and working men. Behind them is a large banner with the words: "The Church in West Ham in the Name of Christ: we claim that all men should have the Right to Live." London, that morning, was made aware that there were not a few who, in the name of our Lord, demanded that at least justice should be done to the half-million dockers and others who remained in helpless destitution. Many who saw the vast procession on its way from the Embankment to Hyde Park, and many more who glanced at the *Daily Mirror*, wondered who was that funny little friar, in black robes, girt with a white knotted cord, from which hung a crucifix. If it did nothing else that procession brought the Society of Divine Compassion into the limelight.

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[1] Curtis, *William of Glasshampton*, (1947), p. 20.

Just a year before the unemployed procession took place three of the Brothers had gone off to South Africa to work in the diocese of Bloemfontein. Monday 8 May 1905 was an important day in the annals of the S.D.C., for then occurred the blessing of the "Novice House" (the novitiate) at Stanford-le-Hope in Essex. For a long time past it had been realized that Plaistow was not the ideal place for testing vocations. "Potter's Farm" was then in the heart of the unspoilt country, yet within easy access of London. During the nine years which had elapsed since the foundation of the Society its members, never very numerous, had been kept so busy that there was a real danger of their losing "sight of the primary purpose of the Religious Life as a family of men detached from the world and consecrated to God as the means to bringing them to Christ".[1]

Fr Andrew emphasized the important part which Potter's Farm might play in the spiritual life of the Community when he wrote: "Here it is possible for a man to see whether the life of ordered prayer and devotion cramps and narrows him, or whether he finds in it, for all the aridity and dryness of certain seasons, a power to rise above self to God, and that peace which only comes when the will of the creature has learnt to repose in the Will of the Creator. . . . There are two sides to the life of a 'religious', the life of prayer and the life of work."[2]

Around the farm-house were ten acres of land. Far away beyond the flat fields and marshes one had glimpses of the Lower Thames, with brown-sailed barges drifting past on their way to the open sea. The old buildings provided work, for they badly needed repair, also the dilapidated stable. An orchard was planted, and before long the vegetable garden supplied the refectory table. An almost perfect Franciscan oratory was evolved out of the thatch-roofed stable, linked up to the original farm-house by an open cloister. Here were the refectory, kitchen, library, and eleven tiny cells. The quiet and secluded garden had green lawns and colourful flowerbeds. A stream, crossed by a rustic bridge, flowed through the gardens. Forty years ago in this little friary of Anglican Franciscans one discovered very much the spirit and manner of life of those solitudes in Italy to which St Francis himself loved to retire. He might have written that little Rule for "those who wish to live religiously in hermitages" for the Community at Stanford-le-Hope.

Within a year of its foundation Fr Andrew was able to write: "The

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[1] *Life and Letters of Father Andrew, S.D.C.*, p. 31.

[2] *A Franciscan Revival*, pp. 12–13.

house has already more than justified the purchase. Two sets of annual retreats have been held in it, and two life vows have been laid upon its altar. The house should enable all to see clearly whether they can really say of the Religious Life itself, and of this Community in particular, in itself and not because of any work it undertakes: 'This shall be my rest for ever; here will I dwell, for I have found a delight therein.'"[1]

In 1906 a Third Order of the Society was established, with Rules more or less similar to those observed by other Franciscan Tertiaries. Before long it numbered between two and three hundred Brothers and Sisters. Their support, spiritual and financial, was a great source of help and strength for some years.

The late George William Tate, who spent "ten happy years" as a member of the Society, but who later became a monk of Downside, recalled how when he first went to Plaistow in 1904 he was charmed with the sight of the little Community at supper: it reminded him of Da Vinci's fresco of the Last Supper. "When I joined I found we had a common wardrobe from which underclothing was handed out more or less impartially. We had a very simple style of living—meat once a day, and in Lent only once a week (Sundays), and coffee and dry bread for breakfast. We could go calced or discalced as we liked—down at Stanford-le-Hope I went two years barefoot summer and winter. Love of the poor among whom we lived was the spirit of the Community—shown by acts during the Dock Strike, when heaps of bread and cheese, wrapped up in newspaper, were handed to the hungry 'outs' lined up before the door Fr William's heading of the strikers in their march to Hyde Park—Br Philip's care of the 'Raggeds'—children he looked after and took once a week across the river to Greenwich for an outing—the 'Iron Rooms' weekly meeting of all and anyone who liked to come to 'Thoughts for Thinking Men'. All this betokened a very real, even if partial, grasp of the Franciscan spirit. But I would say this: The S.D.C. was certainly not 'Franciscan' from a study of modern Roman Catholic religious regulations for Community life. I don't suppose that any of the Founders ever went inside a Franciscan house or scanned its Constitution, but there was indeed a very genuine Franciscan spirit in S.D.C. so far as could be obtained by knowledge of Lives of St Francis, and books such as the Fioretti. The Society purposely did not imitate Roman Catholic Franciscan houses in the same way that Caldey imitated Benedictine monastic life. We would have said that the spirit of St Francis was the chief characteristic—St Francis' spirit in Church of England conditions. This was the thing that all shared pretty fully, whereas in the other two dedications—to the Sacred Heart and Our Lady—there was a certain picking and choosing of degrees of assent."

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[1] Ibid., pp. 12–13.

From 1906 to 1912 Fr William [Sirr] was Superior of the S.D.C.; years of great activity and expansion for the Society. The Brothers were in increasing demand all over England for missions, retreats, and sermons. Fr Andrew was elected as the next Superior and remained in office for four years. With the death of Fr Henry in the autumn of 1913 Fr Andrew found himself the only one of the three original founders remaining with the Community. The following year the S.D.C. took over the care of lepers at the Homes of St Giles, East Hanningfield, Essex. Here—as at Stanford-le-Hope—it was possible to find peace and quiet in contrast to the hectic activities at Plaistow. In this essentially Franciscan work of mercy the Brothers were assisted by a Sisterhood of St Giles, which eventually assumed entire charge of the work. Then came the First World War, in which the Community House in Balaam Street received a direct hit, but it was a mild affair compared with what happened in the Second World War. It was in 1918 that Fr William, after many years of patient vigil, was granted permission by the chapter to retire to Glasshampton, a remote spot in the depths of Worcestershire, to live as a solitary (see pp. 194–9). Permission had been withheld for several years mainly because of the lack of priests in the Society to carry on its multiform activities. Many had joined the S.D.C., but not all persevered.[1] In 1918 there were only five priest members, and before that there had been no more than three for several years.

In spite of a very limited personnel, the Society decided to make a second venture in the foreign mission-field, and in 1926 one of the Fathers and a Brother went to South Africa to take charge of a mission station at Wreningham, Southern Rhodesia, where they worked with two other Brothers who had been sent out several years earlier, and who for some time had been living with the Community of the Resurrection at Penhalonga. In 1932 Fr Andrew, who was again Superior, sailed for Africa with the object of trying to consolidate the work of the Society. He remained there for about twelve months. The work was then closed down, or rather passed into other hands, and the S.D.C. from now onwards concentrated its activities in England.

The life at Plaistow went on in much the same way, but with the National Health Insurance and Old Age Pensions Acts, and other Government legislation intended to improve the conditions of the working classes, the Fathers and Brothers had not so much to deal with as in the early days. No longer was there mass starvation and unemployment. Epidemics were rare and were speedily tackled by the Public Health Authority. But there were still folk to be visited, both in their own homes, in prisons, and in hospitals.

No longer was the S.D.C. the only Franciscan community in the Church of England. The *Society of St Francis* had been established at a farm-house in Dorset in 1921, with the care of wayfarers as its special apostolate. Its virtual founder, Br Giles, had been a novice in the S.D.C. (see p. 202). Three years later the *Brotherhood of the Holy Cross* began its work among boys in a derelict public house in Peckham (see p. 210). Each in its turn was a new manifestation of the spirit of St Francis. So men who felt drawn to the Franciscan way of life now had three communities to choose from.

The interior of St Philip's Church had been completely transformed after 1924. The thin Gothic screen was replaced by a much more massive one in a simple classic style; the brick walls were whitewashed. The changes reflected not only a change of ecclesiastical fashions, but also the spirit of the age. The beauty and simplicity of the services drew people to Plaistow from other parts of London. Fr Andrew—who might have become well known as an artist if he had not become a friar—had not a little to do with the improvements in this church. His favourite form of relaxation was to go sketching with a box of water-colour paints.

Then came the Second World War, to Fr Andrew, the Superior, an agonizing problem. He had already spoken at a meeting of the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship held in London, and marched in the procession to Lambeth Palace to present to the archbishop a memorandum affirming the right of pacifists in the Church of England to their opinions about war. Once war was declared in September 1939 he knew for certain that his duty was to stick to his post in East London. A year later St Philip's Church and the parish halls were badly damaged by the first bomb which fell in the parish during the Battle of Britain. The Community and the congregation were offered the hospitality of St Andrew's, Plaistow, by its vicar.

Early in March 1941 St Philip's was sufficiently restored to be fit for worship again. But after two Sundays a land-mine exploded close by, and the church was now beyond repair. Throughout the war, however, the little Community continued to minister to the bodily and spiritual needs of the people of Plaistow. Fr Andrew, worn out by the strain of the war, died peacefully on 31 March 1946. Fr Edward succeeded him as Superior, but his task was a difficult one.

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[1] The Right Reverend Mgr. Vernon Johnson, who joined the S.D.C. in 1913, became one of the most famous preachers in the Church of England. He was received into the Roman Catholic Church in 1929.

Services had to be held in a hall lent by Howard's Road Hospital. The three parish halls were in ruins. The Community House was declared unsafe to live in: one of its outside walls was blasted away but the Franciscans clung to it and eventually it was rebuilt. The decline in numbers meant that other work formerly undertaken had to be given up. The friary at Stanford-le-Hope was taken over for a time by the Brotherhood of the Holy Cross; the St Giles Home at East Hanningfield, Essex, passed into the care of the Sisters of the Sacred Passion. No longer could the S.D.C. act as chaplains to the East London Cemetery. With the deaths of several members the Society was reduced to two aged Fathers by the close of 1952. It has now died out. St Philip's, Plaistow (now rebuilt), has been placed in charge of the Society of St Francis (see p. 208). Brown-habited friars have superseded those in black habits. There is nothing inconsistent with the Franciscan spirit in a particular community coming to an end, and its work being continued by another community with the same ideals and spirit. The statue of the Little Poor Man of Assisi still looks down on the enclosed garden of the Community House in Plaistow.[1]

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Another and now almost-forgotten attempt to establish an Anglican Franciscan community of men was made in 1908 by the Rev. John C. Hawes, but it came to naught. During the time he was a curate at the Holy Redeemer, Clerkenwell, he was in close touch with Sister Rosina of the Sisters of Bethany, who became the foundress of the Community of St Francis, which now has headquarters in Somerset (see p. 494). Mr Hawes was convinced that he too had a vocation for the Franciscan life, but he wanted something even more primitive and penitential than could be found with the Society of Divine Compassion. He was already in contact with the Benedictine monks of Painsthorpe, and when they moved to the Isle of Caldey in 1906, he resigned his London curacy and entered their novitiate. At the end of the year he was more certain than ever that he was called to be a Franciscan and not a Benedictine. He left the island, and made his three vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience privately before the Rev. James Adderley, who by this time had severed his connection with the Society of Divine Compassion (p. 156).

[1] Sir Shane Leslie records in *The Film of Memory* (London, 1938) how he "lived awhile in remote Plaistow with the Brethren of the Divine Compassion". He describes the Fathers as "the dearest of men, mostly from Oxford: Father Henry, the untidiest of the Community, with cowl and bootlaces flying, and Father Andrew, a superb preacher, who could really appeal to men" (p. 330). In his novel *The Cantab* (London, 1926) the same author describes an imaginary community of the "Fathers of the Divine Blood" which is based plainly on S.D.C., as it was about 1910, although some of its characters are borrowed from other Anglican communities.

Br Jerome—as he now called himself—determined to begin his Franciscan life with a pilgrimage—he would disguise himself as a tramp, so that he could gain personal experience of absolute poverty and dependence on Divine Providence. For about three months he continued this roving existence, tramping from London by way of the south and midlands of England and ending up at the convent of the Franciscan Sisters in Hull, where his unkempt appearance prevented him from being recognized when he knocked at the door.

During this vagabond phase Br Jerome slept under hedges, in doss-houses, or wherever he could find shelter. The Capuchin Friars at Crawley offered him hospitality, but the Carthusian monks at Parkminster were less fraternal, so he had to spend the night outside the front door of the monastery, where he dozed and shivered, listening to the great bell tolling for Matins. When he reached Oxford the Cowley Fathers were more friendly and gave him a good meal.

When the tramp was over Br Jerome crossed to the Isle of Man where he had been offered the post of private chaplain to an Anglo-Catholic squire. Here he was joined by an ex-Benedictine novice from Caldey, who also felt he was called to be a Franciscan. The two of them stripped the chaplain's house of most of its furniture, and slept on the bare boards, rising at midnight to recite Matins and Lauds. However—as the founder explains—"after a few months our Franciscanism got too much for the Lord of the Manor; and his fussiness and interference in the conduct of the church services was more than I could stand, so Br Cuthbert and I set sail once more". The pair then migrated to Saltley, Birmingham, where Fr James Adderley offered Br Jerome the charge of the Mission Church of St Francis of Assisi, recently erected in his great parish. Two slum cottages adjoining it, knocked into one, became the Friary. Bishop Gore gave his blessing to the little community, which lingered on for a year or so, but was finally disbanded. Still wearing his Franciscan habit, Br Jerome went off to the Bahamas as a missionary.[1]

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Nearly half a century ago there was another young Anglican clergyman—the Reverend George Martin—who was inspired with much the same ideals of Franciscan poverty. Having resigned his Devonshire parish he gave away all his possessions, settled in South London, and lived from

[1] In 1911 he made his submission to Rome at the friary of the Society of the Atonement at Graymoor, Garrison, New York. Then, over a quarter of a century later, having worked as a mission priest in Western Australia, he returned to the Bahamas, to end his days as a Franciscan Tertiary Hermit on Cat Island. "Fr Jerome" died in June 1956. The story of his life has been told by P. F. Anson in *The Hermit of Cat Island* (New York, 1957, and London, 1958).

hand to mouth earning his bread as a common porter in the Southwark Market. He became loved and venerated by the poor, but he remained a solitary, and never gathered a community round him. These two cases of the attraction of the *Poverello* and of the primitive Franciscan manner of life are mentioned, not because they had left any permanent result, but because they show the persistence of an ideal which, in the long run, led to the foundation of the Society of St Francis and the Brotherhood of the Holy Cross.[1]

10. BENEDICTINES OF CALDEY ISLAND

Anglican Congregation of the Primitive Observance of the Holy Rule of St Benedict (1896)

In June 1893 a young London medical student, Benjamin Fearnley Carlyle, drew up some Constitutions for the "Oblate Brothers of the Holy Order of St Benedict" into which he had been admitted a few months before (see page 103). This document is an amazing production for a nineteen-year-old youth whose knowledge of monastic life was derived solely from books. It is redolent of the dynamic energy, vivid imagination, and irrepressible optimism which characterized his subsequent career. Benjamin Carlyle was much more ambitious than Benedict of Nursia, who wrote a Rule for self-governing monasteries on very simple lines and did not legislate for an Order. Carlyle, however, visualized the establishment in the Church of England of a Benedictine Order which would consist of three groups: oblates living in the world, active monks

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[1] In more recent times Brother Edward (the Reverend Edward Gordon Bulstrode) was known far and wide as a mission preacher, whose manner of life had much in common with that of a Franciscan. After his death in March 1953, Lord Elton wrote in *The Times* how, after two years of work in the London slums, Mr Bulstrode "recognized a call to adopt a life of Evangelical poverty and handed over his share of his father's estate to his father's employees. Without further possessions, save the clothes he stood up in, and the works of devotion he carried with him, he took to the roads, preaching by the roadside, at street corners, and on village greens, or when invited, in village churches, and living on such charity as he encountered, and indeed often on berries from the wayside hedges. He had become Brother Edward, the frail bearded figure in a cassock, strangely resembling a medieval painting of Christ. . . . From 1912 he combined the life of a medieval preaching friar with the giving of occasional unpaid assistance in a number of churches."

Brother Edward also conducted Retreats, and in 1949 Bishop Carey helped him to organize his work on more definite lines. So the *Village Evangelists* came into being. Lord Elton remarked that "in the villages Brother Edward visited he left an indelible memory, not only by his words, but by the unique impression of dedication and sanctity of which almost all those who met him were at once conscious". He wrote several pamphlets, also edited a book of essays, *Behold, Thy King Cometh.* "His true lifework was to bring a transforming personal influence into very many and very various lives." See *Brother Edward, Priest and Evangelist* by Kenneth G. Packard (London, 1955).

engaged in mission work, and an *élite* leading a strictly enclosed and purely contemplative life. There was hardly a single detail on the observances of this threefold Order which was overlooked.[1]

Carlyle had been fascinated by the monastic life since the age of thirteen. Three years of his boyhood had been spent in South America. This may account for a precocious interest in Latin Catholicism. His natural instinct of gang-leadership manifested itself at Blundell's School, Tiverton. Here he founded a "Brotherhood", which met in a rented room at a farm-house. An altar was set up, and the members took part in prayers and ceremonial functions. The "Romish" nature of this secret fraternity horrified the school chaplain when it was discovered. Meanwhile holidays, mostly spent in Devonshire, enabled this boy to add to his knowledge of Roman Catholicism by frequent visits to the Canonesses Regular of St Augustine at Newton Abbot. He began to frequent other churches and became familiar with the Latin Mass and Benediction. Not long after he had become an Anglican Benedictine Oblate in 1893 he paid the first of several visits to Buckfast Abbey. In after years the late Abbot Anscar Vonier used to recall how Carlyle was given every facility to study monastic life at close quarters. Early in 1895 the Anglican medical student had practically decided to make his submission to the Roman Church, with a view to entering the novitiate at Buckfast. But the sudden death of the Oratorian Father to whom he had arranged to go for instruction struck him as a clear sign from God that his vocation lay in the Church of England and not in the Church of Rome. Throughout his life Carlyle had a firm belief in omens.

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[1] Carlyle's action was explained and defended in after years by Br Denys Prideaux, subsequently Abbot of Pershore and Nashdom. He wrote: "Other Monastic Systems (apart from Benedictines) are *Close* Corporations *with a line of succession*, and they did not exist in the Early Church. Benedictinism was founded in the Early Church, *without a line of succession*, as an independent Form, based upon the enactments of an Oecumenical Council, and was first made into a Close Corporation or 'Order' by Pope Innocent III, in 1215. At the Reformation this *Close* Corporation form was absorbed into the Roman Catholic Church—and R. Whytyng died for the Papacy, not for Benedictinism—but this does not prevent a return to the original independent form of Benedictinism, which, as belonging to the whole Catholic Church, belongs also to the English Church. If the Papacy is indeed of the essence of the Church, independent Benedictinism has no validity. But has the Pope power to forbid St Benedict's original scheme (which existed for some hundreds of years unchanged) to be adopted, at the present day, under episcopal sanction, based upon the enactments of an Oecumenical Council? That is the question. Not whether Benedictinism can be revived in the two particular provinces of Canterbury and York, geographically constituting the Church of England." (Article in *Pax*, "Benedictinism", December 1911, p. 497, footnote.) In 1893 Carlyle did not believe that "the Papacy is indeed of the essence of the Church", for which reason he had more than sufficient cause for reviving the "original independent form of Benedictinism" in the Church of England.

A chapter of the oblates was held at Malling Abbey at Whitsuntide 1895. Carlyle made an impassioned appeal to them. In strong colours he painted a word-picture of "the Church of England—Catholic in Constitution—with activities so numerous and well arranged; and yet without one single monastery of the Benedictine Rule remaining—nothing left but desolate and empty ruins—the voice of praise silent in the moss-grown choirs—no home for weary souls and loving hearts—no men to be found for the work of prayer and no room for such."[1] This romantic appeal met with no response. The oblate Brothers were disbanded and the would-be founder was left alone to carry out the vast project which he had visualized so clearly and in such detail.

Carlyle did not abandon hope. In the early spring of 1896 he decided to join a friend who had rented a small house on the Isle of Dogs in the East End of London. Here, quite cut off from the rest of London, was a poor working-class population, living in mean streets, surrounding a central mass of docks. The majority were essentially irreligious and not over-responsive to the efforts being made by the clergy to convert them to Anglo-Catholicism. A few other like-minded young men were soon living at "The Priory", Glengall Road. They attempted to combine a strict observance of the Rule of St Benedict as interpreted by the monks of Buckfast with social work among men and boys in the parish of St John. The vicar (Reverend D. G. Cowan) and the curate did all they could to encourage this monastic experiment. At Easter 1896 Benjamin Carlyle, who now styled himself Brother Aelred, was clothed as a Benedictine novice in the gate-house chapel at Malling Abbey, with the permission of Dr Benson, Archbishop of Canterbury. In February 1898 he was solemnly professed by the chaplain at the abbey, with the sanction of Archbishop Temple.[2]

After two years it became clear that the Isle of Dogs was hardly the ideal home for a Benedictine Brotherhood which had begun to aspire after the contemplative life. So when the invitation came to take over the unused vicarage of Lower Guiting in the Cotswolds it seemed like an answer to prayer. The Brothers moved to Gloucestershire in February 1898. However, instead of finding the peace and seclusion for which it hoped, the little Community was subjected to violent attacks by the Church Association and the National Protestant League. Within six months Br Aelred had to find another home for his men. As in several similar cases, it was the Society of St John the Evangelist which offered shelter to the Brothers; first at the Mission House at Cowley, then at the London house in Great Titchfield Street. During the summer of 1898 they migrated to the Retreat House on Iona, which had been made over to the Cowley Fathers the previous year by Dr Chinnery-Haldane, Bishop of Argyll and the Isles.

Then it began to look as if the Community had found a permanent home. The sympathetic Vicar of Milton Abbas, Dorsetshire, told them of a lonely cottage which could be rented. The Brothers moved there from London in September 1899, and remained in this cottage monastery until January 1901.

The owner then informed the Brothers that their lease could not be renewed. Almost at the same time the occupancy of the Victorian dwelling-house adjoining the medieval priory on Caldey Island was offered to the Community by the Reverend W. Done Bushell. This bearded Harrow housemaster was then the owner of Caldey. On 10 January 1901 the five Brothers who made up the Community arrived on this small island off the coast of Pembrokeshire. They tried to exist on the wages paid them by Mr Bushell for the work done in the gardens, but their financial position went from bad to worse. When the summer came the house was required by the numerous Bushell family and its friends. For several months the monks lived in tents and endured great discomfort. By the autumn of 1901 it almost looked as if the little community must be disbanded. Just when a crisis had been reached, the late Lord Halifax proposed that the Brothers should take over Painsthorpe Hall, in the East Riding of Yorkshire, some fourteen miles from York. In March 1902 Br Aelred and his Brethren left South Wales for the north of England.[1]

Meanwhile Archbishop Temple had confirmed the election of Br Aelred as abbot. The abbatial blessing took place at Painsthorpe on 30 October 1903 and was carried out by Dr Grafton, Bishop of Fond du Lac, who happened to be staying with his old friend, Lord Halifax. At the same time this American Episcopalian bishop ordained the abbot

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[1] P. F. Anson, *The Benedictines of Caldey* (1940), p. 18. It is curious that Carlyle never thought of joining the Benedictines of Llanthony. He does not seem to have got in touch with Fr Ignatius until 1898, when the two founders began to correspond.

[2] Many incidents in Carlyle's early career, as recorded in *The Benedictines of Caldey*, have been corrected by the same author in *Abbot Extraordinary* (1958). These memoirs cover all phases of the life-story of this monk and missionary, pioneer and adventurer (1874–1955).

[1] Had this offer been delayed a little longer it is more than probable that Br Aelred would have accepted the invitation from Fr Ignatius to transfer his Community to Llanthony. A deed of gift was drawn up by which Fr Ignatius arranged to leave his monastery and lands to Br Aelred after his death. Then it dawned on him that this newly founded Brotherhood had no intention of surrendering itself to him as Abbot of Llanthony, or of adopting his theological opinions and monastic observances. So nothing came of this scheme.

subdeacon (*more Romano*). Armed with a letter from Dr MacLagan, Archbishop of York, giving permission for his ordination to the diaconate and priesthood, Abbot Aelred sailed for America in the autumn of 1904. The two ordinations were respectively carried out at the cathedral church of Fond du Lac and in St Peter's, Ripon, Wisconsin, during the month of November. The thirty-two year old lord abbot pontificated for the first time at Christmas, shortly after he had returned to his monastery. Archbishop MacLagan agreed to receive him as a "clergyman in Colonial Orders", but not as a priest ordained for the diocese of York. He was allowed to officiate in the parish of Kirby Underdale only. He never managed to get his name into *Crockford's Clerical Directory*.

A chapel had been erected adjoining Painsthorpe Hall, simple in design, and indicative of the quasi-Cistercian ideals which the Community had by this time developed. Here, as in all the former chapels of the Brotherhood, the Divine Office was said or sung in Latin according to the *Breviarium Monasticum*. When the abbot celebrated Mass he used the *Missale Monasticum*. Until his ordination the Community had depended for priestly ministrations on the rector of the parish or on visiting clergy, or latterly on a priest-oblate.

In spite of the completely "ultramontane" character of its own spirituality, there was every sign that the Community was being integrated into normal Anglican life during the period in Yorkshire, which, in the event, lasted for four years. On Sundays the Brothers were in close contact with their neighbours. Very often they communicated at the early service in the parish church, and helped to swell the choir at the "High Celebration" which was preceded by Terce and followed by Sext, both sung in Latin. Some of the monks taught the catechism to the village children. The whole Community attended Choral Evensong on Sundays after they had sung their own Vespers. Sick parishioners often took advantage of the abbot's medical training. Altogether there existed a most happy relationship between the Brotherhood and the rector, the Rev. W. R. Shepherd, who was very far from being an extreme Anglo-Catholic. Even after nearly half a century the older inhabitants of Kirby Underdale still spoke affectionately of the monks.

The Community began to attract notice. Before long it numbered fourteen members, including eight professed monks. Except for violent abuse from Mr Kensit and other Protestant agitators, life went on fairly peacefully. Then came an attack in a Roman Catholic newspaper, where it was stated that "the well-meant effort of Mr Carlyle and his young brethren is nothing more than a somewhat unpleasant species of masquerade". Dom Bede Camm—a monk of Erdington Abbey—rallied to the defence of these Anglican Benedictines. He pleaded that they were "at least worthy of our respectful and sympathetic interest". After the publication of the first issue of the quarterly magazine *Pax* in September 1904 the Painsthorpe Benedictines gathered round them many more friends and benefactors.

In the summer of 1906 it became known that the Community was to make Caldey Island its permanent home. Great publicity was given to the news in both the secular and religious press. Lord Halifax wrote an article in the *Church Times* appealing to its readers to rally round Abbot Aelred "who by the Grace of God has been enabled to win a position for the Benedictine Order in the English Church which at one time seemed impossible". He added that "Père Lacordaire used to challenge the Catholicity of the Church of England on the score of her lack of the Religious Life. Could he look upon England today, he would see with other eyes than he saw then." In the opinion of Lord Halifax, the return of the monks to Caldey Island was the final triumph of the catholic revival.

On St Luke's Day, 18 October 1906, the Community took over their island home. Full observance of the Rule was started in the medieval priory. It has been remarked already that Abbot Aelred possessed dynamic energy, vivid imagination, and irrepressible optimism. The more difficult an undertaking, the more eager he was to rush into it regardless of possible failure or the warnings and criticisms of more cautious friends. His imagination and optimism—it would be more true to call it faith—now ran away with him. Encouraged by Lord Halifax, he saw visions of the immediate and remote future. Unlike John Henry Newman he did not say: "I do not ask to see the distant scene; one step enough for me." No time was lost in having plans drawn for an immense Romanesque abbey, as well as for a stately gate house. The latter, when built, would serve as a temporary monastery until this evocation of Cluny or Vézelay could be completed. But all these projects proved to be of such stuff as dreams are made of and melted into air. Not even the foundation stones were laid of either group of buildings. As the Community was growing fast, there was no alternative but to take over a row of cottages intended for workmen. This became the nucleus of the present abbey, erected between 1911 and 1914. A church was built on to these cottages and dedicated at Pentecost, 1910.

From that moment the Benedictine Community on Caldey Island became the bright particular star in the Anglo-Catholic firmament, although some more conservative High Churchmen were looking on it with misgivings. Mr Athelstan Riley, after he had assisted at the solemn dedication of the abbey church, wrote that Caldey "is the greatest phenomenon in the Anglican Communion at the present time". Lord Halifax described the island as "paradise", and remarked that the community was "really the chief dream of my life realized".[1]

The migration of the monks from Painsthorpe to Caldey had just the opposite result to what most of them expected. They had concluded that an island would be the ideal setting for a strictly enclosed and purely contemplative life; that they would be left in peace. But within less than a year almost every Anglo-Catholic who could afford to do so was making a pilgrimage to Caldey. During the summer months it was difficult for men and women to find accommodation on the island. At Painsthorpe the monks had been in close touch with normal parish life. On Caldey it was quite different. The island had always been regarded as "extra diocesan", and had never been under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of St David's. Those who professed to be learned in Canon Law were not certain if the Primate of All England had any authority over Caldey. It looked as if the abbot could be regarded for practical purposes not only as "Lord of the Manor", but also as an "*Abbot Nullius*"—*de facto*, if not strictly *de jure*—subject to no authority other than that of the Pope in his capacity of Patriarch of the West! It would be true to say that it was only on Sundays when the *Church Times* was read aloud in the refectory that the majority of the Brethren had need to recall that they were in communion with Canterbury. Otherwise they could have regarded themselves more as an elusive and isolated unit of the Western Church, not yet, through no fault of its own, in full communion with the Holy See of Rome.[2] It is difficult to convey the idea of what Caldey was like between 1906 and 1913 without risking accusations of gross exaggeration. The island had a great romantic appeal and there was also the appeal of history—the fact that Caldey had been the home of monks for nearly a thousand years and was another Iona or Lindisfarne. Now, after an interval of just over four centuries, it had reverted to monastic ownership.

"There was a faint air of make belief about the old Caldey", so Mgr Ronald Knox tells us. "This, I think, contributed something to its charm. The island itself was a fairy-story island; those caves, those little combes, those wide beaches. . . . You had the sense, when you went there on a holiday, of having left the real world of inadequate compromises and jarring controversies behind you; there was an enchantment in the stone walls and the fuchsia hedges; you were projected, not into some revival of a Gothic past, but into a world of the imagination, in which there was neither Roman nor Anglican, High Church nor Low Church—no echoes carried across the bay. It was a dream-world. . . ."[1]

Once the little steamer *Firefly* had cast off from the pier at Tenby and moved towards the island, it was easy to forget the mainland. The sense of being in a dream-world was intensified on landing at the slip, where tonsured monks in black and white habits were to be seen. By the summer of 1912 the new monastery dominated the island. It rose up on the edge of a cliff above the village street, completely hiding the row of cottages behind it. The rough-cast walls gleamed snow-white in the sunshine. They were in startling contrast to the vivid scarlet of the tiled roofs, broken up by quaint gables and pepperbox-shaped turrets. This straggling group of buildings was dominated on the one side by a tall slender minaret, and on the other by the low massive square tower of the church. There was no attempt to stress any period detail, but there was a vague "period" flavour about this novel and picturesque monastery which (as Mgr Knox recalls) "did not look altogether real. Yet how well that fitted the dream-world that Caldey was!" Just where the architect, Mr J. Coates Carter, had derived his inspiration was not very clear: the whole thing was eclectic and exotic.

The romantic glamour was enforced by the herbaceous borders, rose pergolas and crazy pavements by which one approached this fairy-like abbey. A disused quarry had been transformed into an enclosed garden, with a lily-pond in which goldfish swam. In summer the long rows of carefully clipped fuchsia hedges were a riot of crimson blossom. No other monastery in Britain could boast of such a magnificent refectory as Caldey's, with its oak-panelled walls, open timber roof, and long massive tables of solid mahogany. The abbot's house was planned on the scale of those found in medieval and Renaissance monasteries; a fitting background for the only mitred abbot in the Anglican Communion. He received his guests and interviewed members of the Community in an immense oak-panelled, parquet-floored reception room. In winter logs blazed in the great open fireplace. His private chapel was paved with highly polished black and white marble. The Renaissance altar was fashioned of pink alabaster from the island quarries. The sanctuary lamp hung from a silver galleon in full sail. A four-sided cloister surrounded the turfed garth. At one time a peacock and two peahens were kept here as decorative features until their harsh cries became unendurable to the Brethren. The bakehouse, laundry, and workshops were fitted with the

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[1] J. G. Lockhart, *Viscount Halifax*, vol. II, pp. 207–8.

[2] Nevertheless, it should be stated that every night after Compline a commemoration was made of Archbishop Temple, who was regarded as the founder of the Community.

[1] *Pax*, March 1941, pp. 84, 85.

latest electrical devices for labour-saving. Altogether the monastery provided accommodation for about forty monks and a few guests. It was by no means so large or so magnificent as the abbey dreamed of in 1906, but it was a far cry indeed from that little house on the Isle of Dogs which had been the first home of this community.

The abbey church, with its rough-cast walls and small round-headed windows, was plain enough outside, though most ornate within. A narthex, containing altars dedicated to our Lady and St Benedict, gave access to the choir, visible to the laity through a grille. Canopied oak stalls, in fifteenth-century Gothic style, rose up on either side of the choir, which was paved with polished black slate. The Gothic reredos, designed by Mr F. C. Eden, took up most of the wall above the high altar. Its central feature was a *tempera* painting of the death of St Benedict, executed by Sister Catherine Weekes of Malling Abbey. Above it was a painted and gilded statue of our Lady Star of the Sea, flanked by painted images of St Aelred and St Bernard. Beneath the overhanging tester was a suspended silver-gilt veiled pyx, designed by [Sir] Ninian Comper. The six candlesticks and the crucifix were of ebony and silver. The high altar itself was built of stones collected from pre-Reformation monasteries. It was vested with rich frontals. The abbot's throne stood beneath an oak canopy on the Gospel side of the sanctuary. The tower contained a peal of eight bells. Every quarter of an hour the melodious "Chard Chimes" told the time of day. On greater festivals the pealing of the bells would be heard all over the island and far out to sea.

From the narthex or from the gallery immediately above it seculars could assist at the rendering of the Divine Office from the *Breviarium Monasticum*, or the celebration of Mass according to the *Missale Monasticum*.[1] The ceremonial was carried out from the instructions given by such authors as Baldeschi, De Herdt, or Le Vavasseur. Mr Athelstan Riley went so far as to say that the monks in the rendering of the plain-chant in the Solesmes *Antiphonale* and *Graduale* sang not "*ut Angli sed ut Angeli*". Before Compline on Sundays and feast days there was Exposition, during which vernacular hymns were sung as well as Latin plain-chant melodies. Some of the former were those sugary compositions in Fr Ignatius's *Llanthony Mission Hymn Book*. Until 1909 Benediction with the monstrance had been given, but in deference to the advice of the Reverend V. S. S. Coles, Principal of Pusey House, the abbot had abandoned it. This extra-liturgical rite was resumed in 1912. It was felt to be a "forward

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[1] Curiously enough, Holy Communion was given under both species at Mass, although outside Mass it was given under one kind only, from the reserved Sacrament in the suspended pyx.

step" in the Catholic Movement. Every evening during the month of May there were special devotions in honour of our Lady. A "May Altar", adorned with candles and flowers, was erected in the choir. During the Aurora Mass on Christmas Day carols were sung.

Instead of assisting at the Latin liturgy in the abbey church visitors could attend vernacular services in the village church. The Communion Rite as printed in the 1662 Book of Common Prayer had been made obligatory by the abbot. The services in the village church were conducted on lines similar to those recommended by the late Dr Percy Dearmer in his *Parson's Handbook*. The so-called "English Altar" would have met with his entire approval. On the greater festivals when the lord abbot pontificated at High Mass, Lauds, and Vespers in the abbey church, according to the Roman *Caeremoniale Episcoporum*, people who felt more at home with the Book of Common Prayer could attend a simple early service, the Sung Eucharist, or Evensong. It was always made clear that the worship in the monastery church was not primarily intended for lay folk: it was the private affair of the monks to which seculars were admitted as a special privilege.

Such then was the Caldey that visitors got to know between 1906 and 1913. Some agreed with the Reverend Harman van Allen, rector of the Church of the Advent, Boston, Massachusetts, that "the effect of the Latin Office and Liturgy was alien and artificial . . . a sort of *tour de force*, a phonograph performance, disedifying and exotic". Others, and they were more numerous, endorsed the opinion expressed by the well-known American architect, the late Ralph Adam Cram, who wrote that the use of Latin "links us up by another chain to the great past of which we are common heritors with the rest of the Western Church, and if we abandon it altogether we do so at the peril of irredeemable loss".[1]

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[1] The Act of Uniformity (1662, s. 14) allows the use of the Latin tongue for the services prescribed in and by *The Book of Common Prayer*, in the Chapels of Colleges and Halls in the Universities, as well as certain other specified places. Nevertheless, considering that St Benedict and his monks said their prayers in the vulgar tongue, it is curious that the Caldey monks attached so much importance to the use of Latin. After all, Latin is merely one of the seventeen liturgical languages now used by Churches in communion with the Holy See.

But this nostalgic urge to pray in an unfamiliar tongue was not confined to the Benedictines of Caldey. As far back as 1863, Br Ignatius had adopted the *Breviarium Monasticum* at Claydon, Suffolk. Two or three years later the Sisterhood of St Mary at the Cross had begun to recite the monastic form of the Day Hours in Latin. In 1868 the Benedictine nuns at Feltham appear to have started to recite at least part of their Office from the *Breviarium Monasticum*. In recent years the tendency in the Roman Church has been to encourage the use of vernacular Office Books based on one or other version of the Breviary, especially in Religious Communities of women whose members are not familiar with Latin.

No matter, all that was certain was that there was nothing like Caldey anywhere within the Anglican Communion. "Had Caldey ever really a legitimate niche in the structure of Anglicanism, in the same sense as Mirfield or Cowley?" Such is the question put by Mgr Ronald Knox, who adds: "That those who belonged to it conscientiously believed it had, no one will ever doubt; but was there any substance ever in the bubble which burst before their eyes on that February morning [1913]? I think that most readers of history will come to the conclusion that Abbot Aelred, though he only became conscious of it gradually, was attempting the impossible—even if you take a very broad view about the limits of Anglican toleration. It was not so much this or that doctrine, this or that practice, that was in question. It was the whole atmosphere of being 'different', of being an *ecclesiola in ecclesia*, that made permanent understanding with the Church of England impossible. To live on an island, however much coming and going there may be from the mainland, does isolate; does create in the islander, a different legend, not shared by the rest of the world."[1]

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Benedictine and Cistercian elements were now mingled in the observances of the Community. The monks rose at 2 a.m. for Matins and Lauds. They returned to bed after about an hour and a half spent in church until the bells awakened them for Prime. The Conventual Mass was always sung, usually by the abbot, or if not by him then by the priest-oblate who acted as guest master.[2] There was perpetual abstinence from flesh meat. Great stress was laid on the rule of silence. Outside times of recreation communication between the Brethren was supposed to be made by means of signs, or by messages written down in "Silence Books". In 1911 a group of "Solitaries" was formed within the Community. They consisted of a few monks whose ideal was a hidden life of prayer, based on such books as Fr Augustine Baker's *Holy Wisdom*, the writings of St John of the Cross, or *The Cloud of Unknowing*. These Solitaries never came to recreation, except at Christmas. The rest of the Brethren enjoyed a daily recreation outside Lent, when it did not take place. Fasting was severe during Lent, the chief meal being taken in the evening after Vespers, with only a snack at midday. In summer-time there would be occasional picnics with opportunities for bathing. On

ordinary week-days many hours were occupied with manual labour—in the gardens, on the farm, and in the stone quarries. There was very little provision made for intellectual work, since few of the Brethren showed any aptitude for serious studies.[1] The spiritual training given to the novices was based entirely on the books used in Roman Catholic Benedictine novitiates, with the addition of Abbot de Rancé's exposition of the Trappist form of monastic life. The making of incense and vestments, domestic work, in addition to jobs on the poultry farm, etc., provided more than enough occupation for the monks.

The habit finally adopted by the Caldey Benedictines was *sui generis*—all white for the solemnly professed, and white with a black scapular for the novices and simply professed. A black cowl or a cloak was worn in choir according to the rank of the individual. The oblates wore black habits and scapulars. More often than not the monks dispensed with boots and shoes and wore sandals. In summer many of them discarded stockings. When engaged in manual labour they donned blue linen smocks with hoods. Postulants and novices had their hair close-cropped. The professed monks had their heads shaven, leaving deep tonsures, similar to those of the Buckfast Benedictines at the time when the abbot-founder had known them.

There is no doubt that Aelred Carlyle had accomplished a stupendous work within little more than ten years. The small Brotherhood on the Isle of Dogs had grown into an apparently flourishing monastic community of close on forty members. By 1910 the monks of Caldey and the nuns of Malling had been formed into "The Anglican Congregation of the Primitive Observance of the Holy Rule of St Benedict". Abbot Aelred was its President and Visitor—a status presumably conferred on him by what civil law calls "prorogated jurisdiction".[2] Actually he was nothing more than a free-lance cleric who had no canonical status in the Anglican Communion. He had no real right to minister in any diocese of the Province of Canterbury. The astonishing thing is that an ex-medical student, who had never been able to study philosophy or theology seriously, should have acquired the profound understanding of the principles of monastic life which is shown in his exposition of the

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[1] Op. cit., p. 82.

[2] Br Denys Prideaux, afterwards Abbot of Pershore and Nashdom. Two professed monks had been raised to the priesthood after spending their diaconate in parishes on the mainland, but they became unsettled in their vocations, and were latterly not always at home.

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[1] Intellectually the Caldey Benedictines were at a lower level than the communities established at Cowley, Mirfield, and Kelham. No aspirant who had arrived already ordained ever survived the novitiate. The majority of the monks were young laymen mostly drawn from Anglo-Catholic parishes and all lacking the advantages of university education.

[2] His relations with the Baltonsborough nuns were never so close as with the Malling-Milford Haven community. The Constitution of the Congregation, drawn up in 1912, omits Baltonsborough.

Rule of St Benedict, *Our Purpose and Method*. The sermons he preached all over the country on those fairly frequent begging tours attracted vast congregations, and this was not due merely to the novelty of seeing a tonsured abbot in the pulpit. He may have failed to carry out his boyish dream of establishing a three-fold Benedictine Order in the *Ecclesia Anglicana*, as visualized in those Constitutions drawn up in 1893, but the visible achievement of an Anglican Benedictine Congregation composed of one monastery and two convents was something which well deserved the often extravagant adulation bestowed on it by Lord Halifax and other like-minded Anglo-Catholics. There were a few friends who felt that there was great danger in all this publicity, among whom was "Viator" (Canon T. A. Lacey) who wrote in the *Church Times* one week: "but these good men . . . who are trying to learn to be monks, are certainly no more than beginners, and you will not let them learn in quietness and obscurity. You try to make them conspicuous, when you ought to help them to hide themselves. You are so anxious to have monks among you, that you make it impossible to be good monks."[1]

To understand what happened in the end to these monks, it is necessary to know that since Benjamin Carlyle had turned away from personal submission to Rome in 1895, he had never ceased to dream that his community might sooner or later be brought into communion with the Holy See. So far as he was concerned, communion with Rome was not of the *esse* of the catholic religion, but merely of the *bene esse*. For the time being however it was important that the monks should worship in the Latin language and use the existing form of the Latin rite. As things fell out, both these practices were adopted without difficulty. Like many another "Anglican Papalist" he felt that "individual secessions tend to be selfish and useless, and make things harder for those who have more patience to work and wait".[2]

As early as 1907 many Anglicans were convinced that the monks would find their way to Rome sooner or later: they could not see what was the alternative. Where there is smoke there is fire. In the spring of that year rumours were going around that Abbot Aelred had sought recognition of his community from the Abbot Primate of the Benedictine Order. This "gossip from Rome" was explained away in *Pax*, but it did not altogether satisfy people. The late Mgr Ronald Knox, then an Oxford undergraduate, was not the only visitor who stayed on Caldey who felt that "the atmosphere, without being restless, was somehow vaguely electric".[3]

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[1] Op. cit., 12 March 1912

[2] Anson, *Benedictines of Caldey*, p. 137.

[3] *Pax*, March 1941, p. 81.

In July 1911 Abbot Aelred was one of a group of Anglo-Catholic clergymen invited by Lord Halifax to a conference at Hickleton to discuss "what steps can be taken to meet the dangers which seriously threaten the progress of the Catholic Revival". The only effect on the abbot was that he returned to his island in a more uneasy state of mind than before. "Everyone was talking of Caldey", he wrote in his diary, "and saying that we were on the eve of secession."[1] Across the water at Milford Haven there was Abbess Scholastica Ewart who was trying to persuade the abbot to make up his mind and not delay the secession unduly. She had been influencing him for nearly twenty years, often more than he realized.

At the beginning of Lent, 1912, the abbot announced that his monks must study the Papal Claims. Hitherto it had been forbidden to mention "Rome" at recreation or at any other time. The effect of this delving into controversy was that when Easter came the abbot was able to inform friends of the Community that the Brethren felt it would be wrong for them to doubt their present position in the Church of England as true members of the Catholic Church of Christ.

Although the monks appeared to be satisfied with their spiritual status as "true members of the Catholic Church of Christ", their abbot felt that it was high time that the canonical status of his Community in the Church of England should be regularized. Several friends begged him to be content with the liberty he enjoyed. They quoted the proverb "let sleeping dogs lie"; pointing out the almost certain dangers from episcopal interference. But the ever-optimistic abbot disregarded such warnings. In December 1911 he approached Dr Randall Davidson, Archbishop of Canterbury, regarding official recognition of the Community.[2] His Grace recommended that the monks should elect Dr Gore, Bishop of Oxford,

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[1] Anson, op. cit., p. 137.

[2] Since Caldey Island had retained its pre-Reformation extra-diocesan status as a "monastic peculiar"—not unlike that of Westminster Abbey in relation to the Diocese of London—it was correct for the Abbot to approach the Archbishop of Canterbury and not the Bishop of St David's. Statute 25 Henry VIII, c. 21 (Exoneration from Roman Exactions) gave authority to the Archbishop of Canterbury or his commissary to grant most of those faculties, dispensations, etc., reserved formerly to the Pope or his canonical representatives.

This was a difficult problem of Canon Law. The dissolution of the religious houses by Henry VIII after the repudiation of papal authority meant that a large section of the medieval *Corpus Juris Canonici* dealing with monastic communities had fallen into desuetude for more than three centuries. Could these ecclesiastical laws be enforced after such a long period of non-usage? Again, Canon Law had been modified by Statute Law in many instances.

Moreover the Abbot of Caldey took the line that his Community was exempt from episcopal jurisdiction as are now the majority of Benedictine abbeys in as their Visitor; explaining that he could do nothing himself until he had been furnished with a detailed report on the spirit and observances of the Benedictines. The Community agreed to act on this suggestion.

However, as Dr Prestige points out: "The choice of Gore [as Visitor] was as obvious as it was bad. He was the only English Bishop who had himself been a member of a religious order. But the Benedictines had been allowed to feed in strange pastures for so many years that only the most indulgent coaxing could be expected to round them up without creating a stampede; and Gore, as he himself well knew, was far too strongly imbued with strict ideals of discipline to connive at serious irregularities."[1] Bishop Gore wrote that he found himself unable to visit Caldey meantime. After further correspondence it was arranged that the Reverend W. B. Trevelyan (Warden of Liddon House) and Dr Darwell Stone (Principal of Pusey House) should make a preliminary visitation. These two clergymen were chosen as being sympathetic to the ideals of the Community, and at the same time fully alive to what an Anglican bishop would permit or forbid. They arrived on Caldey during the first week of January 1913. On their return to the mainland after not much more than twenty-four hours they drew up a report, confined mainly to statements of facts. "We were favourably impressed with the apparently healthy tone of the Community, and the evident care taken in all arrangements", was the final summing up of this report.

But Gore must have got a shock at the revelations of unadulterated "Romanism" disclosed by the visitors. He informed the abbot [8 February] that there were four "preliminaries . . . obvious, and outside all possibilities of bargaining and concession." These were: (1) a legal assurance that the property of the Community was secured to the Church of England; (2) that the eucharistic rite must be exclusively that of the Book of Common Prayer, and that monks in Holy Orders must recite Morning and Evening Prayer whatever other office they recited in choir; (3) that the doctrines of the Immaculate Conception and the corporal Assumption of our Lady, also the public observance of these feasts, must be eliminated from the Breviary and Missal; and (4) that Exposition and Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament must cease.

Abbot Aelred replied that it was hardly reasonable to suppose that the Brethren would be prepared "to surrender such practices as the use of the

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communion with Rome. He felt he was justified in appealing to modern Roman Canon Law where it suited his purpose, whereas there can be no doubt that Archbishop Davidson recognized no legislative system other than the post-Reformation Canon Law of the Church of England.

[1] *Life of Charles Gore*. p. 340.

Benedictine Liturgy and the devotions to the Blessed Sacrament to which they have so long been accustomed". He pointed out to the bishop that the faith and practice of the Caldey Community were "identical with those of hundreds of Church of England people". He ended his letter by mentioning six other points, all concerned with details of liturgical worship and extra-liturgical devotions, few of which Bishop Gore was likely to approve. None had any specific reference to the leading of an enclosed and contemplative life under the Rule of St Benedict. In fact it almost looks as if the abbot drove the bishop to tell the monks that most of the customs, devotions, etc., which they felt were essential to catholicism "*cannot be justified on any other than a strictly Papal basis of authority*". On the other hand Dr Gore was quite logical when he wrote: "It seems to me that you cannot reasonably assume this authority for the purposes of devotion, and then appeal behind it to justify your position as a Benedictine Community. I cannot help thinking that, on reflection, you will see the truth of this."[1]

"Leaving aside all personal considerations—both Abbot Aelred and Bishop Gore were sincere and honest men who approached a situation from opposite ends and could, because of their honesty, find no kind of compromise—the answer to the question lies in the meaning we give to 'the Benedictine life'. Undoubtedly and inevitably among Roman Benedictines there has been development since the days of St Benedict. These developments have been part and parcel of the wider theological and devotional growth of the Roman Church. Development within the Church of England—certainly during the last four hundred years—has not been along exactly the same lines. Caldey under Abbot Aelred set out to restore the Benedictine life in the Anglican Church. Obviously it could not put the clock back and take literally the 'primitive observance' as its pattern. A more developed type of Benedictinism suitable to the twentieth century was essential. The community had the Roman example before them and around them. They had neither the patience nor perhaps the ability to work out in theory or practice such lines of development from the primitive Benedictinism as might be legitimate within the Church of England."[2]

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[1] Anson, op. cit., p. 167. It must be pointed out that Dr Gore never suggested that the observance of the Rule of St Benedict was incompatible with the spirit of the Church of England. What stood in the way of his becoming Visitor of the Community were details of discipline. The negotiations between Bishop Gore and Abbot Aelred were doomed to failure from the start, since neither party agreed on Canon Law, i.e. a definite system of ecclesiastical legislation imposed by a definite authority (which can be custom) on a definite body.

[2] H. L. Hubbard, review of "*The Benedictines of Caldey*" in *Theology*, May 1940.

This quotation sums up the whole story. The monks of Caldey were quite satisfied with the "Roman example", or rather the bits and pieces taken from several examples which they had fitted together in the course of seventeen years. Mr Hubbard is right: neither Abbot Aelred nor any of his Brethren had either the patience or the ability to work out in theory or in practice a new sort of Benedictine life which would find a comfortable niche in the twentieth-century Church of England, such as the communities of Cowley, Kelham, and Mirfield had done.

On 19 February the abbot wrote to the bishop that twenty-six out of the thirty-three men who made up the Community were firmly convinced that if they acceded to his lordship's demands, their "life as a Contemplative Community under the Benedictine Rule would be quite impossible". They were equally sure that the preliminaries which the bishop inferred lay "outside all possibilities of bargaining and concession" concerned matters which were "vital" to their "conception of the Catholic Faith". For which reason they were forced to act on what they now felt was God's Will for them—to submit to the authority of the Roman Church. Bishop Gore had opened their eyes to the illogical position into which they had drifted.[1]

The stampede had started. Abbot Aelred lost no time in getting in touch with Mgr Mostyn, Bishop of Menevia, in which diocese Caldey is situated. He sent a telegram to Dom Bede Camm, begging him to hasten to the island. On 5 March 1913 the founder and twenty-two of the Brethren were received into communion with the Holy See. The ceremony was performed by the Bishop of Menevia, in the presence of the Benedictine Abbots of Downside, Maredsous, and Caermaria (Cardigan). Few converts have taken this step with so much external solemnity. Few have ever been subjected to such world-wide publicity.[2]

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[1] Dr Darwell Stone summed up his feelings about the situation which had arisen in a letter to the Reverend H. F. B. Mackay, saying: "What I feel was impossible in the Caldey position was the attempt at once (1) to appeal to the primitive Benedictinism so as to have a Benedictine Community without the Pope, and (2) to describe a Missal of much later date and post-Medieval devotions as essential to the life and faith of a Benedictine Community. As to the tone [of Gore's letter], is it not the Bishop of Oxford's way, even when he is most friendly, to go straight at the point? And can this seriously be complained of in dealing on a business matter with a grown-up person?" (F. L. Cross, *Darwell Stone*, 1943, p. 112.)

[2] Of the thirty-three Brethren who made up the Caldey Community in February 1913, there was a "loyal remnant" which consisted of one solemnly professed monk and two oblates. They joined the Benedictine Community at Pershore when it was founded a year later (see p. 185). The other professed monks, novices, and oblates, numbering eight in all, who did not submit to the Roman Church, showed no desire to continue monastic life in the Church of England. By a Rescript from Rome,

The general opinion, once this event was reported in the newspapers, was that the Church of England was well rid of these monks. To the majority of Anglo-Catholics their "apostacy" was an unfortunate incident which had better be forgotten as soon as possible! *The Times* expressed what may be taken to be the average reaction among Anglicans when it said: "We prefer to review the situation as a welcome proof that the Church of England has a mind of its own, which is not to be trifled with for the sake of the most dangerously interesting experiment—in this case to naturalize in the Church of England a largely alien element. . . . The trouble is that there is a large archipelago of Caldeys" (17 March 1913). As to the Roman Catholic press, it was only natural that it gave great prominence to "The Caldey Conversions". More than one optimistic editor foresaw results which did not materialize, in other words, the secession of a vast number of Anglicans whose faith would be shattered by what had occurred.

Strangely aloof from all this controversy was Lord Halifax, "whose own mind soared above the separation between Rome and Canterbury like a skylark over a hedge". He told Bishop Gore "in sorrow more than anger that the catastrophe might have been averted but for his ultramontane inflexibility".[1]

11. ORATORY OF THE GOOD SHEPHERD (1913)

The Oratory of the Good Shepherd, so it is officially stated, "is neither a Religious Community nor a Guild, but a Society of Priests and laymen living under a Rule, which can provide as large an element of common life and discipline as the conditions of the work of the members permit". It was founded at Cambridge in 1913 by four Chaplains of Colleges. The four used to meet daily for Mass and None; kept a Quiet Day before

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Caldey was recognized as a canonically established Benedictine monastery with a novitiate. The Bishop of Menevia was given jurisdiction over the Community for a period of ten years. Very few changes were made in the observances. Of the twenty-two men who were received into the Roman Church with their abbot, only nine persevered in the Community. The other thirteen convert monks discovered sooner or later that they were called to other forms of life. In 1928 the monks migrated to Prinknash, near Gloucester. The island was sold to the Order of Reformed Cistercians. It became the home of a community from the Abbey of Chimay in Belgium, which now numbers over forty monks. In 1932 the Prinknash Benedictines were affiliated to the English Province of the Cassinese Congregation of the Primitive Observance. Today the Abbot of Prinknash is also the Major Superior of daughter communities at Farnborough Abbey, Hampshire, and at Pluscarden Priory, Moray, Scotland. Dom Aelred Carlyle resigned the abbacy of Caldey in 1921, and worked as a missionary in British Columbia for the next thirty years. In 1951 he returned to England, and died at Prinknash on October 14, 1955, having renewed his monastic vows (cf. P. F. Anson, *Abbot Extraordinary*, 1958, p. 295).

[1] Prestige, op. cit., p. 341.

each term, and in the vacations lived from time to time at Little Gidding (see p. 8). Fr Neville Figgis, C.R., acted as Director. The title of "Oratory" was chosen because it was definitely a Society of Prayer. The priestly work of the members received a special emphasis by the dedication to the Good Shepherd. Nicholas Ferrar was selected as the patron of the Oratory.

Throughout the First World War the Oratory continued to function, despite the separation of its members. It was not until after the war that the first professions were made—five priests and one layman making profession in St Edward's Church, Cambridge, before Dr Frere, at that date Superior of the Community of the Resurrection. In 1917 another "College" was founded in the diocese of Northern Rhodesia. Two years later another "College"—the title given to each group of members—was started at Gillingham, Kent. The professions were for a year and renewed annually. Dr Talbot, then Bishop of Winchester, became Visitor. In 1918 profession for life was permitted after ten years as a professed member. From 1920 to 1930 the Oratory had its headquarters in a house in Lady Margaret Road, Cambridge, since then handed over to the Society of St Francis (see p. 208). Here lived some of the members, with Fr Wilfrid Knox as Warden after 1924. The Brethren used to meet daily to recite Sext in the chapel, held a weekly chapter, and on Sundays took part in a Sung Eucharist in the Church of St Edward the Martyr. They were mostly engaged in theological study and pastoral work among undergraduates. A yearly mission to fruitpickers in summer was another type of apostolate. This development of community life often caused a misunderstanding that the Cambridge Oratory House was "the Oratory", and it was not until it was given up that the particular nature of the organization became quite clear.

Today the Oratory consists of four Colleges centred in (1) Cambridge, (2) Oxford, (3) Frostburg in Maryland, and (4) Pretoria and Sekukuniland, North Transvaal. There are Mission Colleges in Melbourne, Victoria, and in Brisbane, Queensland, Australia. Each college is bound by the same Rule of Life with local modifications and meets as regularly in local chapter as conditions permit. In England this is at least monthly.

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[1] "The American College" of the Oratory of the Good Shepherd has its present headquarters at St John's Rectory, Frostburg, Maryland. It stresses that "the unity of the Oratory does not consist of a common rite or use, but upon the maintenance among its members of a common spirit founded upon the seven Notes of Fellowship, Liberty, Stewardship, Labour of the Mind, the Love that makes for Peace, Discipline, and Joy."

The *Congregation of the Companions of the Holy Saviour* (see p. 547) is another American society of clergy living under a Rule of Life. Of more recent foundation, but with much the same purpose and ideals, is the *Community of the Holy Spirit*.

Brethren abroad seem to be moving towards this pattern of monthly chapters where possible. Those unable to meet regularly in chapter are known as mission brethren and report by post on their keeping of the Rule. Fellowship between Colleges is kept up by the annual Retreat and General Chapter, by interchange of visits and by correspondence. Membership is open to all unmarried priests and laymen of the Anglican Communion. The Rule was officially approved by Dr Randall Davidson, and before a new college is set up, the proposal has to be submitted to the bishop of the diocese. The Governing Body is the General Chapter which meets at least annually. The Superior for the whole Oratory is elected triennially. All members of the Oratory are required to submit a statement of their income and expenditure to the chapter of their college, and to ask advice about the disposal of their surplus income. (See *O.G.S. A History of the Oratory of the Good Shepherd* by H. R. T. Brandreth, O.G.S., Cambridge, 1958.)

The present secretary is the Reverend G. B. Braund, Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, and the Superior is Canon G. K. Tibbatts, St Luke's Vicarage, Chesterton, Cambridge.

12. BENEDICTINES OF NASHDOM

Nashdom Abbey, Burnham, Buckinghamshire (1914)

The establishment of this community of Benedictine monks was the outcome of the "Caldey Conversions" of 1913, for there were many other Anglicans who shared the views of the writer in the *Church Times* who said: "The research which has been the result of the attempt [to revive the Benedictine life in the Church of England] has proved conclusively that it only awaits a founder possessed of stability of character, and with sufficient knowledge of history and theology, to see what really constitutes Catholicity." Lord Halifax, who was by now able to bear the blow caused him by Caldey's secession, wrote to the ex-abbot: "I had hoped that you might have been the one to restore the Benedictine Rule and to rebuild the old waste places of Monastic Observance within the limits of that *Ecclesia Anglicana* with which God has been so graciously dealing all these years; but that apparently is not to be your work, and one has no heart to think of the hopes for the future which have been shattered, or to dwell more than can be helped on the disappointment that is making many hearts sad."[1]

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[1] Another Society of priests and layfolk living under a Rule is the *Anglican Third Order of St Dominic*. It was founded in 1925 and began with three or four members. It has never sought publicity, and now comprises about fifty members, most of them isolated and widely scattered. About 1936–8 a small group at Hull, which had been organized by the Reverend J. G. Morton Howard on Dominican Third Order lines, was amalgamated with it. The Rule of the normal Third Order of St Dominic is followed without change or modification. The only adaptation was necessitated by the absence of an Order of Friars Preachers, on which the Third Order regularly depends. In place of this there is a Council of Priest Tertiaries to assist the Prior-General, who, at the time of writing is the Reverend Silas M. Harris, 8c Cliff Road, Bridgnorth, Salop.

The members state: "Desiring to live the Dominican Life in the Third Order in all its fullness and reality, and lamenting with sincere heart the conditions which cause our outward separation from the historic Order of Friars Preachers organized under its Master General, we declare that we accept the above necessary arrangement only in default of the normal organization of the Order, and we pray for the time when we shall once more be in communion with it and with the Holy See."

There are organized fraternities (or chapters) in London and in the Midlands. A translation of Dominican Compline throughout the Year has been published in booklet form. Priest Tertiaries recite the Divine Office, according to either the Roman or the Dominican Breviary.

But it was not long before the same ever-optimistic Lord Halifax began to have new "hopes for the future" and to dream of how the "old waste places" might even yet be rebuilt. First of all there was a monastery available, although there were no monks waiting to occupy it—the Abbey House at Pershore, Worcestershire, which had been placed at the disposal of the Benedictines of Caldey by its owner, Mr Henry Wise, in 1910. It had remained empty for three years because the Community was not sufficiently numerous to make a foundation. The buildings were not really suited for a monastery. They consisted of an imitation Gothic house in the heart of the town, built on the site of the "New Lodgynge" erected by the last pre-Reformation abbot. The garden was attractive enough, but not very spacious. There was the romantic appeal of being under the shadow of the church of this venerable Benedictine abbey, founded in the tenth century, but that was about the only thing which could be said in favour of Pershore. After the Caldey community had made its submission to Rome on 5 March 1913 the property was returned to the donor.

Lord Halifax refused to admit for a moment that there was no room for Benedictine monasticism in the Church of England, even if the two communities of Caldey and Milford Haven had been driven out of it—as he stoutly maintained—by the rigid line taken by Bishop Gore. He resolved to do what he could to help the "Loyal Remnant", although it was composed of no more than two or three men. He stood by them nobly and offered Painsthorpe Hall as a refuge. Then the Cowley Fathers suggested Malling Abbey which had been vacant since the nuns migrated to Milford Haven in 1911. Other influential Anglo-Catholics rallied round Lord Halifax, including Mr Athelstan Riley and Mr H. W. Hill, both of whom had taken a close interest in the Caldey Community almost from the time of its foundation.

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[1] Cf. *Pax*, May 1913, p. 223.

A Committee was formed, and approaches were made to Dr Yeatman-Biggs, Bishop of Worcester, to find out if he would be prepared to sanction the establishment of a monastic house at Pershore which was in his diocese, and where the abbey house had been offered by its owner. After the Caldey-Milford Haven *débâcle* the utmost caution had to be taken lest there should be another Roman conquest. The bishop, having made careful inquiries, gave his consent. Early in 1914 the *Church Times* announced that within a few weeks there would be, once again, Benedictine monks in communion with Canterbury. The Ven. J. H. F. Peile, Archdeacon of Warwick, wrote that, although he himself was a "Moderate Churchman", he was convinced that "the Benedictine House at Pershore is making a sane and serious effort to meet the religious needs within our communion", and that it "deserves the sympathetic consideration of earnest Churchpeople of every shade of opinion". He pointed out that unless the needs of men called to be religious were met, there only remained "the choice between rejecting their vocation and transferring themselves to the Roman Obedience".

This archidiaconal apologia for the third attempt to found an Anglican Benedictine community of men was just what was needed to assure people that they could support the venture. A further proof of the project having the approval of the ecclesiastical authorities was forthcoming on 1 May 1914, when the Bishop of Worcester himself came over to Pershore from Hartlebury Castle. He blessed the house and installed Dom Anselm Mardon as Superior. Dom Anselm was the only solemnly professed monk of Caldey who had not taken the road to Rome, and he had volunteered to join the newly founded community. The three simply professed monks who remained members of the Church of England preferred to be released from their monastic obligations. The Reverend Denys Prideaux, who had lived at Caldey for some years as an oblate without being a member of the Community, was appointed chaplain; the Superior not being in Holy Orders. A few other men were admitted as postulants.

One of the upstairs rooms had been turned into a Chapel. It was furnished with an "English Altar", above which was suspended the silver-gilt pyx, returned to its donor, Mr Athelstan Riley, after the Caldey monks had made their submission to Rome. Bishop Yeatman-Biggs raised no objections to the use of the *Breviarium Monasticum* in choir, but he took the same line as Bishop Gore about the Missal, and insisted that the Communion Office of the Book of Common Prayer must be the only Eucharistic rite used in this chapel.

Within four months of the episcopal blessing of the monastery, war was declared between England and Germany, and life in general became increasingly difficult. Next there came another blow—the Superior suddenly made up his mind to accept the Roman Catholic claims. He left the little community in the care of the Chaplain and returned to his former Brethren, only to discover within a short time that he had no longer an inclination for monastic life. So Fr Denys was stranded with a handful of postulants and novices; he himself still merely an oblate. It was a miracle that the Community survived such a crisis. It might well have perished at its birth. Seven years passed by, and after the war came better days. Much against his own inclinations, for he was the most retiring and humble of men, Fr Denys Prideaux was induced to make his monastic profession so that he could be installed as abbot. The abbatial blessing was performed by Dr Chandler, formerly Bishop of Bloemfontein, in 1922.

William Charles Gostwick Prideaux, the first Abbot of Pershore and later of Nashdom, has been described by one of his former monks as "a mysterious presence brooding over the community, inspiring the juniors and novices with feelings of respect and even of awe. His learning was prodigious if somewhat unco-ordinated. He was a very fine classical scholar, able to read and write verse or prose with the utmost ease in either Greek or Latin. He had the very rare gift of being able to remember the exact reference to anything which might have struck him in the course of reading. His linguistic ability was exceptional, for he could speak most European languages and not a few Eastern ones fluently and idiomatically." This ex-monk of Pershore, who became a Roman Catholic after ten years in the Community, adds that Abbot Denys was, in his opinion, "a man out of place, whose right niche might have been that of a Maurist or of a member of a modern Catholic Benedictine community. He got lost in side issues, and could not see the wood for the trees. Like Moses, he viewed the promised land from a distance, to which he guided others without being able to enter it himself."

Such was the man who formed and established the Benedictine community of Nashdom Abbey as it exists today, a community which reflects his personality in countless ways, at least it would seem so to those who can recall him. For instance, Abbot Denys had little or no regard for the quasi-Cistercian observance of Caldey; he was an out-and-out Benedictine, moreover an erudite Benedictine such as flourished in the seventeenth-century monasteries of the Congregation of Saint-Maur. His "prodigious if somewhat unco-ordinated learning" can be proved by the articles he published in *Pax*, e.g. the series entitled "Cassiodorus, St Benedict and St Gregory the Great" which appeared in 1909. These and other articles which came out in *Laudate*, reveal an encyclopaedic knowledge of monasticism, not only of its history but also of its spiritual foundations. A scholar of this type could not help attracting like-minded men to the Community.

The Pershore quarters soon became far too congested, and the need to find a new home was imperative. In 1926 Abbot Denys, having inspected several properties, decided to take over Nashdom, a stately mansion, within easy reach of London, which had been built for Prince and Princess Dolgorouki.[1] Once established in these new and more convenient surroundings, the twelve-year-old community proceeded slowly and sometimes painfully to develop along its present lines. Abbot Denys died on 29 November 1934, having ruled over his community for thirteen years, during which time he had impressed the classic Benedictine spirituality upon it and laid its foundations securely.

He it was, moreover, who opened a small hostel at Walsingham—which functioned for a short time only. Shortly, too, before his death took place the Bishop of London, Dr Winnington-Ingram, took the bold step of inviting Dom Bernard Clements, who had previously been Prior, to become Vicar of All Saints', Margaret Street—a sure proof of the confidence now beginning to be felt by the Anglican authorities in this Benedictine foundation. Dom Bernard had worked for some years with a few other monks of Nashdom in the West African diocese of Accra, thus carrying out another of Abbot Denys's schemes which were in accordance with monastic tradition—foreign missionary apostolate. The Benedictine vicar of this famous Anglo-Catholic stronghold in London soon made a name for himself by his sermons. He also became a successful and popular broadcaster.

On 29 January 1935, Dr Frere, Bishop of Truro, then Visitor of the Community, blessed and installed Dom Martin Collett as second abbot. What this Superior did for Nashdom during the fourteen years in which he guided and directed the community was summed up in the Chapter Minutes after his resignation on account of physical incapacity. They made special reference to the fact that he "established its unsteady foundations, amplified its worship, established its finances upon a sound basis, founded its first daughter house, and guided it safely through troublous years". His death took place on 12 March 1948, a few weeks after his resignation.

Shortly after the outbreak of the Second World War, Nashdom was lent to the Benedictine nuns of St Mary at the Cross, Edgware

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[1] The name "Nashdom" is presumably derived from the Russian possessive *nash*, meaning "ours", and the noun *dom*, meaning "house".

(see p. 402), who remained there with their incurable patients until 1946. During this difficult period the monks migrated, first to the school buildings attached to Laleham Abbey (see p. 368), vacated for the time being by the children taught by the Sisters of St Peter the Apostle, then to Malling Abbey, whose nuns had been forced to seek refuge in Herefordshire (see p. 465), and finally to what had been the Boys' Home of the Sisters of the Church at Kilburn (see p. 440). It was during the war that the death occurred of Dom Bernard Clements. His Requiem Mass at All Saints, Margaret Street, was attended by the Bishop of London and several other bishops, a fact which furnishes proof of the official recognition that the Community now received in the Church of England. The present abbot, Dom Augustine Morris, was installed and blessed by Bishop Vibert Jackson on 28 April 1948 in the presence of the Bishop of Oxford and of other prelates. Such, in brief, has been the history of the Abbey of our Lady and St Benedict up to the present time.

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Nashdom Abbey is one of the greatest works of the greatest master of classic architecture that England has known in recent times—the late Sir Edwin Lutyens.[1] Moreover it is just the type of country house that any Benedictine community in the sixth or seventh centuries might have taken over in Italy if left vacant by its former patrician owner. It is not indeed altogether suitable for a monastery, and it has had to be adapted to a form of life different from that for which it was planned. Just as those Italian monks would have transformed the one or two rooms opening out of the peristyle of a large villa into their oratory, so have the monks of Nashdom turned the ballroom into their main chapel. What a perfect *oratorium* it makes, with its all-white walls, square-headed windows, and classic decorations! The dull-gold sarcophagus-shaped altar, designed by the late Martin Travers, is surmounted by a rich *baldaquin* of Roman purple brocade. The six silver candlesticks and crucifix were designed by [Sir] Ninian Comper. Every detail here is in strict conformity with the rubrics of the Roman Missal and with the Decrees of the Sacred Congregation of Rites. As to the vestments worn, there is no attempt to revive the ecclesiastical fashions of bygone ages, no matter how beautiful. The

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[1] "No one has ever been so artful as (Lutyens) in the choice of attractive materials, building into the walls and roofs of his houses not only bricks and tiles but an imaginary past, an imaginary past much more amusing than any real past could have been, a whimsical, self-conscious past as entertaining as that in a drawing by Rex Whistler. . . . The plan would bring too much drama and too little convenience into daily life to satisfy most people, but probably gave what they wanted in the way they wanted to those for whom it was made." H. S. Goodhart-Rendel, *English Architecture since the Regency* (1953).

monks of Nashdom do not feel that it is part of their vocation to teach Rome what is the "correct" shape of cope or chasuble, mitre, or maniple! Within this dignified baroque setting, where one forgets that the Gothic Revival ever existed, the Divine Office is carried out with an impeccable Italian pronunciation of Latin. Even the most captious critic would find it hard to detect faults in the rendering of the plain-chant or the minutiae of ceremonial.

The abbey is situated two miles north of that section of the Bath Road which lies between Slough and Maidenhead. It is about twenty-five miles from London. The whitewashed brick walls of the great mansion, the green-painted *persiennes* on either side of the windows, the stately portico with its Doric columns and iron grilles, the formal gardens with their steps and terraces, the background of closely planted trees—all these help to create the illusion that this must be an old-established monastery on the continent of Europe. The *statio*, refectory, and other rooms possess an eighteenth-century ethos, enhanced by the right sort of period furniture and pictures. As you gaze round the refectory or look down on the choir from the tribune, you feel that you have been transported to a baroque abbey in Italy, or else to a French monastery of the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries. But the illusion is broken on hearing a modern English biography read aloud at dinner or at supper. Yet there is such an indefinable sense of stability and tradition that it is hard to remember that the community was founded only forty-nine years ago. It is such a *normal* kind of Benedictine monastery.

For the life at Nashdom is an almost perfect replica of the average Roman Catholic form of Benedictinism as it exists today. So far as the spirit and observances of this community are concerned, there is little to distinguish it from any monastery belonging to one or other of the numerous Congregations which make up the "Confederated Families of the Most Holy Patriarch Benedict" formed by Pope Leo XIII in 1893. A visitor with an inside knowledge of contemporary monastic life, and who discovered this monastery by accident, might imagine that it was an English foundation of the Italian Congregation of Monte Cassino which had adopted a few unimportant details of the observances of the Beuron or Belgian Congregations as more suitable for the country and climate.

Nevertheless Nashdom has grown steadily both in the confidence it inspires and in the influence it exerts within the Anglican Communion. The alarm and horror aroused by Llanthony, the sense of the exotic created by Caldey, have disappeared. The monks of this community feel themselves and are felt to be much more integrated into the Church of England than were either of the two preceding foundations. Whereas, for instance, Father Ignatius, after remaining a deacon most of his life, decided there was no alternative but to accept priest's orders from the hands of that roving Old Catholic prelate, Mar Timotheos, and Abbot Aelred Carlyle had to journey to the Middle West of the United States of America to be ordained by Bishop Grafton of Fond du Lac, since there was no bishop in England who dared to do it, the present Abbot of Nashdom and several of the Community have been ordained by successive Bishops of Oxford. These monks, moreover, serve on various official committees of the Church of England; and they themselves feel that the seal of their respectability as Anglicans was bestowed on them by a donation granted to the funds of the monastery by the trustees of that most popular of Anglican hymnals *Hymns Ancient and Modern*.

The Community now numbers about forty members, composed of choir monks and lay brothers. The postulancy lasts six months. After a year's novitiate temporary vows are taken for three years. This period may be extended before solemn profession. Needless to say, the most important activity of this monastery is the corporate worship of God. The chief event of every day is the Conventual Mass, always a High Mass with ministers. The Divine Office is recited or sung according to the *Breviarium Monasticum*. For the celebration of Mass the *Missale Monasticum* is used; the plain-chant being rendered according to the Vatican Gradual. The following is the normal daily time-table:

5.00 a.m.	Rising bell
5.30	Matins and Lauds
6.45 and 7.15	Low Masses
7.15	Breakfast
8.00	Prime
9.25	Terce and Conventual Mass
10.20	Work
12.10 p.m.	Sext and None
12.30	Dinner
1.00	Rest
2.00	Work
3.45	Vespers
4.15	Tea
4.30	Work
6.30	Meditation
7.00	Supper
7.30	Recreation
8.30	Compline
10.00	Lights out

The monks wear a black habit, scapular, and cowl, similar in shape to those of the Beuron and Belgian Congregations.

The periods of work are spent in a variety of activities in the house and garden. All housework, including the cooking, is done by the monks and necessarily constitutes a large part of the day's labours; there is a carpenter's shop and also a factory where incense is confected for sale. There are the labours of mind as well as those of the body: classes for novices and those monks who are to be ordained; correspondence to answer, sermons, addresses, and retreats to prepare; articles and books to write. On any given day a few of the Fathers are likely to be away fulfilling external engagements—preaching, conducting retreats, hearing confessions, ministering to the near-by hospital, and, on Sunday, helping in neighbouring parishes.[1] The reception of guests is another important work. Some cottages at the upper end of the grounds are set apart for guests, and it is seldom that the available accommodation is not fully occupied. During the course of the year hundreds of priests and laymen stay here for longer or shorter periods, many to make a private retreat under the guidance, if they wish, of one of the monks. Some of the Fathers act as confessors to communities of women, three of which follow the Rule of St Benedict.

A group of oblates and a Confraternity of St Benedict link up the secular clergy and laity with the Community, each fraternity having its own definite rule. With the help of donations from these and from other benefactors, likewise of payments for work done by the monks, chiefly in their priestly and literary activities, it is more or less possible to maintain this large establishment. The quality of the articles published for many years in the magazine *Laudate* is evidence of their intellectual gifts; the contributions to the magazine from other writers show that the Community has a wide circle of friends. The literary work of the late Dom Gregory Dix, the author of *The Shape of the Liturgy*, is too well known to need any further reference. The same can be said of the musical researches of Dom Anselm Hughes. The Community welcomes any work which can prepare the reunion of Christendom, and especially closer relations between the Church of England and the Holy See of Rome.

Since the Second World War there has been a considerable increase in the numbers at Nashdom. Extra cells have had to be provided by the division of large rooms and the incorporation of passages. As we have said before, the Community itself feels that it has achieved a definite place in the Anglican Communion, very different from that of either Llanthony or Caldey, but that its future depends, under God, primarily upon the faithfulness of its members to their Rule and upon the self-oblation of those whom God may call to join them, as well as on the support given by friends in the way of prayers, interest, and alms. The Visitor at the time of writing is the Right Reverend N. W. Newnham Davis, sometime Bishop of Antigua.[1]

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[1] In December 1952 it was decided to concentrate more on the contemplative and enclosed side of the life of the Community, and, to this end, to reduce considerably the number of external engagements undertaken by the monks.

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ST GREGORY'S PRIORY

Three Rivers, Michigan (1939)

It was in the winter of 1935–6 that a small group of priests of the Episcopal Church came to England to test their vocations to the Benedictine life under Abbot Martin Collett. This was not the first attempt to establish an Episcopalian community of monks, but none of the previous ones had succeeded.[2] The first simple professions were made on 29 June 1937. On St Gregory's Day, 12 March 1939, the late Dom Paul Severance concluded the deal for occupying a house at Valparaiso, Indiana, and a decision made to take this pope as the patron. Community life began on 11 April, and the house was erected into a priory on St Benedict's day 21 March 1941, when the two first solemn professions were made. There is a curious parallel between the histories of the mother and the daughter houses, for each was founded just before the outbreak of a world war, and the first years of each were years of endurance before development was possible. At Valparaiso the little community depended for its support on mission work in three parishes and in a larger measure on earnings in outside engagements such as conducting retreats, quiet days, etc.

In 1946 the brethren were enabled to concentrate their energies on a more specifically monastic life after they had moved to their present home at Three Rivers, Michigan, which lies between Chicago and Detroit and roughly a hundred miles from each. Not long after they had settled down, the foundation received a serious blow through the illness of the prior, Dom Paul Severance, who had a paralytic stroke from which he never fully recovered. He died at Nashdom in November 1949. The priory was originally a converted farm-house, situated in rolling country, broken up by small lakes, one of which is on the monastic property. The growth of the Community necessitated the adding of two army huts, one of which served as a chapel, the other as dormitory, divided into cells. In 1949 the farm-house was united with these huts into one compound building. A permanent church with nine altars has since been erected. The old "farm house", connected with both these erections, is now the guest house and library. Further extensions are necessitated owing to the growth of the community.[1] St Gregory's will in due course become an independent monastery, with its own abbot, but meanwhile it remains under the jurisdiction of the Abbot of Nashdom. A periodical, *Benedicite,* is issued. The Visitor is the Right Reverend Dr Reginald Mallett, Bishop of Northern Indiana.[2]

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[1] Bruno S. James, *Asking for Trouble* (1962), gives reminiscences of the community in the nineteen-twenties.

[2] Before Nashdom made this foundation in 1939, at least one previous attempt had been made to establish an indigenous Benedictine Community in the Episcopal Church. The pioneer was Herbert Parrish who graduated from the General Theological Seminary in 1894. After his ordination he served at St Clement's, Philadelphia, and then in 1898 became Rector of the Advent, San Francisco. While there he developed monastic ideas and in 1904 he moved to Fond du Lac, Wisconsin, where with the blessing and support of Bishop Grafton, he founded a small community of five members which was legally incorporated as "The American Congregation of the Order of St Benedict". Its house was known as St Dunstan's Abbey. In March 1906 Fr Parrish, wearing a Benedictine habit, conducted a Mission at St Elizabeth's, Philadelphia. In 1907 the community was in charge of St Paul's School at Green's Farms, a small town in Connecticut on the shore of Long Island Sound, but by the autumn of 1908 its sole establishment was St Paul's Abbey, Fond du Lac, under Bishop Grafton as titular Abbot.

There is no reference to the Fond du Lac monastery in the *Living Church Annual* after 1909 when Fr Parrish left, to become ultimately a Broad Church clergyman in New Brunswick, New Jersey. The precise history of the community is obscure. It seems that Fr Parrish and his followers were replaced or displaced by a group which had been living a similar life under the leadership of William Henry Francis Brothers at his home town, Waukegan, Illinois, and with whom they amalgamated at Green's Farms. It is not certain that the Brothers group were ever properly Episcopalian and on 3 October 1911 they styled themselves Old Catholic. Nevertheless Bishop Grafton still persevered in his fostering of Episcopalian monasticism. In 1912 he published *A Commentary on the Rule of the Benedictine Abbey of St Dunstan*, evidently in the hope of attracting postulants. In a letter to Abbot Aelred Carlyle of Caldey dated 5 August 1912, he wrote "Our little Monastery of St Dunstan is the baby Monastery of Christendom. We have been blessed financially. I have been able to give the Monastery, well fitted up and with a beautiful Chapel, to the Order, which I have had incorporated. Spiritually, we have had many trials, as is usual in new beginnings". The Bishop went on to explain that a long illness had prevented him from paying his "half-weekly visits to the Monastery", adding "We began with five members, and some aspirants, but I was obliged to reduce the number, for various causes, till we are, at the present time, only two. But this is the number with which Cowley began, consisting the first year of Fr Benson and myself." Had it not been for the Bishop's death a few weeks after he had written to Abbot Aelred, he would have ordained two Caldey monks who were to have gone to Fond du Lac for this purpose. (Cf. *A Correspondence between Abbot Aelred Carlyle and the Anglican Bishops*. Caldey Abbey, 1913, pp. 19, 20, 25, 27, 29.) This action might have resulted in an affiliation between the communities of Caldey and Fond du Lac but as far as is known the latter ceased to exist before the end of 1912.

From Fond du Lac the brethren moved back to Waukegan and then went to Chicago. There on 23 October 1916, Brothers was consecrated by an Old Catholic Bishop, the Prince de Landas, Berghes et de Rache, and became known as Archbishop Francis. His community functioned later at Cos Cob, Connecticut, where the Prior was F. Bligh Bond, the Glastonbury archaeologist, and finally, from the early 'thirties, at Woodstock, New York, in the Catskills on the west bank of the Hudson, about 120 miles up river from New York City. Community life came to an end in 1948, when the monastery was burned to the ground, but the Archbishop still lives at Woodstock in seclusion. At Easter 1962 he was received into the Russian Orthodox Catholic Church, re-ordained, and given the title of Mitred Archpriest. (Cf. H. R. T. Brandreth, *Episcopi Vagantes and the Anglican Church*, London, 2nd edn., 1961, pp. 25, 26, 38 f, 43n, 65n, 110.)

13. MONASTERY OF ST MARY AT THE CROSS

Glasshampton, Worcestershire (1918)

The story of Fr William Sirr, "Friar, Monk, Solitary," has been told by Fr Geoffrey Curtis, C.R., in *William of Glasshampton* (London, 1947). It is the story of what from the human point of view was a failure: an heroic but ultimately unsuccessful attempt to establish an enclosed and contemplative community of men, though, as Fr Curtis points out, "the witness of his life—both in achievement and failure—seems to hold a word of God that is of signal importance to our generation. It is a word relevant both to the Church and the world. It has its significance for those whose mind is set on a new social order, the evangelization of the masses, or on the reunion of Christendom, as well as for those whose special interest is the history and development of the Religious Life."

It was about 1911 that Fr William Sirr, at that time Superior of the Society of the Divine Compassion (see p. 160), began to feel that he was being called to a life of prayer rather than of active work. The following year after he ceased to be Superior, he undertook the spiritual direction of a lady who lived as a "solitary" in Bristol. This helped to strengthen the conviction that he was called to a similar life. With the approval of his Superior, Fr Andrew, he retired to East Hanningfield in Essex, to work there under a rule of enclosure and silence for a year as a test of the reality of his desire to lead a life of prayer. He undertook the spiritual charge of the Homes of St Giles for lepers in this village.

Fr William's time of retirement in Essex exceeded the year which the Society of the Divine Compassion had decided to accept as the test of his vocation, but his brethren were still unwilling to release him from his obligations to the Community. In the autumn of 1915 it was arranged that there should be a further period of probation, and so he went to stay with the Cowley Fathers at Oxford for even greater seclusion. In the Mission House in Marston Street he lived a life somewhat resembling that of a Carthusian, rising at midnight to recite Matins in the little chapel under the roof, and keeping strict silence except on Sundays when he joined the Community at recreation. He worked in the library and made himself useful in the garden. After these long years of vigil, ending with another period of retirement at East Hanningfield, where he again helped with the leper patients, and with a short time at Stanford-le-Hope, Fr William, in the spring of 1918, felt that the moment had come when he could claim the long-sought permission to take up a life of monastic enclosure. But the chapter still withheld their approval.

Then came the news that there were some abandoned stables belonging to a house long since burned down in the heart of Worcestershire, which were available as an "anchorhold". On 3 October 1918 the new Superior of the S.D.C., Father Barnabas, allowed Fr William's release, and so he went forth to live alone in utter poverty.

Glasshampton Park, in which the stables were situated, is buried in the depths of the country about half-way between Worcester and Stourport. Ruinous as they were, Fr William saw in them the answer to his prayers. He wrote to his Superior: "The stable is not a bit like I pictured it. Much larger, and forming a quadrangle with an entrance through a large gateway with turret and clock above. It is very severe but good; built over a hundred years ago. It is in the midst of a huge park, with only owls and jackdaws to disturb one. It is most beautiful country, like Wales, and the stable stands high in the hills, the Malverns in the distance. . . . When the gate is shut, all is shut in."

The hermit moved into the stables on 20 November 1918, with only the rats to keep him company. It was not long before he had fitted up a chapel and furnished a few cells, hoping that other men would join him. The rector of the parish was sympathetic and gave Fr William every help and encouragement. After about a year of the solitary life Fr William drew up a scheme for the "Contemplatives of Blessed Mary at the Cross", described as "a Congregation of men, priests and lay, dedicated to God in the life of the Counsels for a life of Silence, Contemplation,

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[1] Owing to the outbreak of the Korean war and other causes, this chapel cost far more than had been anticipated. A desperate financial situation had developed at Easter 1951. However, within a week came a dramatic change. Successive donations of a thousand, six thousand five hundred, ten thousand and fifty thousand dollars suddenly meant that not only could the new church be paid for, but also the mortgage on the property could be paid off and a new monastery planned, which was ready for occupation in October 1951. It is the Community's belief that, in the dispensation of divine providence, this amazing transformation was the reward for the prayers and endurance of Dom Gregory Dix, who was in America at the time, already suffering from the cancer which killed him a year later.

[2] Most of the historical details given in this section have been taken from the brochure *Nashdom Abbey,* published by the Community in 1951.

Intercessory Prayer and Manual Labour". The Brethren were to be bound to "perpetual and unbroken silence, excepting at Mass and the Divine Office and Corporate Recreations, of which there will be three in each week". However, as with the Cistercians, there would be "freedom of speech between the Superior and Brethren for spiritual purposes, Direction and Instruction". There would be five hours of manual work or its equivalent and two hours of mental prayer and intercession daily, besides the recitation of the full Divine Office. We read that "the Brotherhood would not usually leave their enclosure, but one day a week all shall go for a walk of two hours. The Silence shall be maintained and they shall walk together, i.e. within sight of each other."[1] In providing for silence during the *Spatiamentum*, Fr William went further than the Carthusians who are allowed to talk during their weekly walk, just as do the Camaldolese hermits when they take their recreation outside their enclosure.

He also drew up a time-table which he himself kept until his health finally broke down. Matins and Lauds were recited at 2 a.m.; the other Canonical Hours arranged at regular intervals throughout the day, ending with Compline at 7.30 p.m. The office was said in English. Two hours were allotted to mental prayer; the one in the morning, the other in the evening. But as Fr Curtis relates: "Men came and went, but as always, the majority were the sinful and the failures. Attracted by his personality and compassion, they came not to a *monastery* or a *Life* as such, but to the Priest-Religious who had made the monastery. Having found healing and help, they moved on, but there were very few who did not write constantly and look back with longing eyes to the life they had shared, even though they had only partly understood it. . . . Perhaps the life was too austere for them; more probably they had not the single eye, the one end and aim which was Father William's."[2]

"I have not yet found a true monk", wrote the solitary after more than a year at Glasshampton. Perhaps this hermit, now aged nearly sixty, was too far advanced and too much alone in the spiritual life to share it with others? "So the life . . . went on its even way. There were comings and goings of men, and Father William needed all his natural buoyancy of character and what the world would call 'optimism', but this fundamental characteristic, had it been alone, would not have carried him through. His hopefulness was rooted in the conviction that God had not brought him through all the past to leave him to perish in the wilderness. Yet as the years went on he came to realize that though the vision was true,

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[1] Curtis, *William of Glasshampton*, (1947), p. 95.
[2] Op. cit., p. 96.

the colours in which he had pictured it were not altogether of God's Will."[1]

In the summer of 1922 it was suggested that he should give up his attempt to form a community and join the Benedictines at Pershore, but he felt that this would be impossible, for his whole soul was drawn to what was a mixture of the Cistercian and Carthusian forms of monastic life. In 1928, thanks to a generous bequest from Miss Butler, the solitary at Bristol whom he had directed in the past, Fr William was able to complete the restoration of the stables at Glasshampton in the form in which they exist today. The horse-boxes were changed into cells "monastic in their austerity and beautiful in their proportion". A cloister was erected round the stable yard. The chapel was arranged with a grille between the choir planned for the community, which never materialized, and the narthex set aside for seculars. "The whole of the interior is pure white—whitewash and white paint. No pictures were allowed except one of real distinction over the secular priests' altar. There are two or three old statues brought from Italy with their hanging lamps. . . . White curtains surround the altars, with here and there a touch of gold, and over the altar of the Blessed Sacrament chapel a stained-glass window of adoring angels in blue and gold. . . . Looking out the scene is changed. Through open windows and garden doors there is a riot of colour—roses, flowering shrubs, and all kinds of rambling creepers. The green garth with its beautiful Crucifix forms three sides of a quadrangle, the fourth is open into the garden."[2]

There was a perfect monastery, but there were still no monks; at least none of the men who came to Glasshampton remained very long. The history of this empty monastery is thus summed up by Fr Curtis, who writes: "Father William himself lived the life there for eighteen years, and hundreds of men, both priests and lay, found in his monastery, and through him, strength to follow the way God had appointed for them, but the one supreme thing for which Father William waited and prayed was denied to him; but . . . whatever happened he accepted it. 'It is God's Will, therefore it was the best thing that could have happened.' He was a living witness of the reality of Dante's words in the *Paradiso*: 'In His Will is our peace'."[3]

Pilgrims of every sort came to Glasshampton—from Stanley Baldwin, the politician, who was a frequent visitor, down to Boy Scouts and hikers from Birmingham and other places in the Midlands—even Communists, agnostics, Jews, Theosophists, and "free-lance individuals of diverse kinds who found here a real welcome and a disarming refusal to find in them anything but dear, though often very wayward, children of God, requiring special interest and love. Fr William found himself in much the same position as a typical Russian *starets*; consulted by all and sundry. There were young working-men of no special religious or intellectual interests who found their way here, and who were shown round the monastery and given tea on the lawn and a straight talk afterwards. 'I'm going to talk to you about Love. Now I know you all have girls . . .' he began, and went on quite simply *via* the family to speak of the Holy Trinity."

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[1] *William of Glasshampton*, p. 104. [2] Ibid., pp. 107, 108. [3] Ibid., p. 112.

In the early 'thirties Fr William found a new outlet for his zeal—Glasshampton was made available for priests who were under ecclesiastical discipline and forbidden to exercise their ministry, or who had no desire to do so. There were few places in the Church of England prepared to receive such men. Fr Curtis writes: "Dear as this work was to Father William's heart, it was a great strain", but these poor broken-down priests did not disturb his solitary life or prayer. The work was "like the open window with the curtain of the Anchoress' cell; it was a blessed means of touching the world he had left. Like St Anthony of old, he had gone into the cave for prayer and solitude. Towards the end of his life he was ready to come out, or rather to receive within his cave, at the call of God, the outcast and the fallen, but from ministering to these he always returned to his solitary life and rule as a monk. It was this solitary life of prayer that increasingly brought home to him the great need of some refuge in the Church of England where priests who had fallen by the way could find recovery and renewal."[1]

Fr William's health gave way in the end and he was told that he must cease to remain in his monastery and to live alone. In October 1936, after he had spent a few months as chaplain to the Community of the Holy Name, Malvern Link, he was moved to the Homes of St Barnabas at Dormans Park, Surrey, where his death occurred on 28 March 1937. Two years later, through the help of Lord Baldwin and by permission of the Home Secretary, the mortal remains of the founder of the Monastery of St Mary at the Cross were laid to rest under the shadow of its walls.

Such is the story of Fr William of Glasshampton, which in some respects is not unlike that of Père de Foucauld. In 1938 the monastery was purchased as a memorial to its founder and placed in the hands of trustees until such time as it should be possible for a community of men to be established there. The Second World War prevented any steps being taken in this direction, but by 1946 it was reopened as a house of retreat.

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[1] *William of Glasshampton*, p. 139.

Since then the monastery has become the novitiate of the Society of St Francis, whose mother house is near Cerne Abbas, Dorset (see p. 208).

In the spring of 1933 Fr William wrote to the "Companions of Blessed Mary at the Cross"—a group of Friends he had formed—pointing out the urgent need for contemplative communities of men in the Church of England: "men who will deliberately go apart to be with God alone, and stay there", adding, "It is not in activities that we are in danger of falling short. In some respects our activities are excessive. It is in prayer and mortification we sorely need strengthening. And it is to monks we must look to help us to fill up this deficiency."

He drew attention to the fact that the recovery of the Religious Life of the Church of England had reversed the true order in which the Religious Life originally came into being. "In the early days of the Church the solitaries came first, and then the monks and nuns. Men were the pioneers, and the women followed. Then out of this monastic life of prayer and mortification sprang up the various orders of active religious, raised up one after the other to meet the pressing needs of the time. We, on the other hand, started in the revival by first recovering the active life—Sisters of Charity devoted to the poor and sick. Then came other active Sisters for the purposes of educational, preventive and rescue work. After that the men followed—mission priests and lay Brothers, communities of men for training ordinands, for the care of aged and infirm sailors, and for the 'down and outs', etc. And most of these communities of men and women have spread to the mission field.

"Now we discover that, quietly and without observation, enclosed nuns have come to life, like the seed hidden and growing secretly in the earth. We find them here just as we suddenly find the flowers in full bloom in the garden, without seeing them unfold. There is yet awaited, last of all, the coming of enclosed monks as men born out of due time. Then we shall have completely recovered."[1]

Fr William was a voice crying in the wilderness: his personal example may yet lead others into the desert. Yet now the Church of England has at least one enclosed and contemplative community of men as well as several of women.[2] (See p. 214.)

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[1] Ibid., pp. 167–8.

[2] The following reasons for Fr William's failure have been suggested by some who visited him at Glasshampton and deserve consideration: (1) the S.D.C. obstructed him until he was too old to be a pioneer; (2) he was no judge of character; (3) the office was recited with almost too prayerful slowness; (4) the food was bad, even by the standards of religious communities, and, in his later days at least, Fr William subsisted and expected others to subsist on really repellent messes (consisting largely of lentils) which were steamed and reheated for days on end. It may

14. SOCIETY OF ST FRANCIS

St Francis' Friary, Hilfield, Dorchester, Dorset (1921)

The mother house of the second Anglican Franciscan community of men to be founded nestles in a hollow below Batcombe Down in the heart of Dorset, about three miles north-west of Cerne Abbas. On large-scale maps it will be found at Flowers Farm, renamed "The Little Commonwealth", so called because in the days before the First World War it was a sort of settlement for children, under the care of an American philanthropist.

It is more than likely that you will meet a man dressed in a brown habit, girt with a white cord, in the narrow, winding lanes of this secluded corner of Wessex. Should you happen to be familiar with the different "uniforms" worn by the three branches of the Order of Friars Minor, you will wonder what this "Friar Minor of the Regular Observance" is doing here, for he is far away from the nearest house of his Order. But this typical "*frate*", such as might be met on any roadside in Tuscany or Umbria, does not belong to the "Order of Friars Minor": he is a member of an Anglican Brotherhood, known as the "Society of St Francis".

His *convento* too has much in common with some of those Franciscan friaries in the heart of the Apennines; not so much because of its architecture, but for the simple reason that the buildings have grown up without any preconceived plan, just as occasion arose for adding to them. St Francis' Friary now consists of a scattered group of rubble and flint cottages, set among gardens and trees. Surrounding an attractive paved courtyard, gay with flower-beds, are: St Francis' House, containing the refectory, kitchen, laundry, and offices; a large Recreation Room; St Francis' Press, where all sorts of printing are undertaken; and the Chapel of St Francis, which is nothing more grandiose than a spacious stable, furnished with a simple altar, choir stalls, and a few chairs for lay folk, and from which it is obvious at first sight that these Brothers are mindful of their Seraphic Father's zeal for the care of oratories and chapels.

A few yards to the north of this main block is the Friars' House, standing in its own garden, with its stone walls half covered with creepers. Within are parlours, cells, and a small chapel dedicated to St Clare, used as an oratory by the Brothers. Behind this building is the Guest House, and library. The small cells contain the minimum of essential furniture, but are comfortable enough. A few yards away is Juniper House, with the main dormitory accommodation, another library, and a tiny oratory of St Mary-of-the-Angels, with barely enough space for the priest and server. An industries house (where samples of basket-weaving and other handicrafts are on view), a farm, workshops, laundry, and a swimming-pool are to be found in the neighbourhood. Flowers, fruit, and vegetables are grown for home consumption and for the market. Bee-keeping is another industry. "Higgledy-piggledy" is the best way to describe the Friary and other buildings: there is nothing "monastic" about this establishment, but it is completely "Franciscan".

The people who live or stay here are just as varied as the setting. The inmates are composed of the friars; generally a few clerics and laymen, as guests, possibly a few tramps, and a crowd of lads, who are sent here by the Educational Authorities for special care and supervision. All take their meals together in the same refectory, where there is no distinction of persons or age; all share alike in what there is to eat.

The Brothers have their own Rule. Its foundations rest on the recitation of the Day Hours in choir. Since they are members of the Church of England, it is understandable that they should use that simple vernacular Office Book *Prime and Hours* instead of fulfilling literally St Francis' injunction to "perform the Divine Office according to the order of the Holy Roman Church" (as is laid down in the Second Rule), and the same loyalty to the English Church is to be found in a fairly strict conformity to the Eucharistic rite of the Book of Common Prayer. Mindful of St Francis' orders to those who live religiously in a hermitage, the Brethren "say Prime and Terce at the proper time . . . likewise Sext and None and Vespers (otherwise Evensong) at the appointed time". The long day, which starts at 5.45 with Mattins, ends with the recitation of Compline at 9 p.m. Manual work, study, and many other jobs help to fill up the intervening hours. There is work for all, and guests are expected to take their share in it and to respect the hours of silence. The friars come and go, for their services are in constant demand for retreats, missions, and sermons all over the country. Visitors and wayfarers arrive and depart. Altogether it is a busy, strenuous existence, remote from the world, yet

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be added that his conception of the austerity of the contemplative life far exceeded that of the Cistercians, Carthusians, or the Camaldolese hermits. So far as is known he had never had any contacts with these Orders, apart from a visit to the Cistercians on the Ile de Lerins in 1930.

A more recent attempt to establish a contemplative community of men was made on Lindisfarne (Holy Island) in May 1943, but it only lasted two months and never consisted of more than two monks. The observances aimed at were an exact imitation of those of the Roman Catholic Benedictine monks of Prinknash Abbey, Gloucester. The cause of the failure was the reception of the junior monk into the Roman Church.

very much in touch with it. For the end and aim of this Community is to seek and share "the poverty of Christ . . . to move amongst people living by compulsion a life of poverty, and to illustrate to them the love of Jesus Christ".

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The Society as it exists today grew up from very obscure beginnings—one might almost say that it was never "founded". Fifty years ago a young man named Edward Kelley Evans entered the novitiate of the Society of the Divine Compassion (see p. 160). During his time of probation he became convinced that his vocation was to serve God as a friar among tramps and outcasts. In 1913 as "Brother Giles" he set out from the novitiate house at Stanford-le-Hope to share the life of the men on the roads, tramping from casual ward to casual ward. From time to time he had periods of rest at the Mission House in Marston Street, Oxford, through the kindness of the Society of St John the Evangelist, who again and again have assisted men who felt called to a life which was very different from their own.

During the First World War Br Giles served in the Army both in France and in Africa, but by Christmas 1919 he was back on the roads. Many will recall his visits to the universities, and it was on a visit to Cambridge that he met Lord Sandwich who owned property in Dorset. Lord Sandwich offered Br Giles a lease of Flowers Farm for a year rent-free, the idea being to give him an opportunity to experiment in the reclamation of wayfarers. So it was that seven hundred years after that famous meeting of over three thousand friars at the Portiuncula, where St Francis reasserted the principles of their vocation, and especially the importance of holy poverty, three Anglican laymen, inspired by the same ideals, began to live together in a farm-house beneath the northern slopes of the hills of Dorset. The original community was made up of Br Giles, Roger Fox, formerly an undergraduate at Oxford, and Charles Boyd, an Australian, who before the war had tested his vocation to the Religious Life with the Anglican Benedictines on Caldey Island. In the autumn of 1921 they renamed the farm the "Home of St Francis", purposing to share a communal life with their homeless brethren, both in the friary and on the roads. Like that sixteenth-century Franciscan lay brother, Matteo da Baschi, they were visionaries, yet practical realists. All Matteo asked when he broke away from the Observant Friars was to live the Franciscan Rule as St Francis had lived it. The vision came to him in the Marches of Ancona; it came to these three men in the heart of Wessex. History repeated itself—here in the twentieth century were three men with much the same ideals as the founder of the Capuchin Reform movement, who saw that the Rule of St Francis is above the Order; that it is the Life which comes first. So they set about to live that life and took a seven-hundred-year-old Rule for their guidance. By Christmas 1921 there were sixteen wayfarers in the home; and in 1922 two laymen, one of whom had been an Army officer of high rank, had volunteered to act as treasurer and farm manager respectively.

"Often the Brothers would leave the Friary and themselves tramp the roads, sleeping under the hedges, in casual wards, or in common lodging-houses. Many were the stories they told of hardships and friendships, all spiced with humour. In those early days they were often faced with great financial difficulties, and frequently they resorted to days of prayer when it seemed that their work must fail for lack of support. But such days were crowned with wonderful answers to prayer, and the work went on."[1]

Lord Sandwich lent a sum of £1000 to stock the farm and meet preliminary expenses. Support was given by a committee in Cambridge and other friends, and a lease was entered into with Lord Sandwich. Unfortunately few of the wayfarers had had any previous experience of work on the land, and after two years it was realized that farming under such conditions would not pay, so market gardening was taken up as a more profitable occupation.

In 1923 Br Giles broke down in health, and the Reverend Douglas Downes, chaplain of University College, Oxford, who had already undertaken mission work with Br Giles and shared not only his deep concern for the outcast but also his Franciscan compassion and love of poverty, gave up his work in Oxford to take charge of the home. Other men joined the Community, including Arthur de Winton, who, after many years of work in the diocese of Zanzibar, had returned home to retire. He died in 1948 at a great age, having been one of the original members of the Cambridge House opened in 1939.

It was an entirely common life in these early days. The friars lived with the wayfarers—working, feeding, and praying together. When farming was given up the farm-yard became a paved court and garden. Bee-keeping, weaving, and basket-making were started as handicrafts, followed by the installation of a small printing press. Mr Downes—now known as "Brother Douglas"—always insisted that the man in the gutter could not really be helped by "occasional charity" from those on the pavement, but only by those who came off the pavement to share his life in the gutter. Such was the spirit of the Home of St Francis, and to this end Br Douglas and the Brethren used to go away for periods on the roads and into the doss-houses and casual wards of Great Britain, wearing at first boiler-suits marked with a cross, which, because of their eccentricity, were discarded later on for the brown habit and white rope-girdle such as is worn today by members of the Society of St Francis.

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[1] *Franciscan Adventure: being the History of the Friary of St Francis, Cerne Abbas*, p. 1.

On these road-missions the Brethren were allowed a small sum of two shillings a day for food and lodging. In the great cities and towns of England, Scotland, and Wales, and on many a lonely road side they met men in the direst need, without food, friends, or hope, and some of these they were able to bring back with them to Dorset. Among such tramps was a cat-burglar who later on returned to London, and over a long period sent young men whom he had found beginning a life of crime to the home, where he had found the charity of God. When he died his body was brought to the chapel and buried in Hilfield churchyard. From 1921 to 1930 the social and economic condition of Britain went from bad to worse. Strike succeeded strike, culminating in the great General Strike of May 1926. By the summer of 1930 over two million men and women in Britain were unemployed. Not a few of this vast multitude found they got more help—even material—from the Little Brothers of St Francis, who had no capital behind them, than from the Labour Exchanges.

Meanwhile Dr St Clair Donaldson, Bishop of Salisbury, had been taking a fatherly interest in the Community which had settled in his diocese. In February 1931 Bishop Donaldson received the Vows of the first three Brothers whose Rule forbade them to save anything, rather to have no more esteem of money than of stones, guarding themselves from the solicitudes of this world and the cares of this life. In 1928 a hostel for wayfaring men had been opened at Sherborne. It was dedicated to Temple Gairdner, an old friend of Br Douglas, who had been a missionary in Egypt. About the same time the friary had been the scene of the formation of the Vagrancy Reform Society, of which Br Douglas, Colonel Lloyd, and Mrs Higgs were the original members. From this farm-house in Dorset an agitation was started for the reform of the Vagrancy Acts, with the result that in 1929 Mr Arthur Greenwood, then the Minister of Health, set up an interdepartmental commission to study the problems of such persons as came within the scope of the vagrancy laws.

The commission issued a report, and one of its recommendations was the urgent need for homes for young wayfarers in many parts of Britain. Between 1931 and 1933, thanks to the support of a now wide circle of friends, Br Douglas was enabled to open Homes of St Francis in Cornwall, Wiltshire, Hampshire, Sussex, Hertfordshire, and North and South Wales. An attempt to start one in Scotland came to naught. Dr Frere, Bishop of Truro, took a keen interest in "Bodrean"—a house in the parish of St Clement, near Truro, which had been adapted as one of these homes for wayfarers in 1933. Many men tramped to Cornwall, and if they found no work, had to turn back again, with nowhere to go but the casual ward or the common lodging-house. Here—as in the other similar establishments founded by the Society of St Francis—vagrants were given rest, training, and employment according to the capacity of the individual, otherwise a place where lives could be repaired and given a fresh start. By the middle of 1933 unemployment in England had decreased by about 465,000.

Those were busy years for Br Douglas, Br Kenneth, and Br Charles, who toured the country appealing for houses and committees to run them. After any of these absences from the friary it was seldom that they returned without news that yet another wayfarers' home had been started. It was a new form of the Religious Life; something which had been created to meet the particular needs of the times, yet which was inspired by a thirteenth-century-old Rule. St Francis himself seemed to be in their midst, saying: "And the Lord gave me some Brothers, no one showed me what I ought to do, but the Most High himself revealed to me that I should live according to the form of the Holy Gospel" (*Testament of St Francis*).

The Brothers found themselves in contact with those who were pioneering in other Franciscan communities, including the *Christa Prema Seva Sangha* in India and its associated Brotherhood of the Love of Christ at St Ives in Huntingdonshire. The former was a Franciscan community, consisting of priests and laymen, English and Indian, who lived as far as possible in the Indian manner, seeking to build up an Indian way of worship (see p. 591). Among the first members was the Reverend W. S. A. Robertson (Father Algy), who founded in Poona a Christian students' hostel in which Christian, Hindu, and Moslem students lived a common life. Owing to sickness, Fr Algy had to return to England about 1929 after some years in India. He had hoped to go back again, but when it became clear that this would be impossible he was allowed by the *Christa Prema Seva Sangha* to accept the living of St Ives, where he proposed to found a Franciscan community in close touch with the Brothers in India. The large vicarage was transformed into a friary, which the priests and lay brothers sought to make the centre of the life of the parish. The house and garden were used daily by parishioners, and the Brothers, wearing a black cassock and the saffron girdle of Indian followers of the way of renunciation, ministered in the parish, which included two outlying villages. They recited the daily offices, and all undertook some manual work. A strong body of Tertiaries both in India and in England was established. Conferences were held regularly between Br Douglas, Fr Algy, and Fr George Potter, founder of the Franciscan Brotherhood of the Holy Cross (see p. 208). It gradually became clear to the Brothers at St Ives that they were being called to a much closer alliance with their "Brown Brothers" in Dorset. In 1937 Fr Algy resigned the parish of St Ives to become Guardian and Novice Master in the friary at Cerne Abbas. Br Douglas was appointed Father Minister of the Society of St Francis. The C.P.S.S. Rule was adopted.

For the first time a regular novitiate was inaugurated, and more men came to join the Community. So the work continued until the outbreak of the Second World War in September 1939. With the calling up of young men to the Forces there was less and less unemployment, and consequently there was not the same need of homes for wayfarers. Those in Cornwall and Wales were turned over to refugees. A number of German Jews were made welcome in the friary at Cerne Abbas. Two days before the declaration of war, sixty children from the parish of St George's Roman Catholic Cathedral, Southwark, were billeted with this Anglican brotherhood. By Christmas 1939 most of the younger novices had departed to join the R.A.M.C. and, before they left, the children from Southwark had found accommodation in the neighbourhood. Br Douglas offered his services to the Y.M.C.A., and throughout the worst years of the war he acted as chaplain to their hostel in Westminster for men in the Forces.

With a much reduced personnel, life at the friary went on quietly until there came a sudden request that the remaining Brothers would take over the Dorset Remand Home for Boys. The lads arrived just after the Battle of Britain had begun, with bombs falling not so many miles from Batcombe. More boys from Remand Homes followed them as some of these institutions were not in safe areas. Eventually the limited accommodation at the friary was taxed to the uttermost. There was no lack of excitement in looking after this class of young delinquent; occasionally some of them ran away and had to be brought back again.

New work was undertaken outside Dorset. A few Brothers went to Cambridge, where they began community life in a house generously given by the Oratory of the Good Shepherd. Another group took charge of the parish of St Chrysostom, Peckham. "Many were the stories we received of the latter during the days of the blitz upon the Capital", writes one of the Community. "Near the Church was a large shelter; and here the Brothers helped in running a canteen. Each night shelter services were held, and the singing of the hymns was led by Fr Charles with his violin."[1]

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[1] *Franciscan Adventure*, p. 4

So the work went on between 1939 and 1946. Once the war was over, new opportunities for service offered themselves. The Remand Home was closed, and a school for maladjusted boys was opened at Hooke, about eight miles from Batcombe. The parish in Peckham was given up, and a work of a very different kind started among coloured seamen in Stepney. Evangelistic work was begun among the hop-pickers in Kent. "Sands-Missions" were undertaken during the first weeks of August at Weston-super-Mare and at Weymouth. More and more were the requests for the Brothers to conduct parochial missions and conventions, or to assist with evangelistic campaigns. Then came opportunities for work among boys and girls—children's missions, sermons and addresses in schools, likewise youth conferences.

Br Douglas went off to Germany where he continued to work with the Y.M.C.A., giving spiritual help to members of the Army of Occupation. At home, Fr Algy was asked to join the Archbishops' Commission on Evangelism which published *Towards the Conversion of England.* Here is a brief survey of what the S.S.F. is doing at the present time. At the mother house—the Friary and Home of St Francis, Cerne Abbas, Dorset—a limited number of men and boys are received who need special care or attention for various reasons. The guest house is nearly always full with those who wish to share the simple life of the Brothers, or who come for retreats and conferences. A market garden and several industries, e.g. hand-printing and basket-making, provide employment. At St Francis' School, Hooke, Beaminster, Dorset, one of the Community is responsible for boys sent him by the Local Education Authorities. He is aided by three other Brothers and a secular staff. During the Second World War the Reverend St John B. Groser, Rural Dean of Stepney, invited the friars to settle in his district to live and make friends with the large coloured population, many of whom were and are in grave moral danger. This work was given up in 1963 as the premises were being demolished.

Since 1959 the Society has been working in New Guinea, first of all at Koke, near Port Moresby. A Friary has been established at Jegarata, near Popondetta. In 1961 a House was opened at Alnmouth, Northumberland, and this attained friary status in 1962. It forms a centre for work in northern England and Scotland.

In 1946 the Society was enabled to develop the contrasting aspect of the Franciscan ideal—the contemplative life. That year the trustees of the little Monastery of St Mary at the Cross at Glasshampton in Worcestershire, which had been founded by Fr William Sirr in 1918 (see p. 195), generously lent it to the Society of St Francis. Here in a setting which is as remote from the world as these primitive Franciscan hermitages in the heart of Italy, such as Greccio, Fonte Colombo, Le Celle, or the Carceri, part of the novitiate has been moved from the mother house. As this monastery was established by a former member of the Franciscan Society of the Divine Compassion it is most fitting that it should now be used by another Anglican Franciscan community. Priests or laymen who wish to make private retreats are welcomed. Here too come members of the Society who need quiet times for recollection, rest, or study.

St Francis' House, Lady Margaret Road, Cambridge, stresses yet another aspect of the Franciscan spirit—that of the Conventual Friars in the Middle Ages who worked in the universities of Europe.

So in our own age a number of members of the Anglican Society of St Francis find a wide field for work among undergraduates. They preach in college chapels and have been placed in charge of the Church of St Benet. One of the Friars is an Assistant Lecturer in the Faculty of Divinity.

In 1953 the Society took over the district of St Philip's, Plaistow, and is now continuing the work there started by the Society of the Divine Compassion in 1894 (see pp. 149–163). The mission church has been rebuilt as a memorial to S.D.C.

After a postulancy of not less than three months or more than a year there follows a novitiate of three years. Life vows are not taken until three years have been spent in first profession. At the time of writing the Minister is the Reverend Father David; the Assistant Minister the Reverend Father Lothian; under the Bishop of Exeter, who is Protector of the Society.

Associated with the friars is a body of Tertiaries, who seek to live a life of Franciscan simplicity in the world and to follow a rule of life. The "Companions" form a larger group of friends.

Since 1940 there has been a Second Order of the Society of St Francis, the Community of St Clare, now established at St Mary's, Freeland, near Oxford, with one of the friars appointed by the Chapter as Warden (see pp. 525–527).

The Society's magazine is the quarterly, *The Franciscan.*

15. BROTHERHOOD OF THE HOLY CROSS

*Nunhead, London, S.E.*15 (1924)

The Brotherhood of the Holy Cross was the third Anglican community of men to be founded on Franciscan lines. It consisted of priests and laymen working together under the patronage of St Francis of Assisi, and with the approval of the Bishop of Southwark. Bound by a simple Rule, their aim was "to gather together those whose vocation proves to be such as does not demand the greater detachment from ordinary life required by most Religious Communities, and to express the Love of the Living Christ by humble service to their fellow men".

The mother house was a typical mid-Victorian three-storied brick edifice with a porch resting on stucco columns, set back from a quiet road in Nunhead. There was nothing particularly "Franciscan" about the exterior, but you sensed the true Franciscan note once you were inside the front door. There was a rather shabby homeliness about the rooms. It was obvious that the furniture was not specially chosen, but dumped on the Brothers by those who had no further use for it. The habit worn by the Community consisted of a dark-grey double-breasted cassock with the Franciscan knotted cord for a girdle, from which was suspended a small cross. The chapel, formerly the stable, was quite small. The tiny sanctuary was divided from the nave-choir by a low brick screen, the roof being supported on the two massive posts. The altar, with its veiled tabernacle and gradines, had a vague flavour of the baroque, but all the details were very simple. An old lantern, hung from the roof beams, served as a sanctuary lamp. The frontals and vestments were mostly home-made, many of them with painted orphreys.

At the back of the house was a large garden, covering three acres. It might well be described as a peaceful oasis in the heart of South East London, for there was such a dense growth of trees there that one might be in the midst of the country. Gay flower beds gave a note of colour. The fruit and vegetables grown here fed the Community and its "family". On rising ground above distant trees the tower of the Nunhead Water Works could be mistaken for the *campanile* of an Italian church.

It is true to say that the Brotherhood of the Holy Cross was the least rigid of any Anglican community of men. It could be described as a twentieth-century adaptation of a particular aspect of the Franciscan spirit, and that definitely the primitive ideal of the Little Poor Men of Assisi. He began his apostolate among the lepers; these Brothers who take him as their patron have mainly concentrated their work among another type of "leper". Since the Brotherhood was founded twenty-six years ago over eight hundred boys—homeless, unwanted, and most of them maladjusted—have been cared for. The Brothers of the Holy Cross have turned them into practising Christians and good citizens, whereas if they had been allowed to go on running wild, they might have spread moral disease among their fellow men and women.[1]

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[1] Cf. George Potter, *Father Potter of Peckham* (London, 1955) and *More Father Potter of Peckham* (London, 1958).

The Reverend George Potter, when working as a curate in the poorest districts of South London, more than forty years ago began to realize what an enormous amount of good could be done by a Brotherhood of laymen, who, in the spirit of St Francis of Assisi, would be willing to give up all in the service of Christ, living together under a simple rule in a communal life, in the midst of a busy parish. The experience gained by trying to run single-handed sports clubs, concert parties, and scouts; visiting and teaching the children; playing the organ and training the choir; acting as doctor, nurse, cook, charwoman, lawyer, and shorthand typist—even veterinary surgeon and undertaker—all these things had the cumulative effect in the long run of convincing him that what was needed was a band of self-sacrificing men, ready to work eighteen hours a day if necessary. "That is *why* we started", he explains.

In 1923 Fr George was inducted to the cure of souls at St Chrysostom's, Peckham. The Bishop of Southwark told him that it was the most derelict parish in his diocese. There was no vicarage, so Fr George had to camp out in the parish hall. Blankets were hung from the beams to make a kitchen, study, and bedrooms. A few homeless boys slept on the stage. The first Sunday the offerings in church totalled 6½d. The rats began to invade the parish hall so that it became uninhabitable. Then a small dilapidated public house fell vacant. Fr Potter and a layman moved into "The Eagle" and this was the foundation of the Brotherhood in 1924.

Seven hundred years before the birth of this new Franciscan family, St Francis had received the Stigmata on Mount Alvernia. So it was fitting that this Brotherhood should be dedicated to the Holy Cross. We are told that "the dirty little 'pub' was a strange place. There was a notice in the window 'This establishment is under entirely new management', and instead of the familiar warning about dogs, tramps, and circulars, you would have seen the inviting welcome: 'Watney's', 'Public Bar'—'PUSH!' Those who *did* push found a very cosy little bar-parlour and a small, dirty, leaky back kitchen which was used by the 'family'. The cellar soon became a public shower bath for the small boys who liked cold water—in summer time."

The following year, the seven-hundredth anniversary of the composition of St Francis' "Canticle of the Sun", another layman joined the infant Brotherhood, and a simple Rule was drawn up. The parish church was used as the oratory. In 1926, when the world was keeping the death of St Francis, a clergy house was provided by the diocese. It was not long before stray boys, without homes, and others sent by the local magistrates, came along, and the Brotherhood's work for boys was definitely started.

In 1927 the Community moved its growing "family" into a derelict factory at 148 Peckham High Street, which was renamed "The Hostel of St Francis". Here were housed six Brothers and sixteen boys—in conditions that were entirely in keeping with the Franciscan ideal of Holy Poverty. Some of the boys stayed for years, others only for a few weeks. Some went back to their homes, others remained till they were old enough to support themselves in lodgings near by.

Other men came to test their vocation to the Brotherhood, but as the founder tells us: "some soon found out that they did not fit in with our peculiar mode of living, and others were quite happy when swinging censers, but did not seem so content with a dustpan in their hands. There was, and is still, very little that can be called attractive in the life of the Brotherhood; there is no salary, very little room, very little peace, no comfort, but a lot of work."

Nevertheless the Community continued to increase, and in 1932 the Brothers moved to the Cancellor Memorial Hostel on Peckham Rye, which was blessed by Dr Garbett, their bishop (later Archbishop of York), on 18 April that year. Here it was possible to take twenty-two boys. There was a garden, which afforded scope for hobbies—the keeping of rabbits, mice, and even tame rats. Some of the lads worked in a printing press, but few were keen on weeding the garden. The Hostel of St Francis was still maintained for other boys.

On 28 October 1933 the Bishop dedicated a large house, 66 Linden Grove, Nunhead, as St Francis' Friary, which from then onwards served as the headquarters of the Brotherhood. By the end of six years 190 boys had been dealt with, only five of whom had come from a decent normal home. Practically all these South London lads had started life with every possible handicap—a lack of love and understanding, and often they were infected with real vice. They were, on the whole, a tough crowd to cope with, but most of them made good in the long run.

After the Brotherhood had proved its usefulness and had found its feet, the Bishop of Southwark approved the Rule and Constitution. But the number of Brothers did not increase so rapidly as the number of boys: there were times when the little Community hardly knew how to manage its large and ever-growing family. Moreover the B.H.C. was regarded by certain ultra-Anglo-Catholics as just a little heterodox, for as its founder confessed: "some men seemed to think that such a life should be confined to the Chapel and Offices and the smoke of incense, and they found work rather trying. Others had a spiritual vision equal to that of a Sunday School girl of nine years of age. Some indeed could learn quite a lot in the way of courtesy, brotherly love and self-sacrifice from our young 'criminals' at the Hostels. Oh! how often the boys have proved to be far more like Jesus than the good young men who come to give their lives to God. . . . Honestly, I did not realize what strange young men were still allowed to be at liberty until I started the Brotherhood . . . they have amassed an astounding amount of detail concerning the ceremonies of the Church, but they know so little about the practical expression of the Christian character, and so often, because they believe the world to be so very evil, they are so dreadfully out of touch with normal daily life." The founder admits that he felt it was a great compliment when one of these young men remarked: "You see, Fr Potter has such a Church of England outlook!" It would have been even more correct to have said that his "outlook" was uncompromisingly "Franciscan".

The life was indeed hard and strenuous—as it still remains. From 6.30 a.m. when the first bell roused the Brothers from their beds, till 11 p.m. when lights were out, the day was broken up with looking after the boys, and intervals for the recitation of the Offices, and private prayer and intercession. Mattins from the *Book of Common Prayer* was said at 7 a.m., followed by Meditation and Mass. Compline, at the unusually late hour of 10 p.m., brought the day to a close.

The growth and development of the B.H.C. can be followed in the back volumes of its magazine, *The B.H.C. Quarterly*—did ever any religious community publish such an entertaining periodical? But few communities—if any—carried on their apostolate among such fascinating creatures as these boys of various types and shades of character. "When the youngsters tell of their home life—of their real hardships and absolute lack of love and happiness—" so the Founder writes—"one marvels that the spark of Christ which one sees in each and all has not been smothered long ago."

The work went on all through the Second World War with fifty boys at the friary, who, so we are told, "were simply wonderful during the blitzes". The Hostel of St Francis, Peckham, was entirely destroyed by enemy action in 1942. More accommodation being needed for these homeless lads they were moved to the former friary of the Society of Divine Compassion at Stanford-le-Hope, Essex. Here they remained from 1947 until November 1948. The Brothers were unable to make essential alterations, so the family had to be brought back to London. In 1949 the war-damaged Gothic Revival vicarage of Lee, S.E.13, was acquired and turned into a home for about fifteen boys. The previous year three Brothers were sent to take charge of St Cyprian's, Waltham Cross. For lack of other accommodation they had to live in the vestries

of the Church—roughing it as they were quite accustomed to do, and ministering to a large district.

Father Potter died in February 1960 and, although the Brotherhood survived him for some time, it came to an end in 1963.

To end this brief account we must add that the Brotherhood had no property. In this respect—as in most others—it was loyal to the primitive ideals of St Francis. Its friary had been handed over to the "Fidelity Trust", which looks after the affairs of many other Anglican communities. Other properties were held by trustees. The B.H.C. maintained the true Franciscan spirit of begging, and was mainly dependent on alms received for the maintenance of the Community and of the work carried on. The novitiate, following a three to six months' postulancy, lasted two years before simple vows were taken. The Visitor was the Bishop of Southwark.

16. SERVANTS OF CHRIST THE KING

Mount Olivet, Frensham, Surrey (1929)

It was in December 1925 that Pope Pius XI instituted the Feast of Christ the King. About three years later a few Anglican laymen felt they were called to establish a Brotherhood, dedicated to the Kingship of Christ. Their first "monastery" was a tiny four-roomed cottage in the picturesque fishing village of Staithes on the coast of Yorkshire, near Whitby. It was fitting that this "Little Portion" should be renamed "St Francis". Not long after, the Brothers moved to the Abbey House, Pershore, placed at their disposal by the Benedictines who were now installed at Nashdom. While there they were asked to take up work for mentally defective lads, and this became the special vocation of the Community. The home was recognized by the Government and inspected by the Commissioners of the Board of Control. The Brothers wore a grey habit of Benedictine shape, and their spirituality was uncompromisingly "ultramontane".

In August 1931 the little community moved to a large modern house, which they called Mount Olivet, set among the pine-clad hills of Surrey, a few miles south of Farnham. The baroque furnishings of their chapel were expressive of the Anglican Papalist mentality of the Brethren. The crown which rested on the tabernacle of the altar was symbolic of their devotion to Christ the King. It was the wholehearted adoption of Roman Catholic spirituality that led the Brotherhood to decide that its true home was not in the Church of England, but within the Fold of Peter. The Community made its corporate submission to Rome at Easter, 1936.[1]

17. COMMUNITY OF THE SERVANTS OF THE WILL OF GOD

The Monastery, Crawley Down, Crawley, Sussex (1938–40)

Writing in 1866, the Reverend S. Baring-Gould felt able to say: "We would not suggest any reproduction of a purely contemplative and ascetic order in England. There seems to be no demand for it, no field to occupy."[2] His opinion was shared by most of the contemporary Anglo-Catholic clergymen, whose vision extended no further than the establishment of missionary brotherhoods of priests and laymen to assist the parochial clergy. They conceived of the Religious Life in purely practical terms, and not as an end in itself. Fr Ignatius's monastic community at Llanthony was supposed to be enclosed and contemplative, but few people took it seriously. The Caldey Benedictines at a later date also strove to be contemplatives, but they went over to Rome. Within the past forty years there have been several efforts to found male communities not devoted to active work, but none of them took root. In 1952 the Bishop of Oxford, Dr Kirk, stated publicly that he himself had long hoped that "there might at least be one contemplative community of men" in the Church of England. Now, at last, this episcopal wish has been fulfilled, although the Servants of the Will of God still remain few in numbers.

It is with a certain hesitation that one ventures to include this still young foundation in these pages, for the Rule lays down that "Hiddenness" is one of the chief marks of the Community. The members strive to be "unknown to men, but very much known to God". We read that "this hiddenness must be guarded as a jewel of great price: every care must be taken to secure this hiddenness in all the life and work of the Community. . . . At all times all forms of advertisement and display must

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[1] The manner of life continued unchanged, with a monk of St Augustine's Abbey, Ramsgate, acting as novice master and chaplain. The Brothers became Benedictine oblates, but retained their grey habits. The Church Unity Octave was placed under their direction, but they still went on caring for mentally defective boys. Vocations for this somewhat specialized form of the Religious Life failed to materialize, and eventually the Servants of Christ the King were disbanded. Their founder, Br Joseph Gardner, was a Benedictine oblate until his death on 14 August 1947.

[2] "On the Revival of Religious Communities", in *The Church and the World*, edited by the Reverend Orby Shipley (London, 1866).

be avoided." Until quite recently few people were aware of the experiment which was being made within thirty miles of London. The secret was well kept. However, this small group of priests and laymen has had its Rule approved by the Advisory Council for Religious Communities and has the Bishop of Lewes as its official Visitor. These facts, along with other events in the Community's life, have been mentioned in the press, so that the Servants of the Will of God can no longer avoid all publicity.

Humanly speaking, every precaution has been taken to make it possible for the Brethren to lead a hidden life. About sixty acres of forest land, far away from main roads, about half-way between Crawley and East Grinstead, form a perfect retreat from the world. Nobody would ever guess that a monastery lies buried in the depths of these woods. The buildings express that simplicity which is another characteristic of the Community. They began with two modern bungalows of attractive design, linked up by a purely functional cloister. Two large ex-army huts have been joined together, forming a spacious chapel. In 1959 considerable extensions were made, consisting of seven extra cells, two extra side chapels, a statio, a library, as well as a common room. In the main chapel itself a simple oak altar, standing away from the east wall, is furnished with two wooden candlesticks, crucifix, and a small tabernacle. In what might be called the north transept is a modern stone statue of our Lady and the Holy Child. It is a surprise to find choir stalls facing the altar. This arrangement is reminiscent of the chapels of the Camaldolese Hermits of the Monte Corona Congregation, for these monks always make their mental prayer kneeling before the altar, not in the tiny choir behind it. Both the chapel and all the rooms in the monastery are distempered pale cream. There are windows filled with clear glass, affording peeps of gardens, trees, and a small lake. The beauty of nature is not regarded as a hindrance to the contemplation of the God who created it. The silence is only broken by the occasional passing of an aeroplane or by the tolling of the bell.

The Servants of the Will of God were founded by the Rev. R. C. S. Gofton-Salmond, Vicar of St Clement's, City Road, London, from 1931 to 1938. He had been a close friend of the late Fr William Sirr, one-time member of the Society of the Divine Compassion, the story of whose heroic attempt to establish a male contemplative community at Glasshampton has been told already (see pp. 194–199). Inspired by like ideals, Fr Salmond resigned his living just before the Second World War. Quite by chance he heard that this extensive property on the borders of Surrey and Sussex was for sale, and managed to secure it. Men came and went during the next few years. There were times when it almost seemed that the experiment was doomed to failure, but it now looks as if the future is assured.

The Community aims at being self-supporting, so far as this is possible. We read in the Rule that "it seeks to remain flexible, waiting on the Will of God, ready to respond to whatever demands He may put upon it in this changing world. A continuing mark of its vocation is the exercise of intercessory prayer. Enclosure is relinquished only for the period of the annual rest, and by those specifically detailed by the Chapter and Visitor for the purpose of ministering to others elsewhere who seek to live a similar life of prayer. . . . It is hoped that it will be possible to erect other buildings in the woods for those who are called to a more solitary life, either for short or long periods."

This is really all that need be said about the spirit of this new Community. What is most striking is that it is not modelled on any traditional form of the monastic life. The spirit and the observances belong to the present day. At least four hours each day are spent in manual labour, mostly in the gardens. As the Community grows in numbers this work will be extended in other directions. The full Monastic Breviary is recited in English. At least one Low Mass is said each day. A Conventual Sung Mass is celebrated on Sundays and festivals. Meals are taken in silence except on a few of the greater festivals. There is half an hour's recreation daily.

Having no rigid attitude as to what must be the lines on which the Community are to expand, its few members do not look far into the future. They wait on the Will of God to reveal it. They believe that the world today is groping after God. They hope that they may help men to find God, here in the silence and seclusion. All they strive after is to lead the hidden life just as our Lord did in the carpenter's shop at Nazareth in hard manual labour and in long hours of prayer.

18. COMPANY OF MISSION PRIESTS (1940)

The Company of Mission Priests is not a religious community, but a body of secular clergymen, whose members live under rule and in community. It came into being in 1940, with the encouragement of the Superiors of the Society of St John the Evangelist, the Community of the Resurrection, and the Society of the Sacred Mission. The project was approved by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Cosmo Gordon Lang.

In a certain sense the spirit and organization is reminiscent of the Oratorians, founded by St Philip Neri in the sixteenth century. For the members of the Company do not take the vows of Religion. They are pledged to remain unmarried so long as they are in the Company. They are at liberty to withdraw upon six months' notice to the Warden. The normal unit of each house consists of two or more members working and living together. Each house is autonomous and subject only to the authority of the Warden. The rule of life is drawn up to suit the conditions of the place. The members receive board and pocket money. A common purse solves many domestic problems. The rule is flexible and unobtrusive. Its purpose is to enable members to live simply in something of a community atmosphere. The ideal is to offer a life of ordered devotion to men who do not feel called to the Religious State. The Company is governed by a council, consisting partly of its members, and partly of representatives of the three male communities mentioned above. The Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr A. M. Ramsey) is the Episcopal Visitor and Canon Reginald Cant, Chancellor of York, the Warden.

Units of the Company exist at present as follows:

St Augustine's, Tonge Moor, Bolton; All Saints', Middlesbrough; Christ Church, Newcastle-upon-Tyne; St Columba's, Southwick, Sunderland; St Francis', Bournemouth; and at St Philip's, Georgetown, and Bartica, British Guiana. In addition to the above there are several unattached members of the Company, living under rule, but not in community.

19. CONGREGATION OF ST AUGUSTINE

In 1934 a small community was founded at Walsingham by the Reverend A. Hope Patten, with the primary object of daily corporate worship in choir, to minister to the pilgrims visiting the Shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham, and to pray and work for the reunion of Christendom. The Breviary offices were recited in the pilgrimage church, where the daily Chapter Mass was celebrated. Some members of the College engaged in parochial work, and they were also responsible for a small Home for retired priests. Temporary vows were taken after not less than three years' novitiate. The founder had been vicar of Walsingham since 1921 and following his death in August 1958 the community was disbanded. The shrine is now served by oblates of Nashdom.[1]

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[1] It was the founder of the Walsingham College, then a layman, who was one of the three original members of a short-lived attempt to form a community at St Margaret's, Aberdeen, in 1910. The other two pioneers were the rector and curate

20. COMMUNITY OF THE GLORIOUS ASCENSION

The Priory of the Ascension, Alum Rock, Birmingham (1961)

This order for men is devoted to work and was begun with the help of the Society of the Sacred Mission. Its members live in common but go out to earn their living. They work in schools, factories and offices and help in Sunday schools and youth clubs. The daily round of worship comprises Mattins, a special midday Office of the Ascension (said at work by most), Evensong and Compline, with the Holy Eucharist. The habit, a grey cassock, is worn while doing outside work. Postulancy is for six months, followed by a novitiate of at least one year. Temporary vows are taken for three years before life profession. The Prior is the Reverend Peter Ball, the Visitor the Bishop of Gloucester. There is a branch house at Stratford Park, Stroud. This was the Mother House until 1963.

Among other Brotherhoods which were founded at various times were the following:

The *Community of St Augustine of Hippo*, which had a brief existence about 1920. Their object was to attract men who were prevented from living the active Religious Life in strict community. A skilled knowledge of a trade or profession was essential for those who sought admittance. The Community House was at 58 Pedro Street, Clapton, London, E.5. Later on it moved to 38 Union Grove, Clapham, S.W.9.

The *Society of St Augustine* (*of Hippo—under the Patronage of Our Lady of Good Counsel*) was formed in 1911, and changed its name to the *Servitors of Mary and St Austin* in 1920, when the Rule was revised. The object of this Brotherhood was to foster the Religious Life among men, who were debarred from leaving the world entirely by obstacles of moral binding force. The Warden was the Reverend H. J. Fynes-Clinton. The ideal in view was to provide retreat houses and hostels in large towns, and that there should be priories in which the Divine Office would be recited with the special intention of the reunion of Christendom. One such "priory" was established at 76 York Road, in Walthamstow, about 1920 and was still functioning four years later.

The *Mission College of All Hallows Barking* was in existence from 1884 until about 1900. It consisted of the vicar, who was Warden, and six (later four) Preachers who were assistant curates. They lived in a clergy house and devoted themselves to both the parish and external works. The latter included missions, retreats and the like, courses of sermons, lectures, and literary work.[1]

The Brotherhood of Prayer and Action, with its centre at St George's House, Wolverhampton, was formed in 1960. It is a body of men linked together by a common Rule of Life so designed as not to exclude any individual through the nature of his occupation, provided this is in keeping with the teaching of Christ. The members exercise a "ministry of concern" in the setting of industrial society. In each of the Brotherhood houses, some Brothers live with ordinands and others who require hospitality. Members may be married or single. When they are engaged in any type of ministry or worship, their usual dress is black cassock and green girdle. They always wear the brotherhood emblem, the basis of which is the Cross upon which is superimposed the Chi-Rho sign. There are now about 17 members, including 4 priests, together with companions and associates. The Director is the Reverend David Wood, vicar of St George's, Wolverhampton. In all dioceses where the Brotherhood works the Bishop is Episcopal visitor. At present these are Lichfield, with its suffragan see of Shrewsbury, Leicester, and Newcastle.

Another now extinct and almost-forgotten community—*The Brothers of the Common Life*—existed at More Hall, near Stroud, Gloucestershire, for some years. Mgr Knox writes in his *Spiritual Aeneid* (1918), in chapter xi, dealing with the summer of 1914: "It is a beautiful country house, the centre of a religious community and an admirable place for retreats; the kindness of Father Sharpe had put it at my disposal for use during the last three weeks of August.... I lived in complete solitude (apart from the presence of a lay brother who looked after my wants).... I had a chapel where I could celebrate daily, with the Blessed Sacrament reserved." Fr Sharpe joined the Roman Church subsequently, but his little community had been disbanded before he took this step. More Hall, which was built in the fifteenth century, is now occupied by the Nursing Sisters of "Jesus in the Temple"; a French community founded in 1858.

—the Reverend F. P. Williamson and the Reverend Percy Gateley. So far as is known no name was decided on for this community of secular priests and laymen. It was disbanded within a year. Williamson and Gateley later submitted to Rome.

[1] Cf. C. R. Davy Biggs, *Berkynge Church by the Tower* (1899).

CHAPTER II

The First Sisterhoods (1845-51)

1. SISTERHOOD OF THE HOLY CROSS

Park Village West, London (1845)

On 26 March 1845 the curiosity of the well-to-do middle-class families, living in the demure little villas of Park Village West, overshadowed by the stately mansions of Cumberland Terrace, facing Regent's Park, must have been aroused. Two young ladies arrived at No. 17 with a small amount of luggage. For several weeks, clergymen and laymen, the dress of some of the latter suggesting that they belonged to the aristocracy, had been seen coming and going from this villa, standing in its pretty garden. Furniture—but not much of it—had been left there. Discreet inquiries were made, and it was ascertained that there could be no doubt about the respectability of the new occupants of No. 17. One was the daughter of a country parson. Some days later a third lady arrived, rather younger than the other two, and it was discovered that her father was Bishop of Edinburgh. By the time the trees were beginning to turn green and the gardens gay with daffodils and crocuses, a middle-aged lady, obviously refined and well-bred, joined the household. Not long after this four more young women took up their abode in this exclusively feminine establishment.

Why had these ladies come to live in Park Village? Would it be "etiquette" to "leave cards" on them? Awakened before five o'clock one morning, possibly by the rumble of a train or the whistle of a tall-chimneyed locomotive on the London and Birmingham Railway, which now ran close to the back of Park Village, one of the occupants of the other villas noticed that the blinds were already drawn up in every bedroom at No. 17—these newcomers were early risers! By the middle of the summer people had grown accustomed to the sight of them—all uniformly dressed in black—shutting the garden gate behind them a few minutes before half-past seven, and returning home about an hour later. It seemed that they attended Divine Service before breakfast at Christ

Church, in Albany Street. Its vicar, Mr Dodsworth, was rumoured to have been at one time associated with that strange sect known later as the Irvingites. Soon after nine, two or three of the ladies were out again, and seldom back before half-past twelve. The same thing happened every afternoon. Very often their neighbours, sitting in their cosy drawing-rooms, or peeping through the lace curtains, perhaps chatting with their men-folk who had been at work in their city offices all day, would notice how tired these ladies looked when they approached their villa, always coming from the direction of Albany Street, where they took part in Evening Prayer, even on weekdays. This almost unbroken round of coming and going went on through the summer, except on certain days when a rather shabbily dressed middle-aged clergyman arrived at No. 17 soon after breakfast and did not depart until the late afternoon. What was his businesss with these women, most of whom were quite young? Then he was recognized—it was none other than the notorious Dr Pusey! There was more gossip, until finally somebody found out that the innocent-looking villa was nothing else but a "Puseyite Nunnery"—even worse, there were rumours that the ladies in black were "disguised Roman Catholics!"[1]

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Strange as it may appear, the first Anglican Sisterhood came into being in the form of a memorial to Robert Southey, the Poet Laureate, who died in 1843. It was founded by a committee of priests and laymen, two years after his death. For at least six years Dr Pusey had realized that the social conditions of the industrial towns of England needed the services of dedicated women. His profound study of the history of the Early Church had convinced him that there must be something very wrong with Anglicanism if it could not produce religious communities, such as had existed in all ages of the Catholic Church and in all parts of the world. On 18 December 1839 he had written to Mr Keble: "N[ewman] and I have separately come to think it necessary to have some *Sœurs de Charité* in the Anglo-Catholic [Church]. He is going to have an article on it in the *B*[*ritish*] *C*[*ritic*]. If no one else writes it, he will do it himself. I have mentioned it since to very different sorts of persons, and all are taken with it exceedingly (except H[arrison], who (as Archbishop's chaplain) is half afraid of it), and think that there would be numbers of people who are yearning to be employed that way. My notion was that it might begin by regular employment as nurses, in hospitals and lunatic asylums, in which last Christian nursing is so sadly missed. B.H. says that in Guy's Hospital the nurses are called still 'Sister Agnes', 'Sister Mary'."[1]

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[1] It is difficult to understand the religious and social background of the first Sisterhoods unless one has the time and the patience to skim through a vast quantity of long-forgotten Tractarian novels. A very complete list of them has been compiled by Joseph Ellis Baker (*The Novel and the Oxford Movement*, Princeton, 1932). Some of these novels are dealt with by Dr A. L. Drummond in *The Churches in English Fiction* (Leicester, 1950). Outstanding among the writers was the Reverend William Gresley, Prebendary of Lichfield and Rector of Boyne Hill, Maidenhead. The Reverend William Sewell, B.D., was another prolific Tractarian novelist. *Hawkstone* (1845) was a best-seller. His sister, Elizabeth Sewell, wrote even more religious novels and stories with a High Church atmosphere from 1843, when *Amy Herbert* appeared, until her death at an advanced age in 1906. At the same time it is just as important to dip into the equally numerous novels and stories which were issued by the Evangelical party in the Church of England to counteract the dangers of Tractarianism and Romanism. Some of these books also are described in *The Churches in English Fiction.*

The Reverend W. Perceval Ward, Rector of Compton Valence, who had a wide knowledge of continental Catholicism, wrote to Pusey (24 February 1840): "Certainly our undisciplined minds, our internal differences, and our external separation, seem to present insurmountable difficulties. But yet I do not see that a doubtful success should deter you from so plain a duty. The simple truth, from which we cannot escape, is that thousands of souls, the care of the Church of England, are, year by year, allowed to perish, because we dare not make ventures beyond our old and, for these times, inefficient machinery. Surely at such a time everything but principle is to be risked."[2]

A few weeks later Newman wrote to J. H. Bowden: "Pusey is at present very eager about setting up Sisters of Mercy. I feel sure that such institutions are the only means of saving some of our best members from turning Roman Catholics; and yet I despair of such societies being *made* externally. They must be the expression of an inward principle. All one can do is to offer the opportunity. I am sceptical, too, whether they can be set up without a quasi-vow."[3]

Pusey had already expressed his feelings to Dr Hook, Vicar of Leeds (December 1839). He wrote: "I want very much to have one or more societies of *Sœurs de la Charité* formed: I think them desirable (1) in themselves as belonging to and fostering a high tone in the Church, (2) as giving a holy employment to many who yearn for something, (3) as directing zeal, which will otherwise go off in some irregular way, or go over to Rome. The Romanists are making great use of them to entice over our people; and I fear we may lose those whom one can least spare; but this is secondary. I think the other two primary, and they are calculated to draw a blessing on the Church in which they are found, as the Fathers always speak of the virgins. It seemed best that at first they should not be so discursive as those in the Romish Church in Ireland, but be employed in hospitals, lunatic asylums, prisons, among the females. Do you know of anyone who would engage in it on a small scale, quietly, or one who would be a Mother Superior, i.e. one fitted to guide?"[1]

In reply to this letter, Dr Hook wrote (9 June 1840): "I perfectly agree with you in thinking it to be most important to have a class of persons acting under us and answering to the Sisters of Charity in some foreign Churches." He suggested the training of "an elderly matron, full of zeal and discretion, and thoroughly imbued with right principles" to go to Leeds with two or three other women. He maintained that there should be no rules, except for the guidance of the household, and "no distinction of dress". Later on they could decide "on the dress to be worn, which ought to be just sufficient to distinguish them, and yet not sufficient to subject them to remark". Dr Hook suggested that Pusey should adopt "Greek terms and forms rather than Latin ones; as less likely to give unnecessary offence".[2]

When one looks back over the past hundred years one realizes how different things might have been if Dr Hook's suggestion had been followed. Most, if not all of that "unnecessary offence" might have been prevented if the founders of the first Sisterhoods could have proved conclusively that they were not trying to foist on to the English Church a purely "Romish" form of the Regular Life, no matter how useful it might be. For, when all is said and done, *Sœurs de la Charité* represent that post-Tridentine development of life in community which has little in common with either Early Christian or later Eastern forms of monastic life. One ventures to think that any attempt to adapt the rules and the external organization of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century female congregations of the Latin Rite to the Church of England may have tended to make the members of such institutions dissatisfied with their spiritual background, and lead to trouble with the bishops. For the daughters of St Vincent de Paul and St Louise de Marillac, likewise those of Catherine McAulay, whose works of mercy and charity Dr Pusey felt were needed so badly, sustain their apostolate on a very different type of spiritual nourishment from that which it was possible to give to English Churchwomen in the 'forties of the last century.

Thanks to a Mr Greenhill, who was studying medicine in Paris, Pusey obtained copies of the Rules of the Sisters of Charity of St Vincent de Paul

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[1] H. P. Liddon, *Life of Edward Bouverie Pusey* (1894), vol. III, p. 5.

[2] Ibid., vol. III, pp. 5, 6.

[3] Ibid., vol. III, p. 6.

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[1] Ibid., vol. III, p. 6.

[2] W. R. W. Stephens, *Life and Letters of W. F. Hook* (1898), vol. II, p. 226.

and those of the Augustinian Hospitaller Sisters, who for many centuries had conducted hospitals in various parts of France. A pamphlet describing the work of the German Lutheran Deaconesses was also procured, but did not seem useful. Another unexpected source of help was found in the Society of Friends, who offered to provide nurses for Guy's Hospital to work in the spirit of the Sisters of Charity. Mr Harrison, the Archbishop of Canterbury's chaplain, drew up tentative rules, and discussed this scheme with Pusey and Hook. It seemed that Miss Hughes was not the only lady drawn to the Religious Life. There was more talk of founding a convent.[1]

On 11 November 1840 Newman wrote to his disciple, Miss Giberne: "What you hear about a convent is a mere mistake. I know nothing of it. But I am very glad to hear that such ideas are spreading and talking is the first step to doing. Several places are in agitation for establishing Sisters of Mercy, whether for hospitals or for parochial visiting; but I expect nothing of them yet. . . . No one can begin solitarily, but the feeling that there are others like minded gives at once confidence and opportunity. A very strong religious principle and a tight discipline would be necessary."[2]

It was in 1838 that a group of English ladies went over to Ireland to enter the novitiate of the Sisters of Mercy, a comparatively new Institute, which had been founded by Miss Catherine Elizabeth McAulay in 1828, with the approval of Archbishop Murray of Dublin. The following year they returned to England and established a small community in the slums of Bermondsey, South London. Under Mother Mary Clare Moore, who was later associated with Miss Nightingale at Scutari, their heroic work among the poor won high praise and admiration from all but the most rigid Protestants. Some stir was caused when Lady Barbara Eyre, daughter of the Earl of Newburgh, joined this first community of

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[1] See p. 289.

[2] Liddon, op. cit., vol. III, p. 10. When Newman wrote these words, he did not know that a passage in his *Church of the Fathers*, suggesting that "there was no reason why the Church of England should not, from among its members, supply those requisites" which he had mentioned as necessary for "the life and character of a Sister of Mercy", had already inspired a young lady, recently come to Oxford, with the "desire to become a Sister of Mercy." This was Miss Marian Rebecca Hughes, whose profession in Holy Religion, according to the form in the Roman Pontifical for the Consecration of a Virgin on Trinity Sunday 1841, is described in the account of the Society of the Holy and Undivided Trinity (see p. 289). There also will be found an account of her visits that same year to Augustinian, Ursuline, and Visitandine convents in Normandy, where she was allowed to study the life of these Communities; an experience which enabled her not only to formulate the Rule and observances of the Society she founded in 1849, but in 1845 to give practical advice and guidance to the founders of the Sisterhood which was established in that year.

Sisters of Mercy. In 1839 another convent was opened in Birmingham. At that date the Sisters of Mercy were the only Roman Catholic community of women in Great Britain engaged exclusively in active work among the poor, although the Faithful Companions of Jesus had been teaching in the poor schools of Somers Town, London, since 1830. All the other female communities, with a total of nineteen convents in 1841, were wholly or partially enclosed. With the exception of the Poor Clares (Scorton, Yorks), the Carmelites (Lanherne, Cornwall, and Darlington), the Trappistines (Stapehill, Dorset), the Dominicans (Hurst Green, Lancashire), and the Benedictines of Colwich, near Stafford, all conducted schools for girls.

Three years after the foundation of the Birmingham convent of the Sisters of Mercy, Dr Pusey went to Ireland. He was anxious that his daughter, Lucy, should see something of "this mode of life" to which she felt called. Having obtained an introduction to Miss Mary Aikenhead, who had founded the Irish Sisters of Charity in 1815, explaining his "wish to witness the ceremony of a religious Profession, the Foundress invited him to a Profession in Stanhope Street, on which occasion his respectful demeanour and recollected manner much struck those who observed him".[1]

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Maria Trench quotes from a letter which Dr Pusey wrote to his son, Philip, in which he says: "The lady at the head of the establishment asked dear Lucy which dress she liked best [i.e. among the white gowns of the postulants], and she replied, 'The black' [i.e. the habits of the Sisters]. The nun was evidently much impressed by such a choice in a child just twelve years old."[2]

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Meanwhile Newman and Pusey continued to exchange letters. One day in 1843 the latter wrote: "What do you think of my trying a female '*Moné*'?[3] I have thought of giving two rooms in my house to a lady educating two orphans, e.g. daughters of clergy. My idea was 'having food and raiment' that they should be 'therewith content'. I have since been involved in expenses of different sorts which I did not anticipate, but hope I could manage something of the kind. . . . I have thought this might be the beginning of a *Moné*, and if dear Lucy [his daughter] lives, this is the life she hopes for herself."[4]

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[1] *The Life of Mary Aikenhead* (Dublin, 1879), p. 257.

[2] *The Story of Dr Pusey's Life* (2nd ed., 1907), p. 244.

[3] *Moné* is the Greek for monastery.

[4] Trench, op. cit., p. 267.

Lord John Manners, who became Duke of Rutland in 1888, thus relates how the first Anglican Sisterhood came into being: "The origin of the first Sisterhood of Mercy in the Church of England was as follows: Southey had forcibly and persistently advocated the establishment in England of institutions resembling the Beguinages of the Low Countries. When he died, there was much discussion in the papers as to the form his memorial should take. I suggested in a letter to the *Morning Post*, the chief Church paper of that day, a Sisterhood of Mercy; the suggestion was favourably received. A few people met in my rooms in The Albany, and it was determined to start the enterprise, subject to two conditions—First, that it should be located in a parish whose incumbent would welcome it and become its spiritual head; and second, that it should receive the sanction of the Bishop of the diocese. The first was fulfilled by Mr Dodsworth, Vicar of Christ Church, St Pancras, accepting the post, and the second in the way described in a note made by Lord John Manners at the time: 'Had an interview with the Bishop of London [Blomfield] about the Sisters of Mercy, at which he said it was dangerous at such times as ours to propose such a scheme. . . . But after discussing the chief points and agreeing on most of them, he said he would consult the Archbishop, and so the matter rested for a couple of months, and he has now written me a letter which I think will authorize us to proceed.'"[1]

On 27 April 1844 a second meeting was held in London to discuss the establishment of a Sisterhood. Those present included: Lord Lyttelton, Lord Clive, Lord John Manners, Lord Camden, Mr Dickinson, Mr Watts Russell, Mr T. D. Acland, the Reverend W. Dodsworth, and Dr Hook. Mr Gladstone was unable to attend, but wrote to express his "warm sympathy with the object of the meeting". Lord John Manners reported to Dr Pusey that it had been resolved "to take preliminary steps for the establishment and permanent maintenance of a Sisterhood, living under a religious Rule and engaged in some works of mercy, such as 1. Visiting the poor in their own homes. 2. Visiting hospitals, workhouses, or prisons. 3. Feeding, clothing and instructing destitute children. 4. Assisting in burying the dead."[2]

It was Mr Gladstone who composed the circular (marked "Confidential") issued by the promoters of the first Sisterhood.[3] Starting with a quotation from Southey's *Colloquies* (see p. 26) regret is expressed that "the Church of England possesses no institutions similar to that of the

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[1] Quoted by G. W. E. Russell in his Life of Dr Pusey in *Leaders of the Church*, series, pp. 58–9.

[2] Liddon, op. cit., vol. III, p. 13.

[3] It is to be found in Liddon, op. cit., vol. III, pp. 18–21, and in T. J. Williams' *Priscilla Lydia Sellon*, Appendix A, pp. 287–9.

Sisters of Mercy". Mr Gladstone continues: "For many years the internal conditions of our great towns, and the intensity of accumulated misery, side by side with our luxury, or comfort, or wealth, have weighed heavily upon the minds of those who are in any degree acquainted with the state of the poor. Each fresh disclosure, one rapidly succeeding another, has seemed to convey some glimpse only into a world of wretchedness, appalling to every feeling of humanity, but more frightful yet in a Christian nation, where the poor are more especially committed to our care, as members and representatives of Him 'who, being rich, for our sakes became poor'."

The circular goes on to explain that "some more organized system" is needed to deal with "such fearful extent of distress, which are for the most part inaccessible to the efforts of individual charity". It refers to "the tranquil and gentle charities of different religious orders on the continent devoted to works of mercy", and also to the Protestant Deaconesses in France and Germany. Finally, we are told that "Some of those whose names are subscribed to the annexed engagement have . . . agreed to take preliminary steps for facilitating the establishment and permanent maintenance of a Sisterhood living under a religious Rule, and engaged in relieving distress wherever it may be found. . . . They did not take any active steps without ascertaining (at least to their own satisfaction) that the general object which they have in view is neither in opposition to the principles of the Church of which they are members, nor to the opinions of its chief rulers. While at the same time they think it right to avow distinctly, that no explicit sanction has been given from persons in authority to a plan which is unavoidably in some sense experimental; but it has been thought right to resort to the advice of private clergymen who had for some years considered the subject."

After this very guarded and discreet explanation of the project, an appeal was made for financial support. Subscriptions could be paid into Drummond's Bank, under the name of "Fund for Sisters of Mercy".

Dr Pusey had long hoped that his daughter Lucy would be privileged to share in the revival of conventual life in the English Church. Yet on the very day that the meeting took place in London, she died after a severe illness. Pusey then wrote to Newman: "I ventured to give her in charge to pray for us all in the presence of her Redeemer, and, if it might be, for those institutions to which she had hoped to belong."[1] Keble, in his letter of consolation to Pusey, said: "I suppose such seems to be the mysterious connection between things here and there that it is impossible to know whether the very cause, for the sake of which (among other things) we so desired her recovery, may not be rather promoted (though of course we must not expect to see how) by her departure."[1]

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[1] Liddon, op. cit.., vol. II, p. 386.

What delayed the establishment of the Sisterhood was the difficulty in finding any suitable lady to act as Superior. The one woman qualified for the position, Miss Hughes, was barred by duty to an aged parent from undertaking it. Consequently, "the institution at starting had for the moment . . . to dispense with any Superior at all".[2]

The next thing was to find a "convent". The choice of the locality was determined by the fact that Mr Dodsworth of Christ Church, Albany Street, had agreed to accept the Community and act as its "spiritual head". Eventually a small villa, the address of which was 17 Park Village West, was rented. It stood in a little garden, and was quiet and secluded, but only a short distance from Mr Dodsworth's church. This, the first Anglican convent, still survives as a private house almost unaltered to this day. On the groundfloor were the parlour, recreation room, and a small oratory. Six "cells" were formed out of the bedrooms upstairs. The oratory was furnished with a table, draped with a scarlet cloth, on which stood a black cross and a lamp. There was red baize on the walls, and the only attempt at decoration was a copy of Albert Durer's "Crucifixion". We are told that the parlour was neatly furnished, but without carpets or other conveniences of any kind.[3]

At last all was ready for the installation of the community. On 1 March 1845, Dr Pusey wrote to Mr Keble: "The *moné* is to be opened in Easter Week with two Sisters. There may be four more before Trinity Sunday." On 28 March he wrote again: "I am vexed that I forgot that you did not know what day the little Sisterhood was to commence. Two Sisters entered their home on Easter Wednesday [one Miss Ellacombe]. They are very promising; a third we expect on Friday week. We (i.e. Dodsworth and myself) had a little service with them on Wednesday; they were in floods of tears, but of joy, in the prayers for them. On Sunday, at a quarter to 8, is to be their first Communion subsequent to their solemn entrance. Will you remember them?"[4]

The other Sisters were Miss Mary Bruce, a lady of Irish birth, and Miss Sarah Anne Terrot, the eldest daughter of the Bishop of Edinburgh. Not long after, they were joined by an older lady, Miss Emma Langston, who became Superior. Dr Pusey described her as a person of "strong understanding, fervent piety, and extreme simplicity of manners".[5]

Meanwhile Dr Pusey had drawn up a Rule for the Sisterhood, which as

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[1] Trench, op. cit., p. 266.

[2] Liddon, op. cit., vol. III, p. 16.

[3] Cf. Liddon, op. cit., vol. III, p. 16.

[4] [Trench] op. cit. p. 269.

[5] Liddon, op. cit., p. 17.

Miss Langston explained in after years was, "strictly speaking, a compilation from the Nuns of the Visitation. . . . For the most part it was taken, word for word, from the authorized English translation. I had the whole for years in French. Our Rule was the original Rule and the Spiritual Directory messed together. The Constitutions were left out entirely. We afterwards, with much thought and pains, modified Constitutions from these, with some trifling alterations, to meet our external work; but [Dr Pusey] rejected them entirely, because they contained a proviso for an appeal to the bishop of the diocese, in case the Spiritual Father and the Superior could not agree on any point or matter of importance. The Rule which related to visiting the sick and poor [Dr Pusey] might have obtained from the Sisters [of Mercy] at Dublin . . . but I never heard that he did.[1]" (This part of the Rule was, in fact, an adaptation of the Dublin Rule.) Miss Langston was wrong about the constitutions of the Visitation being "left out entirely". As a matter of fact, many of the chapters of the Park Village Rule are transcripts or modifications of the aforesaid Constitutions.

Miss Langston's statement agrees in the main with what Dr Pusey says in a letter to Mr Beresford Hope, written three years after the foundation of the Sisterhood, for he writes: "We naturally went by experience, Lord John Manners procured us the rules of the Sisters of Charity at Birmingham.[2] I had some rules by me, used by different bodies in England and on the continent. We took as our basis St Augustine's Rule,[3] as extant in an epistle of his to some of his *Sanctimoniales*, whom he had brought together, thinking it most in accordance with our Church to take Rules from one of the Fathers of the Church. On this we engrafted others; always bearing in mind the character of English churchwomen. When this was done, Dodsworth and myself looked over it, with a view to what the Bishop of London would think; and several little points were altered (language chiefly) on his saying: 'The Bishop would not like that.' This was kept to be shown to the Bishop, whenever trial enough had been made of the institution for him to be ready to take it up. *We could not bring it before to him sooner, without asking him to do the very thing* which he naturally did not wish to do yet. For if he saw the Rules and sanctioned them, the Sisterhood would have been at once under his sanction. This we wished but could not ask for. When we had reviewed the rules, we showed them to Keble."[4]

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[1] Quoted in *Five Years in a Protestant Sisterhood* (1869), pp. 30, 31.

[2] A mistake for "Sisters of Mercy"—there were no "Sisters of Charity" in Birmingham at that date.

[3] This is the Rule proper of the Visitation and Ursuline Nuns.

[4] Liddon, op. cit., vol. III, p. 22.

The latter portion of the Rule, which deals with the works of charity to be undertaken, is a fairly close adaptation from the *Rules and Constitutions* of the Sisters of Mercy, approved by Pope Pius VIII in 1830; likewise the regulations on food and clothing. Dr Pusey assured Mr Beresford Hope that the Sisters "have all is necessary, good food, warm clothing, firing . . . real care is taken of their health. They keep the Fasts of the Church, but their mode of keeping them is regulated by a physician. and is not so strict as that of some was before they went there. There is nothing distinctive, except great simplicity."[1]

The Rule had thirty-three chapters, adapted from *The Rule, Constitution, and Spiritual Directory of the Order of the Visitation.* The object of the institute was this: 'to afford opportunities for persons apart from the world and its distractions to perfect holiness in the fear of God, and to grow in the love of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, especially by cherishing and showing forth love to Him in His poor and afflicted brethren". A comparison of this passage with the first paragraph of the Rule of the Sisters of Mercy suggests that the latter was condensed and paraphrased by Dr Pusey. Then follow sections dealing with the devotional life of the Community—attendance at church services, Holy Communion, Meditation, Mortification, and Fasting. The Christian graces of Humility, Charity, Modesty, Purity, Voluntary Poverty, and Obedience are explained. It is stated that "The daily life of a Sister is next provided for by rules for the intentions with which she is to perform the successive actions of the day; for silence at certain hours, as befitting souls which have fixed their gaze on God; for the management of thoughts during silent employments; for the avoidance of inquisitiveness or meddlesomeness; for intercourse with persons outside the Sisterhood; and for times of recreation."[2]

Despite the careful precautions against offending the Bishop of London, he objected strongly to certain passages when he perused the Rules; particularly those which suggested that the Sisters were "spouses of our Lord, completely separated from the world". Although there was no reference to vows being taken, some of the Sisters made them privately to Dr Pusey.

The spiritual life of the Community was based on the recitation of *The Day Hours*, translated by Albany Christie and published in 1845, a manuscript translation of the Night Office, sponsored by Dr Pusey, and attendance at daily Mattins and Evensong at Christ Church, Albany Street. The Night Office omitted all invocations of saints, legendary matter in the Second Nocturn Lessons at Mattins, and other features which Dr Pusey regarded as incompatible with the formularies of the Church of England. Dr Pusey wrote to Mr Beresford Hope explaining that this bowdlerized Breviary did not contain "even prayers for the departed, the Black-Letter days in the calendar, or any legends; *there is nothing but what is framed on the service of the Church of England; there is no passage read from a Father which I could not myself preach in a sermon before the Bishop, nor any prayer which the Bishop himself might not use.* Nor is there anything to draw people off from the English Prayer-book. It would, then, not be true to say that it is the Breviary translated which they use. It is no other sense the Breviary than our English Prayer-book is the Breviary. The compilers of our Prayer-book took as much as they could without making the service too long *for the people.* Some think it too long as it is. We have only taken more of the same sort, with the addition of passages from the Fathers, *the same Fathers* of whom our Homilies speak so highly, and Hymns."[1]

Having provided the Sisterhood with a Breviary in keeping with the spirit of the Book of Common Prayer, Dr Pusey had to find suitable spiritual reading for the Community, because there was little available in current Anglican literature. His main object was to keep "ardent minds safely in our Church" and to prevent the Sisters from following the example of so many of his friends who had "gone over to Rome" within six months of the foundation of the Community.[2] He had already begun to translate and adapt a few French and Italian devotional books, taking care to omit any passages which he felt could not be squared with Anglican theology. It must have been difficult for him to know just where to draw the line.

Dr Pusey had compiled a Rule for the Sisters which was based very closely on the Counter-Reformation Rules of the Visitation Order and the Sisters of Mercy, but what were these Rules without the traditional spirituality which went with them? They were little more than a frame surrounding a blank canvas, on which a picture had to be painted. When Pope Urban VIII approved the Visitation Rules in 1626 he visualized a type of spirituality which would have been impossible for an Anglican Sisterhood in 1845. Those Visitation and Ursuline nuns in Normandy, from whom Miss Hughes obtained copies of the *Constitutions* and the *Spiritual Directory* in 1841, used them to perpetuate that rich devotional life which was the outcome of the revelations of St Margaret Mary Alacoque in 1674–5—frequent reception of Holy Communion,

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[1] Liddon, op. cit. vol. III, p. 27.
[2] Ibid., p. 23.

[1] Liddon, op. cit., vol. III, p. 25.
[2] Cf. ibid., p. 31.

linked up with Adoration, Exposition, and Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament, not forgetting the devotion of the Holy Hour, and the observance of the monthly "First Fridays". A cultus of the Sacred Heart of Jesus and the Holy Heart of Mary may have been compatible with the spirit of the Ursuline nuns at Bayeux, but it could hardly be permitted to the Park Village Sisterhood.

Again, a very similar type of spirituality was bound up with the Rule of the Sisters of Mercy, which had been approved by Pope Gregory XVI in 1835. This Rule was based on that of the Irish Presentation Order, confirmed by Pope Pius VI in 1771. The full significance of these two Rules could only be understood by filling in the traditional devotional life, handed down by the Ursulines of Cork, which they in their turn had inherited from the Ursulines of Paris. This venerable Community, founded in 1608, had taken its Rule from the original Constitutions of the Company of St Ursula at Brescia, inspired by St Charles Borromeo, and approved by Pope Gregory XIII in 1572. Thus the whole spiritual background of the two Rules which Dr Pusey had adapted for his Sisterhood was post-Tridentine. Just how much of the mystical theology—French, Italian and Spanish—which had been the devotional nourishment of these un-English Communities could he allow to his Sisters? This was the problem he had to solve.

* * *

We can visualize the daily life of the Sisters from the memories of one of its first members. They wore a simple black costume, but even this roused suspicion. Some people began to whisper that they were "disguised Roman Catholics". Mr Dodsworth recommended that it would be safer if "a more ordinary dress" were worn out of doors. He felt that if it were "black and white, with coloured shawls", it would show that these ladies were not nuns, but his advice was not taken.[1]

Here is a vivid picture of the usual routine: "The Sisters rose at five o'clock, or at least were supposed to do so, for several were unable as well as myself. The service called *Lauds* was then said in the Oratory. . . . At a quarter to seven o'clock, the orphans and Sisters assembled in the same room, and Prime was said. Breakfast followed, which was taken in silence; indeed, silence was observed all day, except at the hours appointed for recreation. After that meal we said Terce, and went to hear morning prayers read in the church. . . . The Sisters who taught in the poor school went then to their duties, and the Sisters who had charge of the orphans to theirs. . . . The poor children were taken to church also. After prayers, on their return to the schoolroom, they were provided with a good meal of rice and milk. In order to ensure their exterior attention to the service, which very few of them were old enough to understand, a rule was made that every child who misbehaved should get no sugar. The rule worked admirably.

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[1] Trench, op. cit., p. 274. The only alteration finally adopted was "a little white about the neck".

"The school lasted until twelve, when we returned home, and said Sext. We had dinner at twenty minutes after one, still in silence; the food was plain, good and sufficient. After dinner we talked together in the 'common room', or what in a convent would be called the community room. At three we said None. The Sisters appointed to attend the school if I remember correctly, omitted the service altogether. The school was dismissed for the day at half-past four. At five there were three-quarters of an hour for spiritual reading, then Vespers. Supper followed at six, and after it a few minutes recreation. We then prepared for church, and those who could not go, after the fatigues of the day, read the service at home. On our return from church, at eight o'clock Compline was said, and the Sisters remained in the Oratory after its conclusion for private devotion till twenty minutes past nine, when Matins was said. At ten all were supposed to be in bed."[1]

Here is the normal *horarium* of the first Anglican Sisterhood as kept in 1845.[2] The above description shows that several changes had been made by 1850. Matins was recited overnight at first, but then put back to the early morning.

5.00 a.m.	Rise
5.20	Matins and Lauds
6.15	Private Devotions
6.45	Make beds, clean rooms
7.00	Prime
7.30	Service in church
8.30	Breakfast
8.55	Terce
9.10	Visiting the poor
12.30 p.m.	Repose
1.00	Sext and self-examination
1.20	Dinner and recreation

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[1] *Five Years in a Protestant Sisterhood and Ten Years in a Catholic Convent* (published anonymously in 1869, but by Miss Cusack), pp. 23–5.

[2] Liddon, op. cit., vol. III, p. 24.

3.00	Nones, and visiting the poor
5.00	Service in church
6.00	Vespers and Devotions on the Holy Communion
7.00	Supper and recreation
8.00	Reading religious books
9.00	Compline, self-examination, private devotions
10.00	Retire to rest

* * *

The services at Christ Church, Albany Street, which the Sisters attended twice daily, had nothing "ritualistic" about them. Mr Dodsworth had been appointed to this parish in 1837 after a few years at Margaret Chapel. Miss Fanny Taylor relates that it was "a large and ugly church —inside very unornamented". She describes the "high pews with doors and cushions and little boxes for prayer books. At the east end a table, covered with a crimson cloth, and two candlesticks on it. But there was a certain air of devotion about the place, unmistakably at service time. Those services were devoutly led and responded to."[1]

In 1845 it was rather unusual on Ash Wednesday for the Litany to be recited at six o'clock in the morning; Mattins at eight; the Commination Service with sermon at eleven; Evening Prayers and catechizing at three, and Evensong and sermon at seven. On Ash Wednesday there were no less than six clergymen officiating. The altar, pulpit, and reading desk were draped in black; the alms collected in black velvet bags. The Sacrament was administered on all Thursdays in Lent at eight o'clock in the morning.[2]

The author of *Five Years in a Protestant Sisterhood* relates that Dr Pusey came at intervals of three or four months to hear the confessions of the Community, generally before Easter and Christmas. "One Christmas I remember well", she writes. "The clergyman [Mr Edward Stuart] whose church [St Mary Magdalene, Munster Square] we attended proposed a great demonstration; in fact, what would now be termed a High Celebration, *minus* vestments and incense. But then the sweet perfume of Romish incense had not begun to vex the shades of Latimer and Cranmer, nor

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[1] F. C. Devas, s.j., *Mother Magdalene Taylor* (1927), p. 14. The church was designed by James Pennethorne, who had been an assistant to John Nash. At the close of the century Charles Booth wrote: It is High, and was for many years a famous church; but it has never advanced its ritual and has been left behind, abandoned by those who 'crave for some new thing'" (*Life and Labour of the People in London*: Third Series: Religious Influences, 1902, vol. I., pp. 181, 184). This church is of yellow brick in the Grecian style.

[2] Cf. Trench, op. cit., pp. 264–5.

did visions of Popish vestments on reformed Protestants haunt their tombs.[1] A procession of boys in white surplices, singing an English version of *Adeste fideles*, Evening prayers, and the Communion Service chanted cathedral fashion, commencing at half-past ten, concluding soon after midnight, was then thought a serious innovation; yet the Rev. Mr [Stuart] attempted it. The church was decorated in exquisite taste; and I thought the service very attractive and beautiful. I remember we had wonderful debates among ourselves, whether those who received Communion at night should also receive it again next day. . . . We were all in a somewhat similar predicament on Good Friday; and I think each recurrence of these seasons renewed the debate. I cannot imagine why we thought about it at all; my impression is that someone knew the practice of the Catholic Church in this matter, and therefore started the question."[2] These reminiscences help us to picture the spiritual background of the first Sisterhood, and enable us to realize what heroism was needed to be a pioneer of Anglican Religious Life a century ago.

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The London in which this Sisterhood came into being was a very different London from that of today. The city had more than doubled its size in fifty years, and was still spreading fast in all directions—a new London where evidences of vast wealth and dire poverty could be found side by side. The Sisters had turned their backs on that world recalled by John Galsworthy in the first volume of the *Forsyte Saga*; they had come to minister to the poor and the outcast. On the west side of Park Village were the stately stucco-faced crescents and terraces designed by John Nash, surrounding Regent's Park, where dwelt the lords and ladies, or the opulent middle-class families; on the other the slums of Camden Town and Somers Town, with their rookeries of thieves and prostitutes. *Punch* contrasts these two districts as they existed in such close proximity in 1848, both of which the Sisters must have known intimately. The latter is pictured as "a district of mud, and houses on either side, that have a decayed and slatternly look, as if it had become insolvent and consequently taken to drinking and evil courses in old age—in sooth a dismal quarter. Look at the shabby children, paddling through the slush." Then comes the picture of "Park Crescent and Portland Place, which still look as if Aldermen lived there, and beneficed clergymen came to dine. The footmen are generally fat—fat in red plush breeches—different from the Belgravian gents." The Sisters, on their way to and from their "convent", must have often passed "the chariots with lozenges on the panels, and elderly ladies inside, driving through the iron gates to take a cheerful round of Regent's Park". But few of those "elderly ladies" bothered much about their poor neighbours.

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[1] This must have been prior to 1854, for Mr Stuart started the use of incense at Christmas that year.

[2] Pp. 45, 46.

For several years the Irish had been pouring into England. By the summer of 1845, when the newly founded Sisterhood was settling down to regular observance, there was a sudden increase of Irish immigration as the result of the disastrous failure of the potato crop. "Our district is in the worst part of Mr Dodsworth's district, where there are a great many low Irish people", Miss Ellacombe wrote to her father in April 1845. "They give away a great deal here to the poor, but there is such a great deal of misery and excessive poverty amongst our people. I call that our district, for it has no other regular visitors than the clergy, but wherever there is any distress made known to us we are to go, though while we are few, Fitzroy Place will suffice us, I think for some time. The people are all very glad and thankful at our coming to them—and we have not met with anything like a word of rudeness."[1]

It must have been an ordeal to these ladies of gentle birth, who had led such sheltered lives before they joined the Community, to visit those "low Irish people" herded together in filth and squalor in the slums off the Euston Road. One can understand that this "district had no other regular visitors than the clergy", and why the Irish were neglected by their own priests. The Anglican Sisters of Mercy had the field to themselves. There were no Roman Catholic Sisters of Mercy or of Charity working in the north-west of London at that date. One of the first things done by the Park Village Sisterhood was to open a Ragged School, for most of the children they encountered were too poor or too dirty to be admitted to other schools. It is probable that many of these children belonged to the "low Irish families" mentioned by Sister Jane Ellacombe.[2]

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[1] Liddon, op. cit., vol. III, p. 28.

[2] In 1850 the Sisters had a day school with about forty poor children, and they also boarded and clothed twenty orphans. The inmates of their house averaged about thirty instead of five at the start. In 1848 the Sisters took an additional house in what was then Upper Albany Street, a few doors north of Christ Church. When the convent in Osnaburgh Street was built, it was intended for the reception of thirteen Sisters, forty orphans, fifteen poor women, with spare room for probationers, a schoolroom for the poorest children, and a room for homeless wayfarers. The oratory was to be large enough to admit the whole household.

Our knowledge of the life and spirit of the Sisterhood is largely dependent on the unsympathetic reminiscences of Miss Margaret Anna Cusack, a young Irishwoman, a penitent of Dr Pusey, who joined the Community in 1850. She spent several years later on with the Devonport Society, but, as the Reverend T. J. Williams remarks, "in the summer of 1858 her restless disposition led her to seek admission into the Roman Communion",[1] in which she became widely known as "The Nun of Kenmare".[2] Although her book *Five Years in a Protestant Sisterhood* (1869) is often biased in its standpoint, most of the details seem to be fairly correct.[3] Miss Cusack implies that, on the whole, the relations of the Sisters were happy enough, and she has nothing but praise for the Superior, adding however that "the office of Superior was so ill-defined, and so purely nominal, that it was really hard to blame anyone for a deficiency in obedience. No kind of instruction whatever was given to any one entering the Sisterhood, so each had her own theory about the religious life, and acted on it."[4]

Considering the utter lack of experience, or even of first-hand knowledge of the Religious Life among the clergy and laymen who were responsible for the foundation of this first Anglican community of women, it is surprising that it managed to survive as an independent institution for even ten years. Brief visits to French and Irish convents could have taught these pioneers very little about the inner spirit of the Religious Life. The printed Rules and Constitutions which were procured from abroad and at home only provided the bare bones and the framework. The whole thing was an experiment, indeed a dangerous experiment. None of these ladies had received any previous training, no preliminary period of postulancy or a real novitiate, before they were plunged into an active apostolate and the observance of a Rule, which for strictness and the time spent in spiritual exercises and works of mercy far exceeded that of almost any Roman Catholic community of a similar character. At least five hours daily were devoted to visiting the poor and other works of charity. The Sisters kept more than a hundred Days of Fasting and Abstinence in the Kalendar of the Book of Common Prayer as strict fasts—not merely as days of abstinence from flesh meat.

Fasting *was* fasting with Dr Pusey and his disciples. Some of the first members of the Park Village Sisterhood outdid any of them in this respect. For instance, there was Miss Ogilvie, who, despite her frail health, resolved to take no food during the Lent of 1850 other than a dish of thick oat-meal; prolonging her daily fast until nine o'clock in the evening. After Maundy Thursday nothing passed her lips, not even a drop of water, until Easter. This Sister, who "was very much esteemed for her saintliness", retired to her bed with "symptoms of gastric fever". She died in the following June.[1] Dr Pusey and Mr Dodsworth tried to modify this zeal for bodily austerities, but it cannot have been easy for them. For what previous experience had either of them of directing a Community of ardent young women, some of whom were determined to become nuns, while others merely wanted to devote themselves to good works? Canon Liddon points out that "in England and in English families, with the exception of the limited circle of the older Roman Catholic families, there had been for centuries literally no experience of the Religious Life. The special vocation of a Sister of Mercy, and the character involved and the claims of such a character, were altogether unknown. . . . That young ladies . . . should shrink from 'society' and entertain thoughts of a vow of celibacy in the face of an eligible marriage was almost unconceivable. Besides . . . there was also the notorious jealousy of interference on the part of a spiritual guide in the private arrangements of family life."[2]

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[1] *Priscilla Lydia Sellon* (1950), p. 183.

[2] She seems to have ended her days as a ramping Protestant! (Cf. *The Story of My Life.*) On the other hand there is a belief that she was reconciled to the Roman Church on her death-bed.

[3] This applies to most of the books written by "ex-nuns" about the Park Village and Devonport Sisterhoods.

[4] Op. cit., p. 50.

The experiment had to be conducted with the utmost secrecy, which in itself resulted in an unhealthy atmosphere. All the preliminary correspondence carried on before the first Sisterhood was founded was marked "confidential". The hearing of Confessions could only be done furtively in the little sacristy of the convent. Dr Pusey would arrive early in the morning and retire to the sacristy for the greater part of the day.

Mr Keble, after a visit to Park Village West in 1846, wrote: "It strikes me that there is a particular danger incident to persons situated as those Sisters are among us; viz., that being so very few and being among persons so deeply interested in them and their undertaking, they may very easily think too much of themselves and be made too much of, and I fancy that it might be necessary to do violence to ourselves in order not to flatter them unconsciously." Mr Dodsworth, who had closer and more frequent contacts with the Community than anybody else, felt that Dr Pusey was not strict enough with the Sisters; that he was too ready to

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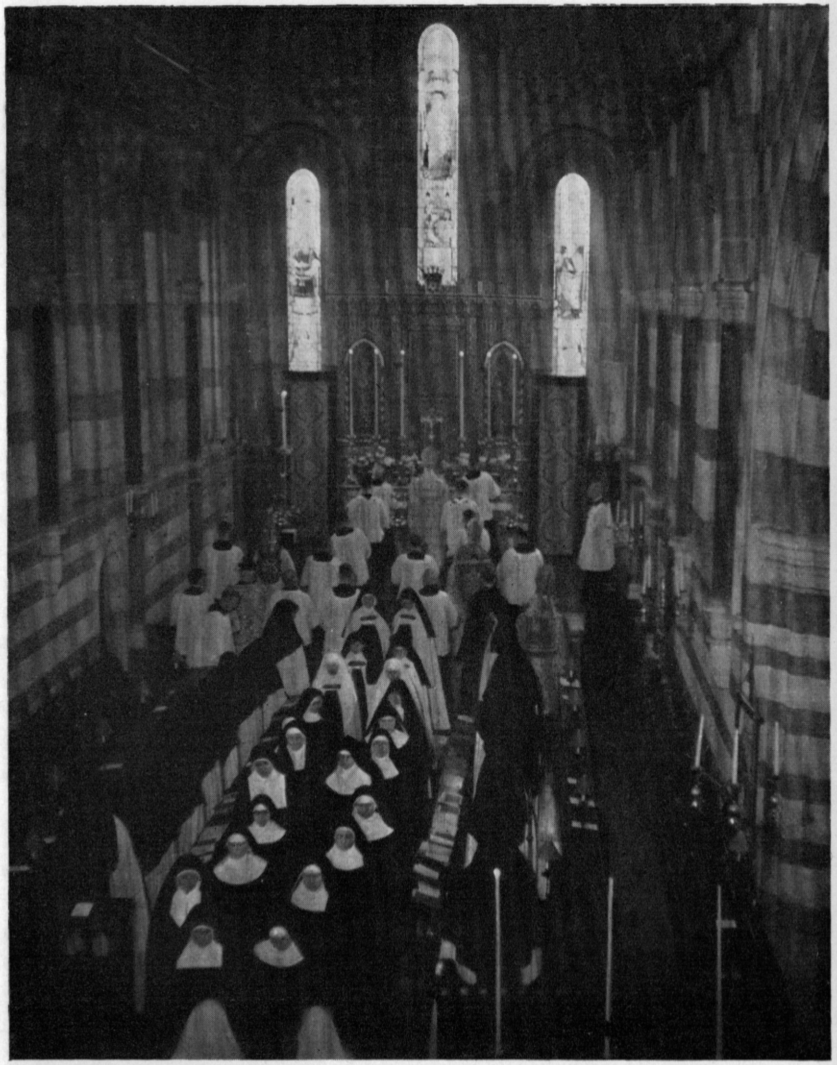
[1] Cf. Williams, op. cit., pp. 103–4. The sources quoted are Cusack's *Five Years in a Protestant Sisterhood*, p. 41, and Goodman's *Sisterhoods*, p. 13.

[2] Liddon, op. cit., vol. III, pp. 187, 188. Miss Ellacombe broke her engagement to a young clergyman in order to embrace a celibate life.

ST MARY'S CONVENT, WANTAGE (consecrated 1889)
By John Loughborough Pearson

See p. 243



Ascot Priory (completed 1886)
By William Butterfield
Centenary procession 1945

See p. 276

relax rules.[1] He pointed out that "Unless there is something of painful labour, theirs is in many respects of worldly comfort, a life much to be preferred to that of a governess, and which many might covet for its comfort, so we might lead them into a great snare. I wish that they could think less of what they *seem* to be [nuns], and let this gradually grow out of the reality. I do not mean that there is more than we might naturally expect of this tendency, but surely it is wise to repress it, and lead them to think little of themselves and their ways. . . . Nothing has ever been *simply restored*, so we never can have nuns again, though we may have something resembling them."[2]

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Ever since the summer of 1848 when Miss Priscilla Lydia Sellon had obtained permission from Dr Phillpotts, Bishop of Exeter, to establish *The Church of England Sisterhood of Mercy of Devonport and Plymouth*, the Park Village Sisterhood began to be nervous of this masterful Lady Superior in the west of England, who seemed to have such an influence over Dr Pusey, for it soon became the fear of some of the London Sisters that "she wished to possess herself of their establishment"—as Miss Cusack expresses it. When the cholera epidemic broke out in Devonport the following year, Mother Emma Langston and two other Sisters went to help nurse the patients. This led to further contacts with the two Sisterhoods. From time to time the Lady Superior of Devonport would find reasons for sending some of her Sisters to London, or asking the help of Park Village Sisters for her multiform activities in the "Three Towns" of Devonport, Plymouth, and Morice Town.

In 1850 Mr Dodsworth decided that, on account of the Gorham Judgement on Baptismal Regeneration, he could remain in the Church of England no longer. He was received into the Church of Rome in 1851. Miss Charlotte White, one of the Park Village Community, followed him, and took with her the money she had set aside for the maintenance of a home for orphans. Dr Pusey was alarmed that other Sisters might be tempted to go over to Rome, and felt it would strengthen the allegiance of the Sisterhood to the Church of England if it could be brought into closer relationship with the Devonport Sisters of Mercy.

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[1] Miss Margaret Goodman, however (*Sisterhoods in the Church of England*, 1863, p. 6), says that on one occasion when Dr Pusey was making a tour of the house, "he even stopped to remove the lid of a saucepan in which some potatoes were boiling, saying gravely, 'These potatoes are too large, not according to holy poverty'." The story is likely enough ; Dr Pusey's sense of humour was not prominent.

[2] Trench, op. cit., pp. 274–75.

On 14 September 1850 Dr Pusey laid the foundation stone of a new home for the London Sisterhood, which after a few years had grown too large for the little villa in Park Village West. Part of the sum of £4,000 subscribed was the gift of Miss Clarissa Powell, recently professed in the Community. A site was found in Osnaburgh Street, close to the church of St Mary Magdalene, whose walls were fast rising, the foundation stone having been laid on 10 July 1849. A young architect, named William Butterfield, offered to prepare the plans for this the first convent erected for an Anglican religious community, and waived the usual fees. The convent was to be dedicated to our Lord under the title of St Saviour.[1] "Building operations were for some time suspended, because the Government was not able to decide whether religious houses were in accordance with the genius of English law; ultimately, however, the Legislature suffered the work to proceed."[2]

On Michaelmas Day, 1852, the Sisters moved into their new home. Five months previously St Mary Magdalene's, Munster Square, had been consecrated. This church became their place of worship; its vicar, the Reverend Edward Stuart, however, had few personal dealings with them, for they still depended on Dr Pusey for spiritual direction. From the first the services were much more ornate than those to which the Community had been accustomed at Christ Church, Albany Street, although it was not until Easter, 1864, that Mr Stuart felt the moment had come to introduce eucharistic vestments, although he used incense in a procession at Christmas, 1854.[3]

Once they were installed in this medieval-looking convent, with its Gothic windows, gables, and high-pitched roof, the more romantic-minded members of the Sisterhood must have felt that they were "nuns" at long last, not merely dedicated women devoted to works of mercy among the poor. The chapel provided the right setting for the recitation of their expurgated translation of the Sarum Breviary. The old-world glamour must have been welcomed by their visitors; there was no doubt that St Saviour's was a *convent*. Contemplating it today one is transported in imagination to those far-off times of the Tractarians, the Papal Aggression, and of the rival hierarchy set up in England under a Roman Cardinal. It is odd to think that this throw-back to the Middle Ages was a contemporary of that monster glass-house erected in Hyde Park for the Great Exhibition. Paxton's Crystal Palace, removed to Sydenham later on, is no more, but St Saviour's, Osnaburgh Street, was still standing until its demolition in 1963.

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[1] *St Saviour* was understood to be a sort of "code" or cipher for *Holy Cross*.

[2] Goodman, op. cit. p. vi. There is some doubt about this statement.

[3] See Miss Cusack's description of Midnight Mass at St Mary Magdalene's, p. 234, above.

On 28 March 1854 war was declared against Russia. By October that same year the Lady Superior of Devonport had resolved to send some of her community to accompany Miss Nightingale as nurses to the hospital at Scutari. Earl Nelson had already appealed to the heads of the few Anglican Sisterhoods in existence at that time, asking if they would send two or more members each for nursing in the Crimea. How could the daughter of a naval officer resist such a call from a nephew of the victor of the Battle of Trafalgar? She arranged that three of the Community of St Saviour's, Osnaburgh Street, with five Sisters of her own Society, should leave London for the Crimea. Mother Emma Langston, the Superior, Sister Etheldreda, and Miss Harriet Erskine, who had recently been clothed as a novice, were the London Sisters chosen. Sister Sarah Anne Terrot, who was one of the original members of the London Community, but was transferred to Devonport in 1849, was also among the group of eight Anglican Sisters who joined the five Roman Catholic Sisters of Mercy from Bermondsey, and five others from the Society of the Faithful Virgin, whose convent at Norwood had been opened in 1848.

To tell the story of the wonderful work of mercy carried on by these Sisters in the hospital at Scutari and in the Crimea is outside the scope of this book.[1] They endured every kind of hardship and privation. During their absence from England, Mother Lydia assumed temporary control of the now much reduced community in London. After the return of the Sisters from the Near East in the autumn of 1855 the situation became increasingly difficult. On 28 October 1856 the Sisterhood of the Holy Cross was amalgamated with the Devonport Society, under the title of *The Congregation of Religious of the Society of the Most Holy Trinity*. Mother Lydia was installed as "abbess" of the united communities on the feast of St Benedict of the following year.

St Saviour's became a branch house of Devonport, under the charge of the Third Order, known as the Sisters of Charity, and was used as an orphanage. The schools for boys and girls were closed. Mother Emma Langston, the Superior at Park Village almost from its foundation, was sent to work among the poor in Spitalfields and Bethnal Green. In 1856 she gave up her devoted apostolate among the Spitalfields weavers and made her submission to the Roman Church.

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[1] It is related in detail by Cecil Woodham-Smith in her recently published life of *Florence Nightingale* (1950), pp. 130–262; and with particular attention to the work of the Anglican Sisters by T. J. Williams in *Priscilla Lydia Sellon* (1950), pp. 142–80.

Whatever criticisms may be made of the autocratic character of the Lady Superior of Devonport, she must be given the credit of having saved the first Anglican Sisterhood from extinction by absorbing its few remaining members into her own community. Miss Langston, by reason of her lack of previous training and the "anxious self-distrust" remarked on by Dr Pusey, was temperamentally unfitted for training and directing other women, no matter how great was her piety, culture, and benevolence. The probable explanation of the failure of the Sisterhood of the Holy Cross is that it was founded from without, not from within. Newman was right when he wrote to Bowden: "I despair of such societies being *made* externally. They must be the expression of an inward principle" (see p. 222). Few of the ladies who were gathered together in that villa on the east side of Regent's Park in 1845 had even a dim knowledge of that "inward principle", which is the foundation of every form of the Religious Life.

2. COMMUNITY OF ST MARY THE VIRGIN

St Mary's Convent, Wantage, Berkshire (1848)

On rising ground above the right-hand side of the road to Faringdon, about a quarter of a mile from the spacious market-place of Wantage—a small town at the foot of the Berkshire Downs, best known to fame as the birthplace of Alfred the Great, whose statue stands in the centre of the market—a stranger may happen to notice a group of grey limestone buildings. They are so unpretentious that it is more than likely that anybody who rushes past in a motor car or bus would scarcely glance at what might be a school or similar institution. No board indicates that this is the mother house of one of the oldest and largest communities of women in the Church of England. The buildings have nothing of the imposing character of the mother houses of the communities of Clewer, East Grinstead, and All Saints, each of which is, in its own way, an outstanding example of one or other phase of Gothic Revival architecture.

St Mary's Convent, Wantage, might be described as a happy mingling of bits and pieces. It was designed at different periods by several architects. As occasion demanded a wing was added here, a cloister there, an upper storey to provide more accommodation, with two chapels erected in turn as the Community increased in numbers. The original block of St Mary's Home[1]—as it was first called—"was as unostentatious as were the appearance, the rules and the work of the Sisters; it was quiet and homely, and not unlike an old manor house, with an entire absence of pretence, and no attempt to look (after the manner of the period) either Gothic, picturesque or austere. Within it the conventual life offered little escape from the wear and tear of a household: girls and Sisters were intimately associated, the Cloister was barely separated from the routine of daily work, and the novices were set at once to manage unruly girls whose behaviour belied the Victorian title of penitents."[2]

Even today a visitor has the feeling of being in a family rather than in a community of nuns. The planning of the buildings is so irregular that after being shown round it is difficult to recall the details or the exact relationship of the different parts. The first chapel, St Mary Magdalene's, designed by William Butterfield in his more restrained earlier manner, and erected in 1860, is somewhat reminiscent of his work at St Augustine's College, Canterbury, before he was smitten with a passion for polychrome contrasts in brick and stone. The second chapel, St Mary's, is a characteristic work by John Loughborough Pearson, especially the stone vaulting and the grouping of the columns on either side of the high altar. It was consecrated in 1889, and the windows are filled with fine examples of stained glass of that date. In 1923 [Sir] Ninian Comper was called in to redecorate the chapel. He gilded the lower half of the columns, transforming them into the equivalent of massive riddel posts, erected a Renaissance tester of rose and gold colour, with a magnificent rose silk dossal embroidered by the Sisters. In 1954 the sanctuary was restored to its original design by the removal of the gilding on the columns and also of the tester and other hangings. At the same time the carved stone tabernacle was moved to the high altar from its earlier position on the north side. The marble font was moved from the south side of the nave to make more room before the shrine of our Lady, a seated figure with the Child on her lap, carved in stone by one of the Sisters.

The library, with its well-arranged shelves and tables for reading or writing, shows that this is a community of educated women, who keep abreast of current literature and also have almost every necessary source of reference on most subjects available for consultation. In the embroidery room one can find evidences of a perfect taste in colour, design, and materials. There is something surprisingly professional about the printing-room, where fascinating plain-chant type is being set up by Sisters, and where copies of the many liturgical books printed here are on view. Surrounding the convent are well-cared-for gardens. It is of interest that the convent of St Mary the Virgin stands only a short distance from the home of a community of nuns which existed here in the time of King Alfred the Great.

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[1] Designed by George Edmund Street (1824–81) and started in 1854. This young architect was an enthusiastic member of the Ecclesiological Society, and was introduced to the Reverend W. J. Butler by Benjamin Webb. In 1850 he settled at Wantage. Soon after he was appointed diocesan architect of Oxford. In 1853 he designed Cuddesdon College. Always a devout High Church Anglican, Street was keenly interested in Sisterhoods. As a youth he wanted to establish a male community for the promotion of Gothic art and architecture.

[2] *A Hundred Years of Blessing* (1946), p. 11.

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William John Butler, the founder of the Community of St Mary the Virgin, and later Dean of Lincoln, was born in 1818. It was not until he went up to Trinity College, Cambridge, that he came under the influence of the Tractarian piety. In 1847 he was appointed to the living of Wantage. This extensive Berkshire parish had acquired a bad name after many years of spiritual neglect. Butler was faced with the double task of the restoration of church life and the provision of schools. He had a vague idea that it might be possible to establish a Sisterhood whose members would help him with parochial work. Archdeacon Manning, having been consulted, recommended Miss Elizabeth Crawford Lockhart as a possible Superior. This young lady was the sister of William Lockhart, who had been one of Newman's community at Littlemore. It was his secession to the Roman Church in 1843 that inspired Newman's last Anglican sermon, "The Parting of Friends". Manning forbade all further communication between Elizabeth and her brother after he had deserted the Church of England. Mrs Lockhart followed her son's example in 1846. By this time Manning was filling his Journal with notes which prove that he had lost his faith in Anglicanism, yet he felt it his duty to restrain his penitent from rushing into the arms of Rome.

It is improbable that the Archdeacon of Chichester revealed to Elizabeth Lockhart that when he was at Milan in November 1847 he was almost convinced that St Charles Borromeo was calling him to enter the fold of Peter; otherwise he would not have advised her to accept the invitation given by Mr and Mrs Butler to spend the following Lent at Wantage, with a view to the formation of a parochial Sisterhood. The vicar and his wife managed to quieten her misgivings and to restore her faith in the Church of England. Soon after Easter two cottages were taken and furnished. Miss Mary Reid, who had been mistress of a school near Chichester, was sent by Manning to join Miss Lockhart in this venture. Two young girls were engaged as servants. It was hoped that, later on,

they might find their vocations in the Community which was visualized.

"The arrangements of the little household were of the simplest and most inexpensive kind. . . . The oratory was upstairs, a little blue-washed place with sloping roof and roughly-boarded floor; the only furniture consisted of two long desks with sloping sides made of bare deal, at which we stood to say the Offices. . . . Here sometimes the Vicar would come to join in one Office or another, or occasionally to give us a few words of exhortation."[1] The offices were recited from the translation of the Sarum Day Hours made by the Reverend Albany Christie in 1845. These small books contained the daily offices for a week. They were printed in special type, with red rubrics, and bound in parchment.[2] The fact that the little Community recited the Day Hours of the Sarum Breviary from its start is worth noting, for the Wantage Sisterhood has done more to encourage liturgical worship than any other Anglican community. The Sisters also attended the Prayer Book Offices of Mattins and Evensong in the parish church. On Sundays there was an early morning Communion service. The greater part of the time was taken up with teaching. Towards the close of 1848 the Sisterhood took over a larger cottage as its "convent". In February 1849 Henry Wilberforce, the younger brother of the Bishop of Oxford, and then Vicar of East Farleigh, Kent, sent Miss Harriet Day as a postulant. He cannot have guessed that in little over a year she would succeed Miss Lockhart as Superior of the infant community.

Teaching young children did not satisfy the ideals of Elizabeth Lockhart. Within six months of the foundation of the Sisterhood she told the vicar that she was convinced that she was called to penitentiary work among women and girls. She persuaded him eventually that this was a crying need. On 2 February 1850 a Home for Penitents was opened at Wantage. Archdeacon Manning became the "Father Director"—for this is how the Mother Superior styles him in her letters. One of the curates was nominated chaplain. It looks as if Elizabeth Lockhart needed far more of the externals of the monastic life to bolster up her wavering faith in the Church of England than Butler could offer her at Wantage—

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[1] *Life and Letters of W. J. Butler* (London, 1898), pp. 129, 130.

[2] This book was entitled *The Day Hours of the Church with Gregorian Tones.* It contains good translations of the Ambrosian hymns. The Latin form of Confession is given in an appendix, also a comprecative invocation—"May Holy Mary and all the Saints intercede for us to the Lord, that we may be worthy of His help and salvation, etc." For some curious reason, perhaps because it is a direct translation of *sabbatum,* and evidently with the idea of getting rid of the then customary designation of Sunday, Saturday is referred to as "The Sabbath", a return to Jewish observance. This book represents one of the earliest attempts to revive plain-chant.

a frugal life, patient toil, simplicity in dress and ritual—hard work and little to show. It was not long before she adopted the habit of a nun, which annoyed Bishop Wilberforce when he heard of it. No doubt her thoughts were often with her brother, now a priest in Rosmini's Institute of Charity, engaged in mission work in the Midlands. Writing to a friend she thus described the opening ceremony of the Home for Penitents. "I should like you to have been with us on that morning; nothing could have looked more solemn and bright withal than our little chapel. The altar, with its pure white frontal, ornamented with five gold crosses, candlesticks and altar-plate really befitting an altar, and between the candlesticks and a three-branched light in the centre four vases, very beautiful in themselves, filled with white camellias and a wreath of flowers resting upon the window-sill above. . . . the Archdeacon celebrated. . . . In the evening he preached as nobody but he can, to the whole household."[1]

Despite all such outward signs of catholicism, Mother Elizabeth's faith in the Church of England was shattered by the Gorham Judgement in March 1850. Butler recorded in his diary for April 17: "Archdeacon Manning came. Much interesting though sad talk with him. I fear much trouble here from one quarter. May God in His Mercy avert it and soften the blow." On 21 July he wrote to Mr Keble: "Miss L. has finally determined on leaving us, and this day she will join her brother. We have done what we could in some ways for her, but the strong draw towards Rome, together with the undermining support of her spiritual counsellors, shivered all my attempts to pieces. Now we are in much trouble to keep the work up; we have no one on whom we can rest, indeed, the household is a body without a backbone, just standing up, and no more."[2] Within a short time Miss Reid followed Miss Lockhart on the road to Rome. Many others of Butler's most intimate and dearest friends abandoned the Church of England, although Manning still clung on to what he now regarded as a sinking ship. It was not until April 1851 that he submitted to the Holy See.[3]

After all that had happened it would have been reasonable for Butler to disperse the two remaining Sisters of his community. He consulted Bishop Wilberforce and was told to carry on. The bishop paid several visits to Wantage, inspected the Home for Penitents, and Butler acted on many of his suggestions. Some years later he wrote to the vicar: "I

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[1] *Life and Letters of W. J. Butler*, p. 136.

[2] Op. cit., p. 138.

[3] It was under the direction of Manning that in 1857 Miss Lockhart became the foundress of a small community of the Third Order Regular of St Francis, which worked among the poor of Bayswater, where the Oblates of St Charles had been established. Their mother house is now at Braintree, Essex.

entirely approve and agree absolutely in your view of what a Sisterhood must be to succeed in our Church."[1] Neither Harriet Day nor Charlotte Gilbert appeared to possess the requisite gifts for the Superior of a Sisterhood. The former was the daughter of a Sussex farmer; the latter came from a working-class family. Nevertheless it was Harriet Day who can be regarded as the real foundress of the Community of St Mary the Virgin as it exists at the present time. It was her intense humility and lack of confidence in herself that proved to be her strength in after years. She relied far more on loyal obedience to Butler than on her personal initiative. She carried out his wishes and orders. Very quietly, with no fuss or publicity, the Community took on a new lease of life. The stormy beginnings were forgotten. Vocations multiplied and so did the external works undertaken.

After the death of Bishop Wilberforce in 1873 Butler wrote: "Most tenderly and delicately the Bishop enforced his opinions, so that in many delicate and complicated questions we always felt that, whether his mind was or was not entirely the same as our own, we should ever be sure of a fair hearing and of his desire to work with us, and even to yield his own wishes, except of course where principle forbade this. Nothing could be kinder, wiser, or larger-hearted than the line he adopted; and it is certainly not too much to assert, that to him our English Sisterhoods owe their present position of usefulness and acceptance. Instead of standing apart and waiting till they had made their way, he, with his characteristic determination to be the real ἐπίσκοπος or overseer of all religious movements in his diocese, took the matter into his own hands without in the least quenching or thwarting the zeal and ideas of those who gave the first impulse. At least once every year he visited the sisters, considered their rules, sometimes spoke to each separately, weighed difficult cases, and received into the community those who had been elected. Part of the profession consisted of an address, and none who were present will ever forget the earnestness and love with which he urged loyalty to the Church, simplicity of life, unity of feeling and action, and above all, the working from the single motive of the love of Christ. On one occasion he invited to Cuddesdon the heads of several of the Communities, to consider the general question of Sisterhoods, and to arrive at some common principle of action. Had he lived till the present time, he would, I think, have been surprised at the results which have followed his loving and fatherly treatment of these institutions, their gradual acceptance by the Church—and the mass of services of every kind—missionary, pastoral, educational, penitentiary, which, by the discipline and self-sacrifice of those who belong to them, they are able to perform."[1]

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[1] A. R. Ashwell and R. Wilberforce, *Life of Samuel Wilberforce* (1882), vol. III, p. 324.

The subsequent history of the Community of St Mary since 1850 has been recorded in a masterly manner in a fascinating book entitled *A Hundred Years of Blessing* (1946), written by some of its members. It is from this volume and from another, *Butler of Wantage: an offering from his Community of St Mary the Virgin* (1946), that all which follows has been condensed or quoted. No other Anglican community has published such complete and well-written chronicles.

The Community of St Mary the Virgin has never forgotten the ideals set before it by William Butler more than a century ago. Not long before his death in 1894 he wrote that his Sisterhood had been based on the principle of "simple, honest loyalty to the Church to which it belongs, that is the Church of England, the Church of our native land. We believe that the Church of England is a true branch of Christ's Catholic Church, and that she has a right to lay down for her children what they are to believe and do. We believe that in her Prayer Book her teaching and will are found. We are not desirous to follow our own fancies, or to set forth doctrines and ritual which belong to the Church of Rome. We are satisfied with giving dignity and beauty to that which we have of our own. We wish to follow in the steps of those great men who heralded the great Catholic Revival in the Church of England, and who never 'left their first love', as Dr Pusey, Mr Keble, Charles Marriott, Hugh James Rose, and others of their kind—men who combined the highest saintliness of character with deep knowledge of theology, keen appreciation of the standpoint of the Church, and amplest learning and scholarship."[2]

Butler never threw in his lot with the Ritualistic party, in fact he tended to stand aloof from them. He was not interested in the details of ceremonial. When he was offered a canonry at Worcester in 1880, the only thing he insisted on was the use of the eastward position in celebrating the Holy Communion in the cathedral. Later on as Dean of Lincoln he never attempted to introduce ceremonial changes which would have offended the more conservative members of the chapter. Yet this cautious Anglican attitude did not involve lack of sympathy with continental Catholicism. Butler had a better knowledge of it than most of the Tractarian leaders. He had visited many French communities of women, including those belonging to the Little Sisters of the Poor, the Daughters of Wisdom, and the Sisters of the Good Shepherd. He had a great veneration for St Francis de Sales and the Visitation Order. But the ideal he had in mind was rather in the nature of the community founded in the seventeenth century by Nicholas Pavillon, Bishop of Alet—the Jansenist-influenced ex-Vincentian—who trained Sisters to go out as teachers in his diocese. Butler's character has been summed up as "direct, concentrated, single-minded, and strongly marked by the unemotional temperament of his Church and nation".[1] He never seems to have doubted, even after the Gorham Judgement, that the Church of England was a living branch of the Catholic Church, but he was no narrow-minded Anglican. What was true of himself has always been equally true of the great community he founded.

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[1] *Life of Samuel Wilberforce*, vol. III, pp. 333–5. [2] *Life and Letters of W. J. Butler*, p. 154.

In 1867 he spent a long holiday in France. He returned home more convinced than ever of the catholicity of the Church of England, but resolved to encourage a greater devotion to the Blessed Sacrament in his Sisterhood. He did not hesitate to regret the law of the English Church which made reservation impossible, except by what seemed to him to be spiritual disobedience. It was, however, about this time that he taught the Sisters to value a pause of some minutes after the Consecration and before Communion, during which special adoration might be offered to our Lord, present in His glorified humanity under the sacramental veils.[2] Butler did not approve of midday choral Eucharists, and never introduced them at Wantage. He doubted the value of non-communicating attendance at the Eucharist.

So it was very slowly and with no violence that the observances of the Community were brought into line with those of the older catholic communities, yet Butler always remembered that the Sisters were in communion with Canterbury and not with Rome. Little details of ceremonial were changed from time to time—first a reverence to the altar, then turning to the east for the Glorias, and then permission to use the sign of the cross. To the present generation of Anglo-Catholics it may be a surprise to learn that it was not until 1887—nearly forty years after the foundation of the Community—that a daily Mass was begun in the convent chapel. It was not until 1898 that the first midnight Mass was celebrated at Christmas. Three years later the blessing of the Paschal Candle and other Holy Week functions were started. Such facts are mentioned to show how gradual was the ceremonial development of this community. The pace was never forced.[3]

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[1] *A Hundred Years of Blessing*, p. 6.

[2] *Life and Letters of W. J. Butler*, p. 204.

[3] There existed a considerable difference of opinion among the Tractarians about the "little details of ceremonial". For instance, the Reverend William Gresley, who was regarded as an advanced High Churchman in the 'fifties, wrote: "for myself I think that bowing to the altar is rather a foolish custom, and one not at all necessary to

No rich benefactors came along to enable the Sisters to erect stately buildings. Everything grew quietly and without ostentation or publicity. The foundation stone of St Mary's Home—the nucleus of the present mother house of the community—was laid on 24 July 1854. In the chapel the services were performed with the "restrained discipline of the English Catholicism of the Prayer Book". There was a daily attendance at Mattins and Evensong, plus the recitation of the Sarum Day Hours in English.[1] At first a manuscript plain-chant hymnal was used, with Helmore's *Psalter* and Neale's *Hymnal Noted* later on. For the choral celebrations of the Eucharist there was either the *Missa de Angelis* or a "Quinquetone" Mass by Arthur Brown.The present plain-chant books, edited by Dr George Palmer, were introduced after 1890.

Great stress was laid on mental prayer. The founder made sure that every Sister got full time for private devotions besides the recitation of the choir offices. When drawing up a Rule of Prayer he followed that of St Francis de Sales as nearly as possible. But what he aimed at was to make the whole day a series of direct acts of prayer—short ejaculations and aspirations darting up with every act of work. His spiritual conferences and the retreats given to the Community prove the depth and the width of his own spirituality.

Three printed editions of the Rule show how it gradually developed. They are dated 1854, 1863, and 1896. A careful study of the Wantage Rule indicates that it was based on most of the older monastic Rules, though not directly influenced by any particular Rule, except that of the Visitation Order. In 1863 Butler made a copy of the Rule of St Augustine at the Premonstratensian Abbey of Tepl in the western part of Bohemia. From this he borrowed certain details. Again and again he quotes the words of St Francis de Sales and St Jane Chantal. As one of the Community points out: "our Founder draws upon Augustinian direction as well as that of St François de Sales, St Benedict, St Thomas à Kempis and Dr Pusey, absorbing of their spirit what could be assimilated to his own foundation."[1] In later times Dr Randall, Bishop of Reading, who became the second warden on the death of Butler in 1896, stressed the "masculine character of the Community in contradistinction to certain sentimental Roman Catholic devotional books". Perhaps it would have been more true to say that the character of the Wantage community has much in common with that of traditional Benedictine monasticism, with a dash of the spirit of some of the older communities of Canonesses Regular.

The profession rite, largely based on Gallican rites of the eighth century, was drawn up by the founder with the aid of H. P. Liddon, who was at the time one of the curates of Wantage. The Rule and Constitutions were revised in 1896 by Bishop Randall, Fr Page, S.S.J.E., Fr Maxwell, S.S.J.E., and Mother-General Lucy. It was only then that approval was given for vows to be taken specifically.

There is no other Anglican community where the arts have been fostered to such a degree as at Wantage. An embroidery room was opened in 1866. The general standard was far above the average produced by most Sisterhoods at that date. Sister Agnes, nicknamed by her friends "the archbishop of church embroidery", was placed in charge of this department in 1872. Orders began to come in not only from England but from abroad. The Embroidery School became world-famous, with the countless frontals, vestments, banners, etc., made for churches in many countries.

From its foundation the Community had taken a keen interest in plain-chant. In 1890 Sister Emma began printing plain-chant books under the direction of Dr Palmer, but ordinary printing, with a small hand-press, had been engaged in, far back in the early days. It was at Wantage that were printed the Sarum Psalter, the offices of Vespers and Compline, many Sequences, Graduals, and Introits, all adapted to English words. Then came Dr Palmer's complete musical edition of the Sarum

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be followed in our churches" (*Bernard Leslie*, pt. 2, p. 57). He added: "The Romanists do not bow to the altar, but to that which is on the altar, the Blessed Sacrament which is left there." Mr Gresley felt that "crossing oneself in a solemn manner appears a very proper custom, but I should not use it openly, on account of the prejudice which exists against it" (op. cit., p. 58). "Bowing at the Gloria Patri is a reverential custom which I like to see, and it is a useful one. . . . Prostration before the Holy Sacrament I cannot approve of, however well intended, because it offends excellent people, and causes a feeling of displeasure at a very solemn moment." Such, so one feels, was much the attitude of the Vicar of Wantage, and indicates the line he took with his Sisterhood. Unlike many of the leaders of the ritualistic party, he realized that the externals of Latin Catholicism are merely local usages. Butler would have felt that there was no reason for their introduction into an Anglican religious community.

[1] After the publication of the first edition of *The Day Hours of the Church of England* in 1858, this Office Book was adopted by the Wantage Sisters.

[1] *A Hundred Years of Blessing*, p. 25. It is true that nearly all Anglican Sisterhoods, however pressing their activities, have contrived to say at least the Day Hours of the Breviary, whereas the corresponding Roman Catholic communities of women usually manage no more than the Little Office of our Lady. Perhaps the explanation is that Anglicans felt free to omit Matins, whereas Roman Catholics were offered no *via media* between the Little Office and the full Divine Office, *including* Matins? Another explanation may be that not many members of active communities of women would have possessed a sufficient knowledge of Latin to recite the complete Breviary Offices. It is only within recent years that there has been any suggestion of providing vernacular versions of the Day Hours for the corporate use of Roman Catholic communities and individuals who are drawn to the recitation of at least part of the Divine Office.

Day Hours of 1531—the *Diurnal Noted*. Since then a continual stream of liturgical books has appeared from the Wantage Press. All these publications have been based on ancient manuscripts.[1]

Reference must be made to the music in the chapel and to the celebrated choir mistress, Sister Emma, who died in 1914, and is remembered as "descending from her stall majestically to marshal processions in exactly the right time and spacing—three feet between each. As Ceremonarius she always carried an ebony staff, and when at the organ, could accompany the singing with rare skill."[2] She allowed no modern hymns to be interpolated in the plain-chant Masses, though she tolerated chorales. The publication of *Songs of Syon* made her take a less rigid line in later years. Sister Emma was not the only brilliant organist in the Community; there have been many others whose playing was up to professional standards.

In 1916 one of the younger Sisters—her name had better not be mentioned, for she is still very much alive, and Wantage prefers anonymity—saw the beginning of a new branch of art, with the modelling of a Bambino for the Christmas crib, followed by a complete set of figures. These were reproduced and found their way all over the world. Many other statues of first-class merit have been modelled in her studio, including a striking Stations of the Cross, and several crucifixes.

To the outside world the Community of St Mary the Virgin is best known for its educational work. It actually started in a small way from the time of the foundation, but it was not until 1864 that the so-called "Middle School" was opened. Then came an establishment for the training of pupil teachers, in the days when as yet there was no National system of education. Later on this work was removed to St Michael's, a property in Wantage bequeathed to the Community.[3]

The girls educated at St Michael's, Wantage, generally finished their training as teachers at Salisbury or one of the other training colleges. In

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[1] Dr Palmer's *Sarum Diurnal* is used by the Community of the Holy Name, Malvern Link, and by the Congregation of Jesus the Good Shepherd, West Ogwell, Devon. The pocket edition is used by the Wantage Community when on journeys and in sickness, and by its oblates. The music as arranged by Dr Palmer is in three volumes: the *Diurnal Noted* (Lauds, Prime, Terce, Sext, and None); *The Order of Vespers* (contains music for Vespers and is used by at least ten communities, because it can be used with the *Day Hours of the Church*, which is based on the Sarum Diurnal); *The Order of Compline* (very widely used—but not by those who say Compline (in English) according to the Roman Use).

Many other books have been written or edited by the Sisters, all published under the style of "By a member of the C.S.M.V."; e.g. *The Wood. An Outline of Christianity* (Cambridge, 1935). C. S. Lewis's novel *Perelandra* is dedicated to "Some Ladies at Wantage".

[2] *A Hundred Years of Blessing*, p. 36.

[3] The Chapel, opened in 1899, was designed by G.H. Fellowes Prynne (1853-1927).

1873 a start was made with another school—this time for "young ladies"—and so the now famous boarding school, St. Mary's, came into being. From 1903 it became a first-class public school, run on modern lines. The original buildings have been enlarged again and again. The number of boarders increased to such an extent that another school—St Katharine's—had to be opened in 1898 on an open site east of Wantage. Five years later came the foundation of a second day-school—St Helen's, Abingdon. It was united with St Katharine's in 1938, with a magnificent headquarters in a large Queen-Anne period mansion. The stately chapel, designed by Frank L. Pearson, which was opened in 1923, is specially worthy of mention.

Had not the Community been growing steadily all the time it would have been impossible for the Mothers-General to have taken on more and more new work, such as St Dunstan's Abbey School, Plymouth, which was established in 1907, when the Abbey was given up by the Society of the Most Holy Trinity (see p. 276).[1] Then in 1925 came an urgent appeal from Dr Burge, Bishop of Oxford, and Dr Kidd, Warden of Keble College, to open a hostel for women students. A suitable house was found in Banbury Road, and a chapel was erected. Much help was given to the Sisters placed in charge of this hostel by the Roman Catholic Community of the Holy Child Jesus, which had established the first hostel for women students in Oxford in 1902. The Wantage Sisters, in their turn, were able to share their experiences with the Society of the Sacred Heart, when that great teaching community began a similar work in Oxford in 1929.

But it must not be forgotten that the original object of this community was penitentiary work. Rescue work for girls was started in the beginning. In 1864 the Sisters were asked to undertake parochial and rescue work in Bristol, which about twelve years later was taken over by the newly founded Sisters of Charity at Knowle (see p. 415). It was in 1864 that St Faith's Home, Lostwithiel, Cornwall, was opened as a House of Mercy.[2] Girls were sent here from all parts of the West Country, some of them having been in gaol. The wonderful results achieved at St Faith's were largely due to the personality of Sister Anna, whose aims combined "motherly ways" free from "old-maidishness" or "policeman-like discipline", with discipline that did not irritate and could be appreciated by the girls for its assurance of protection.[3]

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[1] The school is now under secular management.

[2] The buildings were designed by G. E. Street. "The façade with a most original central motif: a bay window with a centre buttress under a picturesque Flemish roof." (N. Pevsner, *Buildings of England—Cornwall*, 1951, p. 94.)

[3] *A Hundred Years of Blessing*, p. 56.

In 1875 Dr John Jackson, the Bishop of London, asked the Community to start rescue work in Fulham; then another house for young offenders was taken in Paddington and was eventually moved to Ealing. A home for inebriate women of all classes was established at Spelthorne St Mary, Feltham, Middlesex, in 1883. [Sir] Ninian Comper designed the lovely chapel which was erected in 1906. It was taken down and rebuilt when the whole establishment was moved to Thorpe, near Chertsey, Surrey, in 1931.

Maternity work was another development in the activities of the Community: this started in Paddington in 1882. In 1918 the maternity home was transferred to more suitable quarters at Stamford Hill, where it won high praise from the Ministry of Health and the London County Council.[1] St Mary's Home, Hastings, was opened in 1928 for mothers and their babies. Young girls who had already served a term in prison, and whom Sister Emily used to call with great affection her "forty thieves", were cared for and trained at St Helena's Home, Ealing, where [Sir] Ninian Comper designed in 1913 one of the most striking chapels of his "second period". During the Second World War the girls were dispersed to other homes, and the buildings were taken over by the London County Council. A rescue home, dedicated to St Mary Magdalene, was opened at Leicester in 1885, followed later on by other similar institutions in the Diocese of Peterborough—at Narborough, for girls of low mentality, and the other at Ketton. These two homes have been given up. St Mary's, Alton, Hampshire, is a more recently established home for feeble-minded women and girls. The chapel, designed by the late William Douglas Caröe (1857–1938), was completed in 1910.

Not content with initiating all this rescue and preventative work on its own, the Community took over Houses of Mercy which had been started by other Sisterhoods, including the House of Mercy, Bussage, Gloucestershire, in 1900, and St Mary's Home, Stone, Kent, in 1926. Fifteen years later the diocesan House of Mercy at Chester was entrusted to the Wantage Community. In 1942 the Sisters accepted the charge of the Manchester diocesan rescue home of St Mary, Rusholme, but they gave this up three years later. Such then is a brief record of what has been done by the Community of St Mary the Virgin for the moral welfare of women and girls in the past hundred years.

Nine women have successively guided the destinies of this Community, now of just under three hundred members, in this same period. Of the foundress, Mother Elizabeth Lockhart, it has been said: "well gifted for

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[1] The new buildings, designed by the Honourable John Seely and Paul Paget, were erected in 1939.

the vocation of a leader; she was clear-headed, could work easily with men, was cultured and devout and from the beginning had visualized monastic life in its fullest expression. It may be that she was too complete for a period that required endless tact and patience."[1] Mother Harriet, who succeeded her, and who ruled over the community for thirty-three years, owed her success to leading her Sisters to complete dependence on God rather than on natural resources or idealistic visions.[2] Mother Lucy was a woman of wide experience and character. It was mainly due to her that the rich liturgical life of the Community developed. Mother Mary Gertrude proved a capable administrator for a brief period. Next came Mother Sophia, whose contribution to her community was mainly on the spiritual side. She was succeeded by Mother Isabel Mary, formerly a well-known actress, the aunt of Sir Compton Mackenzie and Fay Compton—a rich and many-sided personality, whose love of reticence forbade to mention her past triumphs on the stage.[3] Since her resignation in 1931 four other Mothers-General have borne the responsible position of directing the spiritual and external activities of the Community at home and overseas. At the present time the office of Warden is held by the Reverend Jonathan Graham, C. R. The Visitor is the Bishop of Oxford.

To continue this chronicle of the Community, reference must be made to parochial work undertaken by small groups of Sisters since 1868, when the first of these families was sent to St Peter's, Plymouth. Since then other groups have worked in the parishes of St Mary Magdalene's, Paddington (1871), and All Saints, Wigan (1887), and still at St John the Divine, Kennington (1872) and St Mark's, Swindon (1891). Those who were stationed in London and Plymouth during the Second World War took their full share in the Battle of Britain; rendering countless services to families who suffered in the blitz.

How can one do full justice to the Foreign Mission work carried on by the Wantage Sisters? Here is the story in brief as narrated by one of the Community: "The first call to work overseas came in 1877 from Bishop Mylne of Bombay, to the central stronghold of Hinduism in India, Poona; in the heart of the native city Christian parochial work has been gradually built up, complete with medical service in the dispensary and hospital and with a large well-built primary and Anglo-vernacular school for both girls and boys; embroidery and other workrooms; in fact all the ordinary activities of a parish. This work, since its foundation, has been under the direction of the Society of St John the Evangelist, Cowley. In Poona Camp, St Mary's European School educates a large proportion of Indian as well as English girls, and in 1938 the Community undertook the direction of St Peter's School at Khandala, an Anglo-Indian and Indian centre on the Bombay Ghats, but were obliged to relinquish it for various reasons in 1947."

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[1] *A Hundred Years of Blessing*, p. 70. [2] Ibid., p. 71. Ibid., p. 78.

The following is a description of the work in South Africa: "In 1903 Sisters went forth to South Africa to undertake a school in Pretoria directly after the signing of the Peace Treaty of Vereeniging. Moral welfare work was developed at Irene, near Pretoria, and has grown to large dimensions, while in the native Transkei, Cape Province, the Sisters co-operate with the Society of St John the Evangelist in educational and mission service for the Africans, specializing in the care of St Lucy's Hospital and in practical domestic training. The latest development has come in the present war, when the Sisters had the privilege of continuing Miss Dorothy Maud's wonderful work in Sophiatown, Johannesburg, having the additional experience of being torpedoed on the way out! In 1946 the Community undertook the charge of St Mary's School of over three hundred girls at Waverley, a suburb of Johannesburg. This Sister Superior was the first Sister to travel to her post by air."[1]

Several communities of women have owed their foundation to Wantage. The Guild of the Good Shepherd for primary and secondary teachers, which evolved out of a smaller Guild of the Holy Innocents started by the founder, in its turn gave birth in 1943 to the *Third Order of Jesus the Good Shepherd*. This community for qualified teachers and youth leaders now has its own novitiate at West Ogwell, Devonshire (see p. 515). Other communities founded from Wantage are the *Servants of the Cross* (1877) (see p. 454); the native *Community of the Holy Name* at Poona, India (1905); the African *Sisters of St John the Baptist*, St Cuthbert's Mission, C.P. (1914)[2]; the *Society of the Servants of Mary* (1919); and the Benedictine *Society of the Salutation of St Mary the Virgin* (1942). All but the Servants of the Cross and the Servants of Mary are now independent of Wantage. The *Community of St Thomas the Martyr, Oxford*, founded in 1847 (see p. 288) might be described as an adopted daughter; likewise the *Nursing Community of Christ the Consoler* (now the *Community of the Presentation*), which sought guidance and supervision in 1941 (see p. 518).

These chronicles are very much the records of former days, and much more could now be told of development and growth. Nocturns added to the Day Hours now complete the Divine Office, and the externals of worship have been much enriched.

There have been many changes as regards branch houses and work

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[1] *Butler of Wantage*, pp. 93, 94.

[2] *A Hundred Years of Blessing*, pp. 178–86.

undertaken. Former houses have been closed and new ones opened as need required to suit the demands of changing times and outlook. As the old penitentiary system disappeared the Community met Government regulations and plans in all possible ways, and still works happily with the Home Office and various Ministries. Voluntary homes have ceased to exist, and the Community has, in their place, opened houses for elderly and homeless ladies.

Linked up with the Wantage Community there has always been a large body of priests and women associates. Charlotte Mary Yonge became an associate in 1868. "She was anxious to test her vocation as a Sister, but it was Butler who persuaded her otherwise, and so gained for his own and subsequent generations the delightful conversation pieces of the later Tractarians that her novels supply. The skill of her characterization supplied her lack of humour, while her faith forbade any touch of even sprightly malice, yet the atmosphere of house and garden, school and parish is enduring; one can hear the swish of the crinoline, see the frock-coat, top-hat and choker, or even catch the passing vanity that fastens a gardenia in the hair, or share with happy anticipation as the young people deck the church for a festival and enjoy the unison of their voices in chant and hymn."[1] It is in the novels of Charlotte Yonge that one can best capture the spirit of that now forgotten age in which the Wantage Community grew up; the world from which most of the earliest members were drawn.[2] The Priest Associates of bygone times included such pioneers of the Catholic Revival in the Church of England as Mackonochie, Pelham Dale, Stuckey Coles, Canon Newbolt, Montague Noel, Richard Temple West, and Charles E. Brooke. Among the Bishop Associates were Mylne of Bombay, Randall of Reading, and Francis Paget of Oxford—enough to show how closely the Community of

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[1] *A Hundred Years of Blessing*, p. 117.

[2] The association of Charlotte M. Yonge with the Wantage Sisterhood is a convincing proof that its religion in her time cannot have exceeded the sober standard of Tractarian devotion. In several of her novels she ventured to warn readers against excessive "Ritualism". Even as late as 1876 she wrote in *The Three Brides* of certain young ladies who, "technically reverent; they have startled the whole place with their curtsies and crossings in church, but they gabble up to the very porch; and the familiarity with which they discuss High Mass, as they are pleased to call it!" In one or two of Miss Yonge's stories Anglican Sisterhoods are mentioned, but they are kept more or less in the background. She remained an old-fashioned Tractarian until her death in 1901. She never moved on from the soothing atmosphere of Keble's *Christian Year*, and eventually "this decorous mid-Victorian churchwoman found herself reprimanding the enthusiasm of a new generation, who were not prepared to accept Keble's liturgical standards as final but were only 'willing for a season to rejoice in his light'." A. L. Drummond, *The Churches in English Fiction* (1950) p. 78.

St Mary the Virgin has been bound up with the main stream of Anglican ecclesiastical life.

Seventy odd years ago the founder wrote to the Associates: "Such then is the record of the tale we have to tell. To those of us who remember the small beginning in the little house in Newbury Street, Wantage, it is indeed surprising to see to what it has grown. We can only exclaim, 'It is the Lord's doing and it is marvellous to our eyes.'" If Butler of Wantage were alive today he would have even greater cause to wonder at the amazing development of the Community. "The two small loaves laid upon the Altar in 1850 have indeed been blessed and multiplied. The founder never saw the fullness of growth, but he was blessed because he did not see and yet believed. He worked with slow patience, but the Lord said, 'The little one shall become a thousand and the small one a strong nation. I, the Lord, will hasten the time.'"[1]

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In 1963 the C.S.M.V. had the following Branch Houses:

St Mary's School, Wantage; School of St Helen and St Katharine, Abingdon; Springfield St Mary, Oxford (for university students); Chaworth St James, Ottershaw (approved school); St Bridget's, Chester (unmarried mothers and babies); St Mary's, 153 Stamford Hill, N. 16 (unmarried mothers and babies); St Mary's Home, Alton (feeble-minded women and girls); St Mary's Home, Buxted (feeble-minded women and girls); Spelthorne St Mary, Thorpe, Egham (inebriate and nerve cases); St Mary and St John's, Kennington (parochial work); Parson Cross, Sheffield (parochial work); St Katharine's House, Wantage (care of the sick and aged; church embroidery; studio and wafer bakery); Springfield St Luke, Caversham (care of the aged); St Michael's House, Wantage; St Mary's Lodge, Wantage (guest house); St Mary's Preparatory School, Great Oaks, Goring Heath; St Mark's, Swindon (parochial work).

Overseas

Indian Province. St Mary's Convent, Panch Howd, Poona (mother house); St Mary's School, Poona. St Crispin's Home, Yerandawana (girls and children), was added in 1955 for the work in Poona.

African Province. Holy Cross, Irene, Transvaal (mother house, training home and nursery); St Mary's Diocesan School, Pretoria, Transvaal; and last in St. John's, Kaffraria, St Lucy's Hospital for Africans and training of African nurses. The Community of St John Baptist for African women, for many years under the guidance of C.S.M.V., has, since 1955, taken over much of the work at St Cuthbert's, Tsolo, Transkei.

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[1] *Butler of Wantage*, p. 95.

3. SOCIETY OF THE MOST HOLY TRINITY

Ascot Priory, Berkshire (1848)[1]

The Society of the Most Holy Trinity is the lineal descendant of the first religious community of women to be set up in the Anglican Communion. It was also the first of the many Sisterhoods in which provision was made for the enclosed and contemplative life. Not many people are aware that over a hundred years ago there was at least one small community in the Church of England observing a Rule based partly on that of the Poor Clare nuns. Moreover, this Society was formed on the traditional lines of a religious order, with elaborate Constitutions which alarmed some of the leaders of the Tractarian party. Another interesting point is that Dr Pusey was the spiritual guide and loyal supporter of this community for the first thirty-four years of its existence. The official four-volume *Life of Edward Bouverie Pusey* tells us little of his intimate relations with the Society of the Most Holy Trinity and its foundress, who has been described correctly as "the introducer of the modern conventual system into the Church of England". Miss Maria Trench in her more personal biography of Dr Pusey gives a detailed account of his connection with the earlier Sisterhood of the Holy Cross, but minimizes his relation to the Devonport Society before the death of the foundress, whom she does not even mention.

Priscilla Lydia Sellon was the daughter of Commander William Richard Smith, R.N., who in 1847, on receiving a large fortune from his maternal aunt, adopted the name of Sellon. The Sellons were descended from a Huguenot family which had fled to England in 1685 on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. In 1814 Commander Smith married his first cousin, Priscilla Lydia White, and on 21 March—the Feast of St Benedict—probably in 1821 (the year is not certain)—she gave birth to a daughter, who was given the names of Priscilla Lydia. Mrs Smith died two years later, and the little girl was brought up by a Scottish Presbyterian governess. It was not until she reached the age of about twenty that she came into touch with some of the leaders of the Tractarian movement as the result of frequent visits to the Chambers family in London. Mr John David Chambers, who was a barrister by profession, was a churchwarden of Christ Church, Albany Street, and had been closely associated with the establishment of the Sisterhood at 17 Park Village West in 1845. His house in Cumberland Terrace, Regent's Park, was a meeting place for many of those connected with the Catholic Revival in the Church of England. Here Miss Sellon probably met Dr Pusey for the first time, and here she got to know "what a Sisterhood was like", for the convent was only just round the corner from the Chambers's house. "It was then that Miss Sellon caught the first glimpse of that vision of Spiritual Empire which was within a few months to change the whole course of her own life and thereby to influence profoundly the development of women's work in England—in parochial work, in the profession of nursing, in social service, and in missionary adventure. Certainly the Sisters whom she visited could not foresee that the young woman from the West Country who had come up to London to see 'what their Sisterhood was like' would, in less than ten years, have destroyed its separate existence as a Community, in order to perpetuate it in a Society as imperial in its conception as it was to be far reaching in its achievements."[1]

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[1] Both this section and the previous one dealing with the Park Village Sisterhood were revised by the Reverend T. J. Williams, author of *Priscilla Lydia Sellon* (1950).

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It has also been pointed out that Miss Sellon "was the one woman publicly associated with the Catholic Revival in its early years—for in those days there was little scope for the expression of a woman's talents";[2] and that she was as bold and determined a pioneer in this field as Harriet Martineau. Moreover, besides a natural gift for leadership, she had "a heart endowed with human sympathy, which, enriched by a passionate love of our Lord, was to prompt her in those works of heroic mercy which she performed in later days".[3]

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[1] Thomas Jay Williams, *Priscilla Lydia Sellon* (London, 1950), p. 8. It is from this fascinating and detailed history of the Society of the Most Holy Trinity that most of the facts given here are taken. The difficulty has been to select just those details which are most important. The laborious researches made by the author throw much light on the foundation of many other Anglican religious communities. As a general source of reference for its subject this book is indispensable. See also his article, *Priscilla Lydia Sellon* in *Cowley*, Trinity 1959.

[2] *Priscilla Lydia Sellon* (Heroes of the Catholic Revival: No. 10), p. 4.

[3] Ibid., p. 5.

On 1 January 1848 Dr Phillpotts, Bishop of Exeter, made a public appeal which was summarized and partially quoted in the *Guardian* (5 January 1848, p. 8). In it he pointed out the appalling conditions which existed in Devonport and Plymouth, where the spiritual destitution of thousands of poor people had a strong claim on the nation at large. To the daughter of a former naval officer this challenge to "the Christian charity of England" came with particular force, since Devonport was first and foremost a maritime town. Although the doctors had ordered her to go to Italy for the sake of her health, the vision of the regeneration of the Three Towns of Plymouth, Devonport, and Stonehouse seemed far more compelling. As her biographer points out: "her reaction to the Bishop of Exeter's appeal was the first of many instances in which Miss Sellon exerted that power of will and nervous energy which has for generations distinguished the Sellon family, enabling them, under stress of emergency or critical need, so completely to ignore bodily weakness as to execute with efficiency and mental vigour enterprises that would tax the powers of far more robust constitutions."[1] To quote her father's words, she felt that this was "a genuine call from God".

With his approval she went to Exeter to consult Bishop Phillpotts. "It is difficult for men and women of the twentieth century, accustomed as we are to the initiative and independence of women in every field of activity, religious, social, and political to appreciate how revolutionary Miss Sellon's proposal must have seemed to Bishop Phillpotts. For 'a delicately nurtured female', 'a lady', used to all the refinements and comforts of a sheltered life, to live and work as she wished to do, 'alone and unprotected' in one of the worst slums of a seaport town, was unheard of, for most persons unthinkable."[2] Nevertheless, the bishop gave his consent and blessing to her offer to do what she could for the religious, social, and educational needs of Devonport.

Miss Sellon wasted no time. She travelled to London where Mr and Mrs Chambers invited a small party to discuss ways and means. She also consulted Dr Pusey, who gave her a letter of introduction to the Reverend Martin Kilpack, who was in charge of the newly constituted district of St James, Morice-Town, Devonport. At his suggestion she went to Devonport in April 1848 and rented a room in George Street, which was a haunt of misery and vice. As was stated in the *Guardian* (17 January 1849): "wild and neglected children—most of them under fourteen years of age, unbaptized all of them, in absolute heathen ignorance—

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[1] Williams, op. cit., p. 36. [2] Ibid., p. 36.

swarmed in the streets, where almost every third house was a beer-shop". Miss Sellon soon made friends with these children and started three schools, one for boys, and two for girls. She was single-handed, and before the end of the summer her health broke under the strain. During her enforced absence the boys were left under the care of a master, whose treatment of them resulted in their smashing up most of the furniture. On her return to Devonport she was convinced that a Sisterhood must be established to ensure the elements of organization, growth, and stability. Dr Pusey encouraged this idea. Commander Sellon was so much impressed with the work done that he gave substantial financial help.

In August 1848 Miss Sellon had another interview with Bishop Phillpotts, and submitted her plans for a Sisterhood. Having obtained his blessing, she went to London to gain a more detailed knowledge of the organization of the Park Village Sisterhood. She may have thought of joining this community, but eventually she resolved to form another of which she herself would be Superior. Miss Sellon returned to Devonport accompanied by Miss Catherine Chambers, sister of J. D. Chambers. The Sisterhood came into being on 16 October with scarcely anybody realizing it. Miss Sellon moved to new quarters in Clarence Place. Here she opened a home for the orphan daughters of poor sailors. Miss Chambers undertook all the routine work of the establishment, leaving Miss Sellon free to devote herself to visiting the sick, teaching in the schools, organizing, systematizing, and expanding her work. A prospectus was issued on behalf of The "Home for the Orphan Daughters of British Sailors and Soldiers". Dr Pusey assisted at its opening, and not long afterwards Bishop Phillpotts came to give the enterprise his official sanction. Three other young ladies came to join the first two. The name chosen for the infant community was the "Church of England Sisterhood of Mercy of Devonport and Plymouth". The first Vespers of SS. Simon and Jude were sung in the tiny oratory on the afternoon of 27 October 1848, thus starting the regular celebration of the Divine Office, which ever since has been regarded as the basis of the spiritual life of this Society.[1] A brief Rule was

drawn up; parts of it taken from the Rule of the Sisters of the Holy Cross, other sections adapted from older monastic Rules, some original. A simple dress was adopted, consisting of a black woollen frock, with long flowing sleeves, a woollen girdle, to which was attached a small ebony cross, and a white cap, with long black strings. Out of doors the Sisters wore a black cloak, black bonnet, and black *crêpe* veil. Their appearance must have resembled that of the Helpers of the Holy Souls, the French community founded five years later by Eugénie Smet. The object of the new Sisterhood was stated to be "the education of the female children of Sailors and Soldiers, who shall have lost either parent; the visiting the sick and needy; superintendence of schools, infant or adult, industrial or educational; oral instruction of adults in smaller classes; the visiting of female immigrants on board vessels touching the port of Plymouth; and any other purpose (such as the care of hospitals and infirmaries, the temporary shelter and training of distressed women of good character) which God . . . shall open to them"—a vast programme for five ladies to cope with!

It enables one to appreciate in how great a sense Miss Sellon was a pioneer, when it is remembered that in 1848 there were no Roman Catholic communities of women in the county of Devon, and only one in Cornwall—the enclosed Carmelite nuns at Lanherne. Within two years Mother Lydia Sellon had established the following charitable institutions in or around Devonport:

(1) *Orphans' Home,* where twenty-seven children were boarded, lodged, clothed, and educated.
(2) *St George's College for Sailor Boys,* where twenty-six lads were redeemed from misery and vice.
(3) *The House of Peace*—a refuge for girls, who were trained for domestic service.
(4) *A Home for Old Sailors and their Wives.*
(5) *Industrial School,* where seventy girls were instructed in needlework as a means of support.
(6) Six "*Houses of Hope*"—model lodging-houses for poor families, with a school attached for the children of the inmates.
(7) *Lodging Houses* connected with the Industrial School.
(8) *A Soup Kitchen,* where between eighty and a hundred meals were served daily to old people past work.
(9) *Five Ragged Schools.*

By 1851 this valiant woman, not content with her activities in the Three Towns, had rented several houses in Bristol, to serve respectively as a hospital, a mission-centre, and a convent. She also took a house at Alverstoke, Hampshire, to be used as a seaside convalescent home for patients from Bristol. All this was achieved by one woman: "struggling against the heavy tide of unpopularity, the victim of ungenerous suspicion and inquisitorial interference, working her way underground and in the dark, all the while—she a woman too! Not works only, but exploits of charity which, in their external effect at least, may challenge comparison with the achievements even of some among our greatest missionary saints."[1]

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[1] "All that is known of the offices used [by the Society in its early days] is that they were largely made up of Psalms and Prayer Book collects, and that Bishop Phillpotts had asked the Sisters to use the terms 'First Hour', 'Third Hour', 'Sixth Hour', and 'Ninth Hour', instead of the ancient names, Prime, Terce, Sext, and None; and that by February, 1849, the use of the longer terms had been abandoned as awkward and inconvenient. It is known also that the Sisters said Lauds at six o'clock each morning in their oratory." (T. J. Williams, "Anglican Versions of the Breviary", article reprinted from *Cowley,* n.d.) Since that article was written a MS. draft of this early office has been found at Ascot Priory.

And what "ungenerous and inquisitorial interference" she had to endure—not only from without but from within. The story of these bitter persecutions is given in detail by her biographer; it started as early as 1849, and continued at intervals until 1863. It took the form of articles and letters in the newspapers, tracts and pamphlets,[2] and finally the publication in 1863 of Miss Goodman's *Experiences of an English Sister of Mercy*—full of revelations of supposed tyranny, selfishness, cruelty, spiritual pride, and hypocrisy on the part of Mother Lydia towards her Sisters. As a result of the charges made against her in 1852, Bishop Phillpotts, who after a public inquiry, in 1849, had entirely vindicated Mother Lydia, ceased his official connection with the Community as its Visitor, although he continued to give a vague moral support at a safe distance. One result of this disagreeable publicity was that the Sisterhood lost many of its most influential supporters, including Queen Adelaide; but it must have been a consolation to Mother Lydia that her father, Commander Sellon, never failed her at any time, ever valiant to contradict the malicious stories which were propagated concerning his daughter. Another old sailor, on hearing of these attacks, remarked with indignation: "Well, God bless you, and never mind what the world says of you!" No other foundress of an Anglican religious community in the last century endured so much opposition, suspicion, and interference as Priscilla Lydia Sellon. But no other foundress had such visions and ideals regarding the work she felt God was calling her to do, or possessed quite the same gift of leadership. As early as the spring of 1851 "plans were being made by the Lady Superior, in consultation with Dr Pusey, for laying out the whole of England in 'triangles', each point of which was to be a Religious House under her rule". Plymouth, Bristol, and Gosport (each a seaport town) were to be the "points" chosen to form the first "triangle".[3] The work in Bristol was inaugurated in July 1851 at the invitation of the Bishop, Dr Monk. Dr Pusey seems to have visualized Mother Lydia becoming the Superior-General of all the Sisterhoods in the Church of England, with St Dunstan's Abbey, Plymouth, as the mother house. But this particular dream was never realized.

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It must be confessed that it is difficult to form an accurate mental picture of the would-be Abbess-General of all the Sisterhoods in the Church of England, because of the legends which have grown up about her. Her biographer points out that her father was "particularly attached to Lydia, whose character and disposition exhibited many traits from him. It was he who 'early trained her in the school of obedience and duty' to know 'the value of acting on a system instead of wasting energy in isolated action'."

Here is the significant passage: "But it was as much by inheritance as by training that she was imbued with the love of regimentation and discipline and, above all, with that rigid insistence on obedience which marked the organization and direction of her life work. From her father she also derived the gift for leadership which distinguished her even in childhood, together with an imperial dignity of bearing which her traducers described as an 'imperious haughtiness'. Far from being either imperious or haughty (her father assured these adversaries) 'she was from a child a most gentle creature, most tractable and engaging. In her own families these qualities endeared her to every member'."[4] In later years her enemies accused her of possessing "mesmeric powers". Miss Margaret Anna Cusack has hardly a good word to say for the "Lady Superior of Devonport" (referred to in her *Five Years in a Protestant Sisterhood* as "Miss Jones"), and says "she realized in her own person the Protestant idea of a Lady Abbess". But she adds: "Once more do not blame her. How could she have done otherwise? She believed, or if she did not express her belief in words, she certainly expressed it in acts, that the Lady Abbess was a person to be exalted on a mighty pinnacle of honour, to be reverenced with almost idolatrous worship, to be obeyed without the slightest consideration as to whether her commands were right or wrong; to rule without being in any way under rule; to subject

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[1] *Dublin Review*, June 1852, p. 437.

[2] Cf. *Miss Sellon and the Sisters of Mercy: an Exposure*, by the Reverend James Spurrell (1852); *A Reply to a Tract by the Rev. James Spurrell*, by the Superior of the Society (1852); *A Letter to Miss Sellon, Superior of the Society of Sisters of Mercy*, by Henry, Lord Bishop of Exeter (1852); *A Rejoinder to the Reply . . .*, by the Reverend James Spurrell (1852); *Sisters of Mercy, Sisters of Misery; or Miss Sellon in the Family*, by the Reverend W. M. Colles (1852); *Miss Sellon and the Sisters of Mercy. Further Statement of the Rules, Constitution, etc.... with an exact Review of Miss Sellon's Reply*, by Diana A. G. Campbell (1852); also article in *Dublin Review*, "Miss Sellon and her Sisterhood" (June 1852, p. 436). The long drawn-out controversy is dealt with by the Reverend T. J. Williams in *Priscilla Lydia Sellon* (1950), ch. xiii, xiv, xv, xvi.

[3] Williams, op. cit., p. 106.

[4] Williams, op. cit., p. 3.

others to the most severe exactions, and not to be subject herself to any law whatsoever."[1]

However, what must be remembered is that a hundred years ago neither the civil nor the ecclesiastical law recognized her status as "Lady Abbess"; in other words, there was then no law to which she could have been subjected herself. Her own bishop had washed his hands of her, and she found herself almost alone, with nobody but Dr Pusey to whom she could turn for advice or direction. Miss Cusack was not far wrong when she wrote: "Miss Jones had entered on a certain state of life without the slightest knowledge of its duties or requirements. The only excuse for her having undertaken duties of which she knew nothing, and for attempting to teach others a kind of life of which she was herself perfectly ignorant was simply that, as long as she remained externally a member of the Protestant Church, she could not do otherwise. . . . It was a case of the blind leading the blind. The religious life had been abolished and utterly condemned by the Protestant Reformation, and Miss Jones was trying to catch glimpses, through a thick veil, of how that life was carried on in the Church in which it had never ceased to exist." On the whole Miss Cusack's attacks on Mother Lydia are more reasonable than those of Miss Goodman in her *Sisterhoods in the Church of England* (1863), for they were made by one who was able to compare the system of discipline enforced in St Dunstan's Abbey, Plymouth, and in other houses of the Society of the Most Holy Trinity with that of the Roman Catholic community of Irish Poor Clares, which she joined in after years. But when all is said and done, the fact remains that Priscilla Lydia Sellon was a "valiant woman", who, without that "love of regimentation and discipline and, above all, that rigid insistence on obedience which marked the organization and direction of her life work", would never have achieved what she did. One feels that she must have been a very lonely soul, born out of due time, fighting battles, with few at her side upon whom she could rely in times of crisis.

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In 1849 the Sisters did heroic work nursing the victims of a cholera epidemic in the Three Towns, many of the patients being Irish, of the poorest, lowest type. Another outbreak of cholera occurred in 1853.

Meanwhile the Sisterhood had been growing rapidly in numbers, and by 1852 was already composed of three Orders or "Rules": the Sisters of Mercy of the Holy Communion, the enclosed Sisters of the Sacred Heart, and the Sisters of Charity of the Holy Ghost. The first were engaged principally in active works of charity, and wore a black serge habit, hence their popular name of "Black Sisters". The second were practically cloistered nuns, who spent their time in writing, illuminating, needlework, and such other occupations as fitted their hidden way of life. Their habit was of white serge, with a white cloak and a white veil.[1] They went barefoot indoors, and outdoors wore sandals with no stockings. "Dedicated to the Love of Jesus in a life of mortification and of contemplative, intercessory, and liturgical prayer, these enclosed Sisters supplied the spiritual power energizing the external activities of the First and Third Orders." The last named were also designated "Sisters of Charity", and were known as "Grey Sisters" from the colour of their habit. Later on they were divided into two groups—Blue and Grey. The former were true tertiaries who mostly lived and worked in one of the houses of the Society; the latter were associates, who wore a grey dress during temporary residence with the Society. As early as the 'sixties women were also received as "Associate Sisters".

A more detailed code, known as *The Seven Great Rules*, was drawn up in 1851, and superseded the regulations approved by Bishop Phillpotts three years earlier.

In October 1850 the foundation stone of the first permanent home of the Society, St Dunstan's Abbey, was laid by Bishop Phillpotts on the site of the temporary hospital which the Community had used during the cholera epidemic. Designed by William Butterfield in the Early English style of Gothic, the abbey was planned on such a scale that it might become the mother house of all the religious communities which were beginning to flourish in the Church of England. There was to be an imposing conventual church, but only a small part of this great range of buildings was ever erected.[2] Only a fortnight before this event, the first stone had been laid of St Saviour's, Osnaburgh Street, but even if St

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[1] Williams, op. cit., p. 103.

[1] At an early date brown was substituted for white as the colour of the habit, black for the white of the veil. White has always been, and still is, the colour of the choir cloak.

[2] "This is an unfinished but picturesque pile of buildings. Seen from across the Stonehouse Lake, on rising ground, with its walls divided into heights of two or three stories as occasion required, breaking out occasionally into an octagonal bay, or sweeping round in an apse-like curve, and surmounted by a high pitched roof of slate, it forms an admirable group. The cold grey limestone, which is the building material of this district, is generally a dull and formal one for local masonry; but Mr Butterfield, by breaking it up into irregular courses, has given it life and interest. Internally, the plan, though probably added to from time to time, seems excellently adapted for its purpose, and possesses the rare quality in modern Gothic of being thoroughly practical and straightforward in its arrangement." (Charles Eastlake, *The Gothic Revival* (1872), p. 256.)

Dunstan's Abbey could not claim to be the first Anglican convent to be begun, its blessing by a bishop of the Church of England was a momentous occasion.

In 1854 Mother Lydia took temporary control of the weakened Sisterhood of the Holy Cross, which had migrated from 17 Park Village West to St Saviour's, Osnaburgh Street, in 1852. On the outbreak of the Crimean War, Mother Lydia went up to London to meet Miss Florence Nightingale, with a view to sending out a party from the Devonport and London communities to nurse the wounded soldiers. Eight were chosen—three from Osnaburgh Street and five from Devonport. Among the party which left London for Scutari on 23 October 1854 were five Roman Catholic Sisters of Mercy from Bermondsey, and a few other Sisters from the Convent of the Faithful Virgin at Norwood.[1] The only public recognition ever made to the services of the London-Devonport communities was "the tardy acknowledgment of Miss Terrot's efficient and devoted work, when in 1897 Her Majesty Queen Victoria conferred on the former Eldress Sarah Anne the Royal Red Cross. The only recognition from a military source accorded to the Devonport Sisters for their care of the sick and wounded was private and unofficial. An officer of the Crimean Forces left in his will a bequest of money to be used for the purchase of sacred vessels to be given to the Devonport Society in gratitude for the devotion of the Sisters in nursing the men of his division. These vessels are still in use in the Priory Church at Ascot."[2]

On the Feast of SS. Simon and Jude, 28 October 1856, the eighth anniversary of the founding of the Devonport Society of the Sisters of Mercy, the Sisterhood of the Holy Cross, London, was formally amalgamated with the former (see p. 241). In March of the following year, on the feast of St Benedict, Mother Lydia was solemnly installed as "Abbess" of the two communities in the oratory of St Dunstan's, Plymouth. New Statutes were drawn up of a much more elaborate nature than the Seven Great Rules which had replaced the original Rules of 1851. The reference in the Statutes to a provision for "Missionary Sisters" with rules "suited to the temporary circumstances such as climate and the like", indicates that the lady abbess "had plans for extending her empire to the mission field overseas, where as yet no Community of Anglican Religious was at work".[3] Provision was likewise made for the union of other communities, apparently with the hope that Mother Lydia might yet become

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[1] The full story of the heroic work done by these Sisters is related by the Reverend T. J. Williams, op. cit., pp. 142–80.

[2] Ibid., p. 180. [3] Ibid., p. 185.

the "Abbess-General" of all religious communities in the Church of England. No detail, no matter how minute, was forgotten in these Statutes. An interesting point is that they reveal what a close study the lady abbess must have made of the Rule of St Benedict, but she was not content with this source, she adopted customs and usages from the Rules of many other orders, especially that of the Poor Clares. Mother Lydia was a born legislator: she was not content to "muddle through" in the usual English way of doing things; she had to have everything cut and dried. In this respect she must have inherited a good deal from her French Huguenot ancestors who fled to England towards the close of the seventeenth century: she had the mentality and outlook of a brilliant French woman rather than that of a typical English lady of a hundred years ago. For none of her contemporary Anglican foundresses ever dreamed dreams and saw visions as she did; they were mostly concerned with the immediate jobs which had to be done by their Sisters, and lived from day to day. Some of these communities had at first only the sketchiest of Rules.

The Statutes of 1856 define very clearly the distinctions between the Three Orders or Rules of the Society, expressive of the three types of the religious vocation: the mixed, the contemplative, and the active.[1] The First Order, "denominated of the Holy Communion", and dedicated "to the Praise, Glory, and Adoration of . . . the First Person of the Coequal and Undivided Trinity", was made up of the Sisters of Mercy. Their object was stated to be "to extend the kingdom of Christ by teaching the doctrines of the Catholic Religion, and devoting themselves to works of mercy under religious discipline and apart from the world". These ladies still wore the black habit with flowing sleeves, but by this time had adopted a head-dress resembling that worn by the Beguines of Ghent. Out of doors a black *crêpe* veil covered the head, and at one time the face as well.

These Sisters of Mercy, otherwise the First Order, lived at St Dunstan's Abbey, Plymouth. Their day, which began at 5 a.m., ended with the recitation of Matins at 8 p.m. All the Canonical Hours were recited in choir in an English translation. Much time was spent in private prayer and meditation; the intervals being taken up with different sorts of works of mercy and charity.

The Second Order was known as "The Englishe Nuns"—"denominated of the Sacred Heart", until 1861, after which they were "denominated of the Love of Jesus", dedicated to God the Son. The Statutes governing these Nuns, based on the fifteenth-century Constitutions of the

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[1] Cf. Williams, op. cit., pp. 184–90.

Poor Clares Collettine, laid down that they might never leave the house of their Order save for attendance at church or on the direct order of the Superior. The object was to offer "day and night, throughout the four and twenty hours", "the voice of mourning for sin, of interceding for grace, of adoration of the Majesty of the Divine Trinity and of the Love of Jesus". They were bidden to pray especially "for the conversion of sinners throughout the world, and for a blessing on the labours of their Sisters of the two other Orders, that they might be the means of bringing many souls to the knowledge and love of God". Originally white, their habit was in 1861 changed to brown in emulation of the Poor Clare or Carmelite nuns. A definite Carmelite feature of their dress was a white mantle worn in choir, bearing on the back a pierced heart, worked in red. Until 1861 the "Englishe Nuns"—like the early Poor Clares—wore neither stockings nor shoes in the house, and only sandals out of doors.

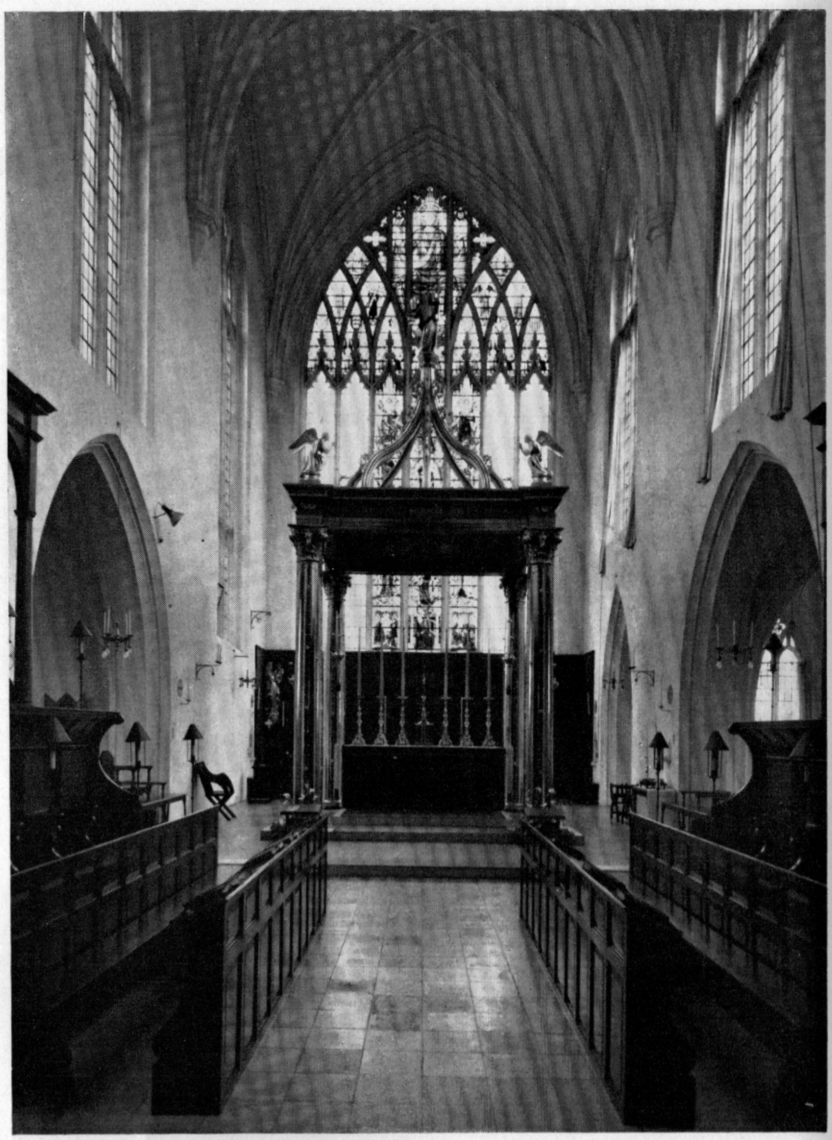
Their Rule was very strict. They rose at 3 a.m. for Matins and Lauds, and their long day was filled up with the recitation of the Divine Office, mental prayer, intercession, and household duties. Their other occupations seem to have been mainly embroidery, illuminating, or writing. There were two daily recreations, which except on Wednesdays (and later on Sundays) were spent in silence. Every night, after Compline, the Sisters in turn kept an hour's watch of intercession and reparation in the chapel until Matins the following morning. Every week, at midnight on the eve of Friday, the whole Community arose to keep the Holy Hour in Reparation to the Sacred Heart. Later it was found necessary to modify the primitive austerity of this Rule.

In 1856 the Reverend Edward Stuart, Vicar of St Mary Magdalene, Munster Square, the parish in which St Saviour's, Osnaburgh Street, was situated, obtained for the use of the Society of the Most Holy Trinity a stately mansion of the Elizabethan and Queen-Anne periods at Bradford-on-Avon, with two acres of walled garden. Mother Lydia installed the Second Order here. A printing-press, removed from the convent at Bristol, was set up, on which many of the volumes of Dr Pusey's sermons and other books were printed by the Sisters. One of their number continued the manner of life of an anchoress, begun as early as 1851, until 1877. She kept a rule of perpetual silence, Dr Pusey acting as her spiritual director.

The Third Order, otherwise the Sisters of Charity, "denominated of St Cross, and dedicated to God the Holy Ghost", aimed at "assuaging suffering in whatever form, and diligence of acts of charity and . . . self-discipline, redeeming the time because the days are evil". They

Convent of St John the Baptist, Clewer (1881)
By Henry Woodyer

See p. 305



[Sydney W. Newbery

ALL SAINTS' CONVENT, LONDON COLNEY (begun 1927)
By Sir Ninian Comper

See p. 326

worked among the sick poor. After 1856, when the Third Order was divided into the "Blue" and "Grey Sisters", the former lived under a semi-conventual Rule, either at St Saviour's, Osnaburgh Street, which was their official headquarters, or at the mission house in Bethnal Green—another of the Lady Superior's foundations. The Grey Sisters generally dwelt in their own homes, but spent as much time as possible in assisting the Blue Sisters. The designation "Sisters of Charity" applied the Third Order of the Devonport Society is not met with until the dissolution of a small Sisterhood at St Barnabas', Pimlico, whose work Mother Lydia seems to have taken over in 1854.[1]

Dr Pusey remained a close friend of Mother Lydia, and paid frequent visits to St Dunstan's Abbey, although until 1877 he had no official relationship to the Society of the Most Holy Trinity. It is not certain what part he played in drawing up the Statutes of 1856, or in producing such books as *The Manual of Prayers according to the Use of Devonport.* He acted as the spiritual director of many of the Sisters, but not all of them were whole-hearted followers of his teaching; in fact there was at one time a certain difference of opinion in the Community whether the conventual life—which developed more and more—was of greater importance, or the work done. In the early days at Devonport, the works of mercy and charity were regarded of prime importance—but as time went on, they tended to take a secondary place, especially with the development of the Second Order. The manner of life lived by the Society of the Most Holy Trinity would not seem extraordinary today, but it was something completely exotic and alien even to the Anglicanism of the late 'fifties, let alone the stolid Hanoverian religion which still persisted in court and official circles.

Meanwhile another wing of St Dunstan's Abbey had been completed from Mr Butterfield's design. We are told that the various rooms bore names "reminiscent of the 'House Beautiful' in Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress.* The Community Room . . . in the Tower . . . was named 'The Sheepfold'; the Superior's sitting-room was called 'Rest'."[2] The Sisters' cells were narrow and small, with a little coal-grate in some of them, and lit by small deep windows with a broad sill, on which they were allowed to keep a few plants. On a desk in a corner rested a picture of the Crucifixion, with a few devotional books, also a small bronze lamp, brought up after Compline from its resting place at the foot of the cross in the oratory. It was lit at the hour of rising for the Night Office. The camp-bedstead was covered with a white counterpane. Each cell contained a table and a chair. The woodwork was varnished and kept bright with constant polishing with beeswax.

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[1] A small community, known as the *Sisters of Charity* or the *St Barnabas' Sisterhood,* was founded by the Reverend W. J. E. Bennett in 1850 to work in the district of St Barnabas', Pimlico. About three years later two of its members, Elizabeth Sophia Law and Mary Anne Hayes, were received into communion with Rome. They became the co-foundresses of the Franciscans of Perpetual Adoration, whose home since 1858 has been at Drumshambo, Ireland.

Miss Mary Anne Hayes has been confused with Miss Elizabeth Hayes who for a brief time was Superior of a teaching sisterhood at Wantage (not the present Community of St Mary the Virgin). After her reception into the Roman Church she founded in Italy (1866) the Franciscan Missionary Sisters of the Immaculate Conception, whose mother house is now at Little Falls, Minnesota, U.S.A.

[2] Williams, op. cit., p. 205.

It is worth while to describe the oratory, for it must have been a remarkable Gothic Revival period piece. The great conventual church as well as the cloisters of the abbey were never erected, so what had been intended as the refectory was turned into a chapel. The dais at one end, where the Lady Superior would have sat at meals, was carpeted with needlework, and above it was a large window in the decorated Gothic style. Beneath the window was an oak table, covered with a frontal of the finest white cashmere—superseded later by a cloth-of-gold frontal, with the Sacred Name in Hebrew designed by Dr Pusey. On this altar, in the early days, stood a white marble cross, candlesticks and flower vases, a Hebrew Bible, and the Chapter Service Book. In after years a brass crucifix replaced the marble cross, and above it an oil-painting of the Crucifixion served as an altar-piece, eventually giving way to an alabaster reredos, which Dr Pusey brought back from abroad. A ewer and basin stood beside the altar, and were used in what was known as "The Chapter Service", when the Lady Abbess washed the Sisters' feet. A small oak chest, bound with iron, was placed in front of the altar. It contained the Rules of the Society, and other important documents and was secured by three padlocks, each of which had its own key. This chest, now in the sacristy of the Priory Church at Ascot, was opened recently and an inventory made of its contents. The Lady Abbess had her throne on the Epistle side of the sanctuary. After 1859 a crozier was placed beside it to indicate the abbatial rank of the "Mother of the Three Rules".

In this curiously furnished oratory the Divine Office was recited in what must have been a somewhat haphazard manner, since in the first years of the Society's existence the Sisters had to use manuscript translations of bits of the Sarum Breviary.

By 1854 it appears that each Sister had been provided with an Office Book, made up of these translations of the Common and Proper of the Seasons and greater Saints Days, which were bound up with an English Psalter. The Devonport Sisters who went to the Crimea took these books with them. The offices were abridged, and contained additions from sources other than the Sarum Breviary. Several of these Psalters, elaborately illuminated, are preserved at Ascot Priory.

It was in 1854 that Mother Lydia sent Sister Amelia Warren (recently designated "Deane") to a lonely cottage near Windsor, with a novice as her sole companion, so that she might have quiet and freedom to get on with her translation of the complete Sarum Breviary. Meanwhile the Society continued to use what became known as "The Old Breviary". Deane Amelia was occupied with her work for many years, and only finished it shortly before her death in 1869. The printing, which was done by the Sisters on their own press at Devonport, took even longer. It was not until 1889 that Gilbert and Rivington published *The Breviary of the Renowned Church of Salisbury, Rendered into English According to the Use of the Society of the Holy Trinity, Devonport.* This massive Office Book was not sold to the general public, and no other community adopted it. It is still used by the Society, manuscript additions having been made from time to time. Deane Amelia's work as a whole proves that she was no mean Latin scholar.[1]

By degrees, mainly because of the lack of sufficient Sisters, most of the outward activities of the Community were given up or cut down. A reduction in income likewise necessitated the abandonment of other enterprises. It was a great grief to Mother Lydia when she found it necessary to close St George's College for Sailor Boys shortly before 1862. But there were two works which she was determined to maintain if possible—the care of orphans and convalescent patients. Since 1854 the latter had been carried on at Boyne Hill, Maidenhead. Thanks to a legacy left to Dr Pusey in 1858 by his mother, Lady Lucy, which he placed at the disposal of Mother Lydia, she was able to buy forty acres of land near Ascot. Mr Butterfield was asked to prepare plans for the first unit of the Priory of Jesus Christ, and on 3 May 1863 Dr Pusey blessed the newly finished buildings, which became the home of the Second Order—the Company of the Love of Jesus—moved there from Bradford-on-Avon.

"Spacious grounds and abundance of country air and sunlight gave the Priory a cheerfulness which was lacking at the Abbey. . . . The effect of this contrast in surroundings was discernible in a brighter and more joyous tone among the Sisters who lived at Ascot." The priory building, set far back from a country road, had no need of barricaded windows to shut out the prying curiosity which had made it necessary to board up the windows of St Dunstan's looking on to North Road. The atmosphere of the Priory was no less medieval, no less monastic, no less aloof from the world than St Dunstan's; but there grew up at Ascot a spirit of "love and humility and sweet indulgent tolerance for all, which made the place unique".[1]

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[1] The translations of the hymns are those by the Reverend J. H. Newman, Mr J. D. Chambers, the Reverend W. J. Copeland, and the Reverend Edward Caswall. Deane Amelia was daughter of the Reverend Dawson Warren, a former chaplain to the Duke of York and afterwards Vicar of Edmonton. Her nephew, the late Canon Frederick Warren, was also an authority on Christian Worship. His *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church* and *The Liturgy of the Ante-Nicene Church* are but two of his contributions to the study of liturgy.

Some who can recall Ascot Priory about sixty years ago convey the impression that its spirit must have been not unlike that of the first Poor Clares. "The unmistakable dominance of the Franciscan spirit in the life of the Sisters of the Company of the Love of Jesus was in no small part due to the basic affinity of their Statutes with the Constitutions of the Poor Clares of the Reform of St Collette. A comparison of the Statutes governing the Second Order of the Devonport Society with the Collettine Constitutions reveals not a slavish copying or parrot-like quotation of the older Rule but close familiarity on the part of Mother Lydia with the letter and spirit of St Collette's enactments."[2]

A careful revision of the Constitution of the Second Order was made in 1861, and of the whole in 1889 in which considerable mitigation was introduced. For instance, the Night Office was said by anticipation at 7.30 p.m., and the hour of rising postponed from 3 a.m. to 5 a.m.

Dr Pusey, after 1864, usually spent the Long Vacation at Ascot Priory. It was here that most of his commentary on the Minor Prophets was composed. In July of that year he wrote to Mr Keble: "In this excellent air and with the pines [the symptoms of brain fag] are diminishing. At present I work a little at intervals, which this excellent invigorating air helps. I find the smell of the pines refreshing to the brain."[3]

Mother Lydia herself began to spend more and more time at Ascot, as her health became worse after a paralytic stroke in 1861. With the closing of most of the works at Plymouth, her responsibilities were lessened. In 1864 she took a house in Norwich, hoping she could send some of the Sisters there (see p. 58). She was also taking a motherly interest in Br Ignatius's attempt to found a community of Anglican Benedictine monks (see p. 52). It was in 1864 that she agreed to send three Sisters to the Sandwich Islands, where they opened a girls' school at Lahaina. The Society of the Most Holy Trinity was the first Community of Anglican religious to undertake work in the foreign mission-

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[1] Trench, *History of Ascot Priory* (2nd ed.), pp. 13, 16.

[2] Williams, op. cit., pp. 209, 210.

[3] Trench, *Story of Dr Pusey's Life* (1900), p. 409.

field. Two years later Mother Lydia, herself a semi-invalid, was directing the Sisters and other nurses who were fighting a cholera epidemic in East London. Mother Kate pictures her as "a most striking person" whose orders and directions were issued "with commanding gestures and a peculiarly imperative wave of a very well-shaped white hand".[1]

In 1867 this intrepid Victorian lady set out on the long journey from England to Hawaii, taking with her three more Sisters at the urgent request of Bishop Staley and Queen Emma. She went and returned by way of the Isthmus of Panama and San Francisco. The work in the Sandwich Islands was continued until 1902, when it was placed in secular hands. In 1917 the American Community of the Transfiguration took over St Andrew's Priory at Honolulu.

The Society by 1868 was reduced to fourteen Professed Religious of the First and Second Orders, four Sisters of the First Order of the rank of "Child", a few Novices, and more numerous Sisters of the Third Order. Its growth had not compared with that of the Sisterhoods of Wantage, Clewer, East Grinstead and All Saints, and others of later foundation. St Dunstan's Abbey still remained the mother house, but the Lady Superior lived much more at Ascot, which became the novitiate for both Orders. Her death took place on 20 November 1876, in the fifty-sixth year of her life, and the twenty-ninth of her religious profession. Her body was laid to rest at Ascot Priory.

She was succeeded by Mother Bertha (Turnbull), one of the Sisters who had been sent to Scutari (where she won the deep affection and high praise of Miss Nightingale) and later to Hawaii. It was immediately realized that the finances of the Society were in a precarious state; Dr Pusey did what he could to cope with the situation, and he accepted the post of Warden. One of the first steps taken by Mother Bertha was to strengthen the Society by receiving no more postulants for the First and Third Orders. After Dr Pusey's death at Ascot in 1882 the works of the Society were concentrated on the schools and penitentiary at Plymouth and the two institutions at Ascot, with a few Third Order Sisters still working in East London.

After Mother Georgiana Napier became Superior in 1890, the novitiate began to fill up again, but there was not enough new blood to do more than maintain the existing work at Ascot and Plymouth. The Community had such a dread of publicity that it was almost forgotten except by a few old friends: the Sisters were quite happy to be left alone and to lead a hidden life. By 1906 it was decided that the time had come when St Dunstan's Abbey must be abandoned. Only two Sisters were left there, and there was very little for them to do. The property was let on long lease to the Community of St Mary the Virgin, Wantage, in the following year. The Sisters withdrew in 1956, and St Dunstan's is being carried on as a Church School with a new Governing Body.

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[1] *Memories of a Sister of St Saviour's Priory* (2nd ed. 1912), p. 85.

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The Priory of Jesus Christ, Ascot—now the only house of the venerable Society of the Most Holy Trinity—possesses an indefinable atmosphere which makes it different from any other Anglican convent. Perhaps this is due to the sense one gets of being in actual contact with a now very remote past; that time has stopped still, and that one has been transported back at least ninety years, if not more. One would not be surprised to meet Dr Pusey walking beside Mother Lydia's wheel-chair along the paths between the rhododendron bushes beneath the pine trees. It is not very easy to find the Priory, no matter whether you arrive at Ascot by road or by rail. You will probably have to ask the way, and very likely you will be misdirected. Finally you arrive at a Gothic arch, through which there is a glimpse of Gothic buildings at the end of a long straight drive, on either side of which are tall Wellingtonias, planted by Dr Pusey. The Priory reflects William Butterfield in his earlier and less aggressive moods. The range of buildings on the left, with a high-pitched roof, serves as a hospital for convalescents—picturesque and thoroughly medieval, and not the sort of hospital building which would be approved in these times, although far more homely in atmosphere. Nuns in plum-coloured habits, white wimples, and black veils, wearing sandals instead of shoes, add a note of colour, contrasting with the grey walls and green lawns. The interior of the church, also designed by Butterfield, is original in many ways.[1] The architecture is a sort of transitional Romanesque with striped stone-work. There is no screen dividing the short nave from the choir. The east end is filled with three narrow windows, and the high altar backed by a reredos with painted panels. One notices the initials "E. B. P." and "P. L. S."—Edward Bouverie Pusey and Priscilla Lydia Sellon—both of whom played such an important part in the history of this community. Behind the church, at the same level, is the Lady-chapel, erected in 1936, and of quite a different style of architecture from the rest of the priory—a bare and rather austere Gothic, with a plain marble altar, having a square tabernacle set in the gradine for reservation.[2] Within the altar are enclosed stones from most of the old cathedrals and abbeys in England. Stalls face the altar, and are used by the Sisters for watches from 6 a.m. till Matins at 8 p.m. On a wall in the Nuns' Vestry outside the Lady-chapel is a large tablet with the names of the departed members of the Society, a reminder of its varied history and antiquity. The prefixes "Deane", "Eldress" and "Child" take one back to those far-off days at Devonport. The grounds are spacious and heather-grown, with sandy paths through pine woods and shrubberies. In the cemetery are the graves of the Mother Foundress and many of the Sisters. A winding path leads from here to a cross, erected on the spot where Dr Pusey loved to sit, and whence in his day, before the trees grew up, he could gaze over the countryside. Not far off is the red-brick "Hermitage", a small house where Dr Pusey spent much of his declining years and where he died. The statue of the Sacred Heart which once stood in the study has been removed to the Priory Church. The dining-room where his death took place has been turned into a chapel with a small altar. Here are preserved many relics of him—a skull-cap, an Oxford hood, a Bible, ink-pot, crosses.

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The remarkable fact about this Society is that, long since its First and Third Orders ceased to exist, its Second Order, originally known as the Sisters of the Sacred Heart but afterwards "denominated of the Love of Jesus", should have survived. A hundred years ago, even the most enthusiastic supporters of Mother Lydia's multiform projects rather doubted if there was a niche in Anglicanism for a community of enclosed nuns. One by one all those many works of mercy and charity started in Devonport were given up, to be carried on by others, and all that remains today are the Second Order, otherwise "The Englishe Nuns", and the Association for Intercessory Prayer, called the "Companions of the Love of Jesus", which, since its beginning, over a century ago, "has sent up to heaven an uninterrupted stream of supplication for the conversion of sinners and the succour of the dying"[1]—rising first from the Three Towns, then from one place after another in England, later still from the islands of the Pacific, and today from North America, Australia, China, and India. Mother Lydia's grasp of sound psychological principles, at a time when these principles had scarcely been recognized or formally stated, is revealed in her realization of the difficulty of continuous attention in prayer on the part of most persons and in the means which she devised to meet it and at the same time to ensure continuous intercession. She divided the Company into

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[1] The Chapel was not completed until 1885.

[2] The architects were Messrs E. Mitchell and D. L. Bridgewater.

[1] To these two objects the Society now adds a third, viz. the Reunion of Christendom.

nine "Choirs of Watchers", each Choir named for some incident or aspect of our Saviour's Passion. The members of eight of these choirs were responsible for different fixed periods or "watches" of prayer during the twenty-four hours of each day, while one choir was left "open" for persons who would be unable to keep the same schedule each day. In this enterprise, as in all else she undertook, Dr Pusey was the Lady Superior's counsellor and guide. But, as Dr Pusey himself testified,[1] the conception, initiation, and broad lines of execution were her own.[2] Mother Lydia's greatest contribution towards the revival of the Religious Life in the Church of England lay rather in her emphasis on organized prayer than on active works of charity and mercy: the former has long since become the characteristic mark of the Society of the Most Holy Trinity; its external works are secondary.

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The life of the Company of the Love of Jesus (the present-day Community at Ascot Priory) has been summed up as striving after perfection in worship through correspondence with divine grace. "In the Eucharistic Oblation, in the regular recitation of the Divine Office, in their daily hour of mental prayer, as in their appointed times for intercession and spiritual reading, the aim and motive of these 'English Nuns' shall be 'to acknowledge the glory of the Eternal Trinity; and in the power of the Divine Majesty to worship the Unity'." There is no fixed age for admission; the novitiate lasts two full years, after which, if the novice is elected by the General Chapter, she takes life vows. Combined with this holy task of worship the nuns undertake certain works of mercy within their enclosure. These are as follows: Bethany Guest House for visitors and for private retreats; St Raphael's Ward for convalescent women and a few permanent cases; St Augustine's School for boarders and day-girls, with senior and junior houses; and an embroidery room where orders are taken for vestments, etc. A few years ago a rest house (St Mary's Meadow, Hayling Island, Hampshire) was opened. But the special work of the Society is intercession for sinners, for the succour of the dying, and for the unity of Christendom. These intercessions go on without ceasing during the day; supported both by day and by night by the Companions living in the world in England and overseas. The Visitor is the Bishop of Oxford; the Warden is the Reverend Cedma Mack, C.R.

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There is an impressive amount of indirect evidence for a "behind-the-scenes" association of Alexander Penrose Forbes (Bishop of Brechin from 1847 to 1875) with the Sisterhood of the Holy Cross and the Devonport Society of Sisters of Mercy.

1. T. J. Williams Holy Cross Magazine, April 1956, ("A Lost Treasure Retrieved") proves conclusively that Forbes was the "very High Church" bishop who in the summer of 1850 consecrated oil and anointed Sister Katherine Ogilvie, a kinswoman of Bishop Forbes.
2. James Spurrell in his *Exposure* (p. 21) quotes from the Office Books of the Devonport Society a prayer "for this Society, the Right Rev. the Bishop . . . , our Right Rev. Bishop, Henry of Exeter . . . ", and in his *Rejoinder* (p. 34) he says, very reasonably, "Numerous are the enquiries which have been made of me for information who the first Bishop mentioned in the prayer above may be, and why precedence is given to him before the Bishop of Exeter? I could give no answers to these questions, but perhaps Miss Sellon will clear this up, and satisfy the public in the matter." The terms of the prayer suggest that at the outset at least of the Devonport Society Miss Sellon envisaged some bishop other than the Bishop of Exeter exercising visitatorial or quasi-visitatorial authority, and at the time this could only have been Forbes.
3. John Mason Neale met Miss Mary Bruce, a former member of the Sisterhood of the Holy Cross, when he visited Dundee in October 1855, and found her Superior of an institution for schoolmistresses under Bishop Forbes. She was still there in 1861, and when the bishop made his will in 1874 he left her an annuity, though she was then living in London.
4. Miss Goodman in her *Sisterhoods* (1863, p. 266) says, "At this moment I could name a Scottish Bishop, who as a scholar and gentleman is second to few men, whose bishopric is worth less than £400 per annum, and who cannot spend less than £500 annually in expenses connected with his diocese. There are churches to build; curates and school teachers to pay; at some seasons a starving population to feed; and in all these and various other charitable works, the chief call is made upon the bishop; added to which he works as hard as the meanest curate." These remarks could only apply to Forbes, and suggest that while in community Miss Goodman may have encountered Forbes and have been favourably impressed by him. After she left the Devonport Society in 1859, however, Miss Goodman was being considered by the Bishop of Moray and Ross for a position as schoolmistress in the Bishop's School at Inverness. She gave Miss Nightingale as a reference. The Bishop's chaplain wrote for a candid opinion of her qualifications. The reply was seemingly favourable, since Miss Goodman was for a brief time employed in the Diocese of Moray and Ross.

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[1] See *Eleven Addresses during a Retreat of the Companions of the Love of Jesus* (Oxford, 1868), p. 110.

[2] Williams, op. cit., p. 51.

4. COMMUNITY OF NURSING SISTERS OF ST JOHN THE DIVINE[1]

St John's House, Dunclutha Road, Hastings (1848)

Three months after Miss Sellon had initiated the work which developed into the "Church of England Sisterhood of Mercy of Devonport and Plymouth", a public meeting was held at the Hanover Square Rooms, London, the purpose of which was expressed in the following terms: "that an establishment be now formed entitled Training Institution for Nurses for hospitals, families, and the poor; to be founded on the principles of the Church of England, and to be under the Presidency and visitatorial superintendence of the Lord Bishop of the Diocese". This meeting took place on 13 July 1848 with the Duke of Cambridge in the chair. The Bishops of London, Salisbury, and Norwich were also present. The Earl of Harrowby stated that when mentioning England's great need of nursing sisters to foreign ecclesiastics, the usual answer was: "You are not able to establish a thing of this kind in England because you are not Catholics." He felt that this reproach would be removed by the foundation of this institution.

So a Council was formed with Dr Blomfield, Bishop of London, as President and Visitor. The Archbishops of Canterbury and York gave their approval to the scheme, as well as nine other bishops. No other Anglican religious community had such an unusual method of foundation; it seems that it was called forth from the heart of the Church of England rather than by means of an individual founder or foundress. Bishop Blomfield assured friends and supporters that there would be in due time, he hoped, an Institution of Sisters; that there would be no vows of poverty, monastic obedience, or celibacy, but a full, free, and willing devotion to the great cause of Christian charity in keeping with what he regarded as the traditional spirit of the Church of England, but with none of these dangerous tendencies which he suspected existed among the Park Village Sisterhood.

Within three months four ladies came forward to lay the foundation of the nursing institution, and a rule was drawn up, which was approved by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York. These ladies studied the methods of nursing and other institutions on the continent, especially those of the Lutheran deaconesses at Kaiserwerth. A house was rented at 36 Fitzroy Square, and here were installed the first members of the nursing institution. It was named "St John's House and Sisterhood" because it happened to be located in the parish whose church was dedicated to the Evangelist. The resident "Master" or chaplain was the Reverend F. Twist, and the first Superior, Miss Elizabeth Frere, who shortly afterwards was replaced by Mrs Elizabeth Morrice. A simple uniform was adopted, and the Sisters were forbidden to wear jewellery. The Master and Sisters took their meals together at a common table with the rest of the inmates.

In the preface to the first book of Services of Admission, printed very early in the life of the Sisterhood, it is stated that permission would not be given to any Sister to take a vow not recognized by the Church of England. In the service of admission of a Sister who had served her probation, the question put by the bishop was: "Wilt thou reverently obey all who by the constitution of this Sisterhood are set over thee in the Lord, following all the appointed rules?" The answer being: "I will so do, the Lord being my helper."

The Sisters' communal life was poor, but these devoted ladies had to think of the future of the nurses who were associated with them, so a pension fund was started, out of which pensions were paid to these nurses either for life, or to provide temporary relief should need arise. The nurses went to the Middlesex Hospital for their training, and from St John's House in Fitzroy Square they were sent to nurse the sick poor in their own homes. Before very long Westminster Hospital became their chief training place. The Sisters began to take private cases as well as looking after the sick poor.

In 1854 Miss Florence Nightingale, who was a close friend of the then Superior, took six Sisters and twenty nurses who had been trained by them to assist her in the hospitals at Scutari, Smyrna, Balaclava, and elsewhere. They rendered splendid service to the wounded soldiers of the Crimean War. That same year the Sisters undertook the charge of the men's cholera ward at Westminster Hospital.

Three years later the Sisters took over the entire charge of nursing at King's College Hospital, which enabled them to maintain a training-school for the nurses. The work expanded in various directions, including the superintendence of the Galignani English Hospital in Paris. During the cholera epidemic of 1866 Fr Lowder appealed to the Sisters to come to his aid in the parish of St Peter's, London Docks, where they worked side by side with the Sisters of the Holy Cross (see p. 360). His biographer relates that "it was indeed touching to witness the tenderness and yet fearlessness with which each Sister in turn gave herself to this work. . . .

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[1] Most of the facts recorded in this section have been taken from *The Community of the Nursing Sisters of St John the Divine*: A Centenary booklet, 1848–1948.

There was something equally touching, too, in the early morning Communion at St Peter's when we all felt our great need of Divine help, the clergy for spiritual work, the Sisters for their bodily and yet also spiritual ministries, and our own Sisters preparing for their labour in the district, bring their sorrows, and the sorrows of their suffering charges, to lay them at their Saviour's feet, and ask for grace and mercy for themselves and them."

Calls came from farther afield—from the colliery districts of Staffordshire to nurse typhoid-fever cases, and to take charge of a sick children's hospital at Nottingham. Since about 1866 the Sisters had been engaged in maternity work at King's College Hospital, and ten years later they established St John's Midwifery Training Home in Chelsea, which was one of the first of such institutions to be founded in England.

At the time of the foundation of the Sisterhood the bishops had made it quite clear that they would not permit anything in the nature of religious vows, but as the years passed some of the Sisters felt more and more convinced that their work for the sick needed a more secure spiritual basis and were desiring to dedicate their lives to God under religious vows, but the Visitor was unwilling that any such charge should be made. In 1870 Miss Caroline Lloyd was elected Superior, and under her care the institution grew and its works multiplied for the next eighteen years. In 1883 the Sisters were withdrawn from King's College Hospital, and also from other London hospitals; nursing now being recognized as a definite profession for women, and the supply of fully trained nurses being greatly increased.

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By this time the majority of this Nursing Sisterhood had grown rather dissatisfied with their somewhat indefinite ecclesiastical status. They were supposed to be subject to the jurisdiction of a Council, but in actual practice they were directed by the lay authorities of the hospitals in which they worked. Eventually Sister Caroline, as Superior, decided that they must become an independent body and leave St John's House. Together with some of the nurses the Sisters moved to 68 Drayton Gardens, South Kensington, which became the Mother House of what from now onwards was styled the "Community of the Nursing Sisters of St John the Divine". A new Constitution was drawn up, vesting "the sole management and government in the hands of the Sister Superior for the time being and the Sisters of the Community forming the Chapter of the said Community". Thus it was that the Nursing Sisterhood of St John's House evolved into a religious community about thirty years after its foundation.

Private nursing was continued, and a maternity home opened at Chelsea for the training of midwives. In 1880 a branch house had been formed in the parish of St Frideswide, Poplar, for the benefit of the sick poor in East London. Another branch house was established in Cressingham Road, Lewisham, close to St Stephen's Church, already well-known for its ritualistic services. Here the Sisters undertook nursing in other parishes situated between Lee and Deptford. By 1884 it was possible for the growing Community to open a hospital at 1 Montague Place, Poplar. Not long afterwards St Gabriel's Hospital for infants was established at 117 Grosvenor Road, Pimlico. It was the first babies' hospital in London.

The work in Poplar began to develop on unforeseen lines. The Sisters felt unable to ignore the urgent call to devote themselves to the girls working in jute and other factories. They turned a big corn-loft into a club for them. There appeared to be a great need for a general hospital in outer South East London, also for another training school for nurses. A property was bought on Morden Hill, within the parish of the Ascension, Blackheath. Additions were made to the existing house, and St John's Hospital was opened in 1885. For the next thirty-five years this hospital remained the chief centre of the Community's work. Canon Rhodes Bristow was nominated chaplain, and the chapel became the spiritual heart of the works of mercy and charity undertaken by the Sisters. To those mentioned already were soon added a District Home in Deptford, a Home for sick nurses and paying patients at Littlehampton, with a Convalescent Home for women and girls in this same Sussex seaside resort. In 1897 a new Home was built for the Sisters in Watson Street, Deptford, where they worked in the parish of St Paul's.[1]

With the dawn of the new century the Community began to find it more difficult to raise funds for the maintenance of their hospitals and nursing homes, but they carried on heroically. Sister Ada (Beaver) ruled over the Community from 1898 to 1923. Towards the end of these twenty-five years she had to close the mother house in Drayton Gardens. The Hospital at Blackheath had been given up by the Sisters shortly after the First World War. The Community now concentrated its efforts at Poplar and Deptford. By 1923 the personnel had been greatly reduced, and it almost seemed that the days of the Community were numbered. However, with the election of Sister Martha as Superior that same year the situation began to improve. In 1932 she was succeeded by Sister

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[1] Charles Booth refers to the "invaluable nursing sisterhood" which formed part of the "strong organisation of this church", where the rector "in a moderate and reasonable way, has introduced somewhat High Church practices, which are apparently not objected to." (*Life and Labour of the People in London*; Third Series: Religious Influences, 1902, vol. V, p. 15.)

Frances (Turner), and it was she who managed to put new life into the Community. One of her first actions was to obtain permission from the Chapter to arrange for the Society of St John the Evangelist to appoint one of the Fathers to act as Chaplain-General. With the help of the Cowley Fathers the Rule and Statutes were revised. Now, after more than eighty years, the Vows of Religion were permitted for the first time. Until then the Sisters had been bound together in the spirit of the three vows. The actual vows had never been taken, and there was no regular novitiate.

Once it became known that this venerable Community had been placed under the direction of Cowley, postulants arrived and novices were professed. New works were started and old ones revived. Between 1932 and 1939 there were many developments. The Sisters opened a Home in Penzance. New Homes were founded in London in quick succession. They consisted of a Nurses' Home at Deptford, and a post-certificate School for Midwives at Poplar. Then the Sisters took over St Lucy's Children's Hospital, Gloucester, after the Community of St John Baptist, Clewer, relinquished it. This was given up after the war.

During the war, while Mother Edith (Doubleday) was faced with the responsibilities of Superior, the Poplar School for Midwives was destroyed by enemy action, and one Sister killed. Before the cessation of hostilities the two other Houses in Poplar were laid waste by bombs. In 1947 a large property at 111 Sydenham Hill was acquired and became the Mother House of the Community. Three years later another house in Hastings was bought, and more recently the Sydenham house was disposed of.

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The history of this community has a special interest, in so far that it shows how a Sisterhood founded without the security of vows on "the principles of the Church of England", as accepted by the majority of Anglican bishops a hundred years ago, evolved by slow stages into a normally constituted religious community. Throughout the life of the Community a large part of the Divine Office including the recitation of the 119th Psalm has been said daily. At the time of the recent reconstitution an Office Book entitled *Morning, Noonday, and Evening* was compiled to meet the need of an active Order.[1] A regular time is set aside for meditation and private prayer—each Sister also has a monthly day of retreat. Times of silence are observed.

The Mother House of the Community is at St John's House, Dunclutha Road, Hastings, and close by is St John's Nursing Home where twenty-eight beds are available for medical cases. The Community still has branch houses in London, at St John's Home, Watson Street, Deptford, S.E.8, and St Frideswide's Mission House, Lodore Street, Poplar. The Visitor is the Bishop of Chichester, and the Chaplain-General the Reverend E. A. Thomas, S.S.J.E.

5. COMMUNITY OF ST THOMAS-THE-MARTYR

(1851)

When the Reverend Thomas Chamberlain was presented to the living of St Thomas-the-Martyr, Oxford, by the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church in 1842, about the same time as John Henry Newman had retired to his "monastery" at Littlemore, there were few of the Tractarian clergy who guessed that within a decade they would have Sisterhoods to help them. Like the Reverend Bernard Leslie, the hero of the Reverend William Gresley's story of that name, published in 1842, they would have been quite satisfied if they could have said with him: "I have a diligent and well-ordered visiting-society, consisting of many excellent members of my flock, who greatly aid me in my parish; and who, I am happy to say, of their own accord, have become constant attendants at the daily prayers, deeming that their active services among the poor and ignorant would be most likely to be successful, if sanctified by a holy worship."[1] Mr Chamberlain, on the contrary, found himself in a terrible moral wilderness. As was related in an obituary notice published in the *Church Times* after his death in 1892, "the scum of the place had gathered and settled there. Almost every other house in the centre of the parish was a house of ill fame. Policemen durst not enter some of the courts. The church was filled with pews; and worse than that by far, the services had been conducted with frequent impropriety. Here was a prospect to scare the ordinary spirit, but to awaken the chivalrous devotion of a true follower of the Cross. Thomas Chamberlain seized the opportunity, and in the course of time, by patience and skill, cleansed the parish, and from being a district which ladies were specially warned not to penetrate, made it one in which they were constantly seen to assemble in and around the church."

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[1] This "Office Book for the Church's Year" was compiled by the Reverend Edward D. Sedding, S.S.J.E., to supply the need of this Community for whom the full recitation of the Day Hours of the Breviary had proved impossible. It is hoped that this much simplified Office Book will be helpful to other busy persons who find that even Mattins and Evensong of the *Book of Common Prayer* take up too much time, and for whom "the complete cycle of the Lesser Hours is equally impossible". The morning and evening offices approximate fairly closely to those in the Prayer Book; the midday office is a much simplified form of Sext. The Psalter is said in a month's course. The Scripture lessons for each office are short. The kalendar given is more or less that found in *Hours of Prayer* (see p. 89).

[1] *Bernard Leslie; or A Tale of the Last Ten Years* (1842), p.262.

The church itself was restored and refurnished in accordance with Tractarian principles. "Perhaps the first effect was almost too sombre, from the thickness of the dark rafters, and the deep hues of the stained windows in the chancel; but the mellowed light softened the brilliance of the colouring about the altar, and of the scrolls, bearing texts from Scripture, which were painted upon different parts of the edifice. That which might have been a loss in actual utility, was a gain in the effect which external causes insensibly inspire."[1]

Like Margaret Percival, the heroine of this Tractarian novel, many a young lady in Oxford, who was "little accustomed to the idea of going to church on the week-days, and could scarcely comprehend what it would be like", began to frequent St Thomas'. Not only did they find that there was "something tranquillizing" about this novelty, but it also revealed to them that "a life of saintliness and discipline might be practised in the English, as well as in the Romish Church". One can picture these young ladies in their crinolines and coal-scuttle bonnets, rustling through the fog of a dark winter morning, on their way to this little church, hidden away in the slums, close to the recently opened railway station.

Meanwhile Mr Chamberlain, with indomitable courage, went on reforming and cleaning up his poor, neglected parish. He was faced with fierce opposition, attacked in the streets with stones and mud. Eventually his devotion and patience won the hearts of all but the most degraded. By 1847 the Vicar of St Thomas' had gathered round him a group of devout ladies who devoted themselves to works of mercy and charity. Among them were Miss Felicia Skene and, shortly after, Miss Marian Hughes.[2] Very likely Mr Chamberlain had not seriously considered turning these ladies into a religious community. Perhaps at that date he would have agreed with Mr Sutherland, one of the Tractarian clergymen in *Margaret Percival*, who said: "It is the fashion to form utopian schemes of Sisters of

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[1] William Sewell, *Margaret Percival* (London, 1847), vol. II, p. 433. Many changes have been made in recent times. A massive baroque reredos blocks up the east windows; a Blessed Sacrament altar has been erected in the north aisle; and all the Gothic Revival furnishings have given place to baroque.

[2] Miss Skene was a cousin of Bishop Forbes of Brechin, who was one of Mr Chamberlain's closest friends. She never joined the Community of St Thomas-the-Martyr. (*Felicia Skene of Oxford*, a memoir by E. C. Rickards, 1902.)

Charity—and I am convinced that they would be very desirable—but until such institutions can be founded, really founded, so as to stand, Henley has seized upon the stray persons in his parish, and set them all to work for him in different ways, and according to rules, which keep them under his control; and so effects, not equal good perhaps, but as much as is possible under the circumstances; and this without giving any offence. . . . There are many persons who would never be Sisters of Charity, and yet need definite employment."[1]

It was only two years since Newman had gone over to Rome, for which reason it was most important not to give any offence in Oxford or to arouse suspicions of Popery in disguise. By 1849 Mr Chamberlain felt that he could allow these devout ladies to adopt a quasi-community life, but it was not until 1851 that the Sisterhood of St Thomas-the-Martyr was formally constituted.[2] The first Sister was professed the following year. It was not until nearly 1859 that a definite Rule and Constitution were drawn up. The first Superior of the little Community was Sister Edith. She was followed by Sister Beatrice, known to bygone generations as the writer of religious verse, especially a collection of poems published under the title of *Legenda Monastica*. During the early years the handful of Sisters had more than enough to keep them busy in teaching in the schools and visiting the poor. Then, with an increase in numbers, it was possible to open at St Anne's, Rewley, in St Thomas' parish, a school for girls of well-to-do parents. Then followed the establishment of Osney House as a training-school for teachers. In later years it became a middle-class boarding-school, dedicated to St Scholastica. Before long an industrial school was started, where girls were trained for domestic service, followed by an orphanage and a nursery school, both of which were situated close to Osney House, which became the headquarters of the Sisterhood.

In 1873 Bishop Webb of Bloemfontein asked Mr Chamberlain to lend some of the Community to help with the foundation of a sisterhood in his South African diocese. So it was that Sister Emma became the first Mother Superior of the Community of St Michael and All Angels (see p. 579). In 1877 the Winchester Diocesan Penitentiary at Basingstoke was taken over by the Community of St Thomas. For some years the Sisters had a small Mission house at Barry Docks, South Wales, and a Training Home for women missionaries at Canterbury. At the mother house in

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[1] William Sewell, op. cit., vol. II, p. 446.

[2] "The Nunnery is called Rewley House, where the Mother Superior and about seven Sisters have resided for the last twelve months or more. . . . The services [in St Thomas'] are performed after the model of the notorious St Barnabas in Westminster." Peter Maurice, *Postscript to the Popery of Oxford* (London, 1851).

Oxford they had charge of a Home for young girls, an Orphanage, and two Schools—St Anne's, Rewley, in Wellington Square, and St Scholastica's in the convent. Church embroidery, a Guest House, and the baking of altar breads helped to support the Sisters and the young people under their care.

Canon Chamberlain died in 1892, but by the close of the century the Community still numbered over fifty. By 1911 many of the older Sisters had died, and vocations became fewer and fewer. An appeal was made to the Society of All Saints, which lent Sister Anna Verena, who continued as Superior until 1934, having been re-elected several times. After her death the situation became critical, and in 1936 the Community of St Thomas was put under the care of the Community of St Mary the Virgin, Wantage, with one of its members as Mother Superior. The Convent was closed in 1958 and the three remaining Sisters were transferred to Wantage.

The mellow red-brick conventual buildings, situated quite close to the railway station, were crowded together alongside the cemetery of the medieval church of St Thomas, which still remains a centre of Anglo-Catholicism. A large chapel[1] was erected in 1889, to which was added later a chapel of the Blessed Sacrament. At the top of the convent was to be found the original oratory, redolent of Tractarian ideals of art and church decoration; a reminder that this Sisterhood was founded a hundred years ago.[2]

6. SOCIETY OF THE HOLY AND UNDIVIDED TRINITY

Little St Edward's, West Malvern, Worcestershire (1849–51)[3]

This venerable Community, perhaps, should have had priority over all others, although it was actually the fifth Anglican Sisterhood to be established; the reason being that its foundress was the first woman to take religious vows in the Church of England since the Reformation.

Marian Rebecca Hughes was born on 14 January 1817. She was the daughter of the Reverend Robert and Martha Hughes, her father being Rector of Shenington, Gloucestershire. As she grew up she came under

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[1] Designed by H. G. W. Drinkwater.

[2] The oldest part of the convent was not built for the Community. Before the Sisters occupied it, the building was occupied by St Edward's Boys' School (now a flourishing school in North Oxford). About 1861 the Community moved in. The oratory and refectory were opened in 1862.

[3] This section has been written mainly from historical notes supplied by the Community.

the influence of the Reverend Charles and Mrs Seager, who were close friends of Dr Pusey and the early Tractarians. In 1840 she read Newman's *Church of the Fathers*, where a reference to Sisters of Mercy—"there is no reason why the English Church should not, from among its members, supply these requisites"—made her write in her diary: "For this I resolved to dedicate my life, by God's Grace, and thus prepare for the Day of judgment." She sold her jewellery, and sent the money to Dr Newman, telling him of her desire to devote her life to God's service and asking for his prayers. The following year Miss Hughes confided to Mr Seager that she wanted to become a Sister of Mercy. She was disappointed to hear that no steps had been taken to form a Sisterhood, although there seemed to be a strong desire for it in the minds of the authors of the *Tracts for the Times*.

On Trinity Sunday (6 June) 1841, Dr Pusey wrote to Dr Newman as follows:

> My dear Friend,
>
> A young lady, who is very grateful for your teaching, is purposing today to take a vow of holy celibacy. She has difficulties and anxieties in her position. She has attended St Mary's since she has been in Oxford, and hopes to receive the Holy Communion there today, as also being part of her self-devotion. It was wished that you should know it and remember her. You will know her by her being dressed in white with an ivory cross. . .
>
> Yours ever gratefully and affectionately,
>
> E. B. Pusey.[1]

That same morning Miss Hughes took her vows at Mr Seager's house, a translation of the Roman Pontifical being used for the rite. Then she made her way to St Mary's, where she knelt beside Dr Pusey's daughter, Lucy, who was making her first Communion. That ivory cross is still in possession of the Community she founded several years later.

The momentous event was thus recorded in her diary, where she wrote: "This day Trinity Sunday, 1841, was I enrolled one of Christ's Virgins, espoused to Him and made His handmaid. . . . Written by me in the 24th year of my life at 12 o'clock at night on my knees." Later on she added: "It was all very wonderful, very blessed; now that I look back I rejoice in the strong trust in Christ which He gave me and the undoubting peace—once and once only at the midnight that followed the day, came for a few moments a mental darkness that I had cut myself off from all human ties, that I might be *ever* alone, but I made an act of faith and the fear and doubt passed away never to return."[1]

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[1] Liddon, op. cit., vol. III, p. 10.

Today it is difficult if not impossible for us to realize the significance of the step taken by Marian Hughes, for there are countless women in the Church of England who are living under the Vows of Religion. But a hundred and ten years ago it was utterly different: this young woman knew that she was the *only* member of her Church who had dedicated herself to God in the manner which was accepted as a normal thing before the Reformation, but which had disappeared once the Church of England ceased to be in communion with Rome.

Four months later Miss Hughes went to Normandy with Mr and Mrs Seager. At Bayeux they were introduced to the bishop, and met the Abbé Thomine, Canon of the Cathedral and Archdeacon of Caen. The latter was the Director of fifteen convents in the diocese, and arranged for Miss Hughes to visit the Augustinian Hospitallers of the Mercy of Jesus at the *Hôtel-Dieu*, Bayeux—an ancient community devoted to nursing and teaching, which could trace its origins to the thirteenth century. She relates that she found these White Augustinians fervent and simple-hearted, and that their hospital and schools were well run. She was permitted to study their manuscript Rule. Then she went on to Caen, and called at the Visitation Convent, where she was given a copy of the Rule and Constitutions.

On 9 February 1843 Dr Pusey wrote to Miss Hughes: "A longing for a life more given up to devotion and charity is being put into the minds of persons of both sexes. I have heard of much of this sort since I last saw you. The time is not lost, but rather gained, which passes before any formal institution is made. It is too great a work to be brought about readily and yet solidly. It might easily degenerate. The difficulties which people have to go through before they enter upon it are a means of disciplining themselves to enter upon it aright; and they, meantime, may be disciplining themselves by learning to give up more readily their own wills, bearing contradictions cheerfully, as well as growing continually in the grace and love and fear of God. The great dangers in beginning any such institution would be, that people would not be sufficiently ready to give up their own ways (each wishing to do good in their own), or not have command of temper, so as to bear the ways of those who might be strangers to them, or excited and wayward; or again, others with a general notion of wishing to devote themselves to God's service, might still not have a standard sufficiently high. I doubt not, that while such institutions are for the time withheld, people are being prepared both to enter them in a deeper spirit, and to welcome them more gratefully. Yet there must be continued prayer for them. . . . God bless you."[1]

Marian Hughes had to wait eight years before she had any clear proof that her vow would bear fruit. She was not free to offer herself to the Sisterhood established at Park Village in the spring of 1845, although she helped Dr Pusey to draw up its Rule, from the knowledge she had gained of religious communities in Normandy. Her parents needed her help at home. Her father died the following summer, and her brother succeeded to the living of Shenington. Mrs Hughes and Marian stayed to keep house for him. When he married in 1849 they moved to Oxford, and lived first at Rewley House in the parish of St Thomas-the-Martyr, whose rector, the Reverend T. Chamberlain, was their cousin. Here Miss Hughes threw herself into work among the poor. She took in girls to be trained for domestic servants, but "the house was not very suitable; there were rats in it", so she tells us. "I had to put the children to bed one night and I remember I told one little one not to be afraid, the Holy Angels would be round her when I left, and certainly her Guardian Angel must have guarded her, for when I returned a few hours later I found a great rat sitting on her bed, but not touching the sleeping child."

In after years she loved to tell how she made the first chasuble worn by Mr Chamberlain by sewing two Oxford M.A. hoods together back and front—the result being a striking vestment of red silk. As has been related already, some of the devout ladies who worshipped at St Thomas' had decided to form themselves into a Sisterhood. The reason why Miss Hughes did not join them was her conviction that the community she wished to establish must be under the direction of Dr Pusey, and not controlled by Mr Chamberlain. In 1851 the mother and daughter gave up Rewley House and moved to 24 St John Street in the parish of St Giles, where Marian found plenty to do. To quote her own words: "I found many whom for Christ's sake I could love and help." Two years before this, on 10 December 1849, Bishop Wilberforce had given his blessing to the foundation of a Sisterhood. The beginnings were made very quietly. A few ladies came to live in that house in St John Street, and carried on much the same works of charity and mercy as that other group of ladies who had established the Sisterhood of St Thomas-the-Martyr in another part of Oxford almost simultaneously. Mother Marian—as we may now call Miss Hughes—on Dr Pusey's advice, opened a small penitentiary in Speedwell Street. It was given up in 1852, but the house was retained as a refuge, the inmates of which were sent to Wantage and to the Manor House in Holywell.

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[1] R. Townsend Warner, *Marian Rebecca Hughes* (Oxford, 1933), pp. 10–11.

[1] Liddon, op. cit., vol. III, p. 12.

About this time she noted in her diary: "Being now free I was able to do active work among the poor of St Giles which was then a large parish and no ladies really working in it; it was a delightful occupation, but soon I found it needful to begin a school for training girls of good character for service. At that time I do not think there was anything of the sort in England except Mrs Trevelyan's school at Littlemore. One poor girl stirred my heart up by saying, she supposed unless she became 'a naughty girl' ladies would do nothing for her."

In 1854 there was an outbreak of cholera in Oxford. Mother Marian helped to nurse the patients in a temporary hospital erected in Port Meadows. This led to what was to be a life-long friendship with Sir Henry Acland, the physician.

Unfortunately few records have been preserved of the early years of the Society of the Holy and Undivided Trinity, which was the name chosen for the Sisterhood by its foundress. It seems that the first two members were Miss Catherine Fraser, a relative of Bishop Forbes of Brechin, and a Miss Augusta Landon, sent by Dr Pusey, but there is no further mention of either of them. The original Rule, so Mother Marian stated in a letter dated 1882, was based on the Constitutions of the Ursulines at Blois, a copy of which had been lent her by their chaplain during her French tour in 1841. In the first printed copy of the Statutes (1861) we are informed that "Bishop Wilberforce when asked about the Rules of daily life expressed a wish that they should be carried out by the Sisters for some considerable period before they were printed with the Statutes in order to their being tested by experience as to their fitness". The original objects of the Community were defined as "service of the poor, sick persons or children, prisoners or sufferers, needy or unknown". By 1861 they had been enlarged and clarified as follows: "To instruct and protect young girls, to visit the poor and ignorant, to nurse in hospitals or otherwise, and to pray for the preservation and increase of the true Faith, and by acts of mercy and charity to testify their love and obedience to our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ."

From the time of the foundation of the Community emphasis was laid on the importance of the recitation of the Divine Office in choir, and the observance of specified hours of private prayer. In 1872 the Society had printed for its own use a three-volume translation of the Roman Breviary, *The Divine Office, as used by the Society of the Holy and Undivided Trinity*. The Mother Foundress states in her diary that she herself began the translation, which was finally completed by Philip Pusey, the invalid son of Dr Pusey. The Reverend Edward Caswall's translations are used for the hymns.[1] *The Book of the Order of Rites*, used for clothings and professions, is a vernacular version of a Venetian *Pontificale*, published in 1612. A *Book of Hymns* was published in 1880.

At one time an attempt was made to include both the contemplative and active forms of religious life; the members of the former wearing a blue habit and of the latter a brown. But when the Mother Foundress saw the great need of the Sisters' work in the world outside she decided to maintain the active order only. This included choir sisters and lay sisters, amalgamated in after years. A form of the Ursuline habit was finally adopted—black with blue facings on the sleeves and a blue girdle, the habit of the Lay Sisters differing only in unessential details.

As already stated, the work undertaken at first was the care of the sick, the outcast, and the poor, but by 1857 Mother Marian realized the need of education. In July that same year what was known as "The Oxford Middle-Class Day School for Girls" was begun by the Sisters "for the object of affording a good and sound English Education to the daughters of College servants and small tradesmen". The classes were first held in a room at the back of a house in St Giles, then an old coach-house and barn were adapted. An old inhabitant of a near-by house related how she used to watch the children arriving in the morning, some of them bringing goats with them. Meanwhile an orphanage for Oxford children had been established, and later St Michael's School for the daughters of clergymen and professional men. By 1866 the need for larger and permanent quarters had become imperative. Mother Marian decided to erect a convent and school on a plot of land on the Woodstock Road, at that date surrounded by fields. The architect chosen was Charles Buckeridge, and part of the buildings were ready for occupation two years later. They are typical of the Gothic Revival at its best, with their grey stone walls, and high-pitched roofs, above which rises the *flèche* of a lofty chapel. The chapel itself was not begun until 1891, and was dedicated by the Bishop of Reading on 11 July 1894.

The Mother Foundress, even if she erected a convent of magnificent external appearance for her Community, had no intention that this should involve any modification in the austerity of the observances of her Sisters. Their cells were brick-walled with bare scrubbed floors, without even a bedside mat, and they contained the minimum of furniture. There were fireplaces in each cell but they were hardly ever known to be used. There was no central heating except for the chapel and the crypt underneath which in later years was used as the school refectory. In winter it was not infrequently heard that it paid to be pious, for the cold elsewhere had to be felt to be believed! The windows throughout the convent were of thick bottle-glass which kept out the sun's rays and distorted the views of the outside world.

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[1] This was not the first Anglican translation of the Roman Breviary to be published. A few years before a vernacular version of the *Horæ Diurnæ Breviarii Romani* had been brought out, entitled *The Day Office of the Church According to the Kalendar of the Church of England*. It was based on the Mechlin editions of 1852 and 1862. The translation of the office hymns adopted were those by Dr Neale, made from the unrevised versions. This English diurnal was much used at one time by some of the clergy as well as by a few religious communities, both in Great Britain and in North America.

The interior of the chapel, with its lofty vaulting and mural paintings surrounding the apse, was dignified and austere. Seven years after the death of the Mother Foundress a rood-screen and choir stalls as a memorial to her were erected from the designs of Mr Cecil Hare. The former was a characteristic work by this architect, with much elaborate wood-carving. The chapter room and library (usually known as the crypt) were below the chapel on the ground floor. Both were vaulted and supported on central pillars. Little did the builders or the Sisters guess that in the Second World War these rooms would be regarded as almost the best air-raid shelters in Oxford! In these new buildings, once they were completed, were housed the children of the Orphanage, and the "young ladies" of St Michael's School, who, according to tradition, used to make their way on Sunday mornings to High Mass at St Barnabas' in silk dresses, bonnets, and shawls. They had the advantage of lessons from various distinguished professors, but this was not always appreciated. A pupil in those far-off days was known to have remarked that the girls didn't learn much as the professors "were so much over their heads, and the Sisters couldn't teach either". Among those despised professors were Sir John Stainer and Sir Walter Parratt, who taught music. Dr Bright and Dr Hutton gave lessons in Church History and Christian Doctrine. Perhaps the Sisters profited more than the children! This school was often referred to as the Upper School; St Denys was known as the Middle School, and presumably the orphanage as the Lower School. These terms were more or less dropped when St Faith's Day School was opened in a small house in Bevington Road in 1900. By 1930 it was realized that the convent buildings did not conform to modern educational requirements, and St Michael's School was moved to Cirencester, where a large Georgian mansion with attractive grounds had been found. St Faith's School, too, had been moved to larger premises in Woodstock Road in 1920, and gradually developed into a school numbering 230 pupils. With great regret the Community recently came to the decision that both these schools must be relinquished as so few Sisters with educational qualification were available. Both schools now have passed from the Society's care. St Faith's School is continuing under a secular headmistress, St Michael's has closed. St Denys' School was handed over to the parish of SS Philip and James in 1945.

Church embroidery and other needlework were undertaken by the Sisters from the early days. Since then there has been a regular output from their workroom, which has found its way to many cathedrals and parish churches. Sacristy and parish work at SS Philip and James was undertaken by the Sisters from the opening of this church in 1862 until the Community left Oxford. They also worked in the parishes of St Paul and St Barnabas. There was mission work in London, Cambridge, Derby, and Freeland, and Sisters were in charge of the school at this last. The Community became as self-supporting as possible from the time of its foundation. Cows were kept after the move into the new convent, and were taken daily to the meadows bordering the Cherwell—now the site of Lady Margaret Hall. A Sister remembers being taken as a child to watch the convent Jerseys being driven along the roads between the river and the convent by two lay sisters and some of the older orphans in their pink frocks and picturesque Normandy caps and aprons with scarlet cloaks in winter. Later on a farm was secured and retained until shortly before the outbreak of the Second World War.

A printing-press was established, and all Office Books were printed by the Sisters, as well as copies of the Rule, etc., For many years they issued a monthly magazine. A laundry was built and provided profitable work. Also altar breads were baked.

The Mother Foundress lived to the great age of ninety-five and, after seventy-one years of consecrated life, entered into her rest on 7 May 1912. Her mind retained its alertness almost to the last, and the late Prebendary Mackay of All Saints', Margaret Street, recalled this "great lady of the Victorian era", who, when he was Librarian of Pusey House and often said Mass at the convent, would "place her recollections at our service in the easiest way and we got contemporary impressions of Dr Pusey, Mr Marriott, and 'dear Mr Newman'. . . . We were allowed also to hear of the great epidemics and the part the Tractarians played in them. There was a delightful atmosphere of lightness and freedom about the Convent; nothing stiff and prim."

This lack of stiffness and primness has always been a characteristic of the Community of the Holy and Undivided Trinity. The Sisters were allowed to attend lectures and meetings and so had opportunities of keeping abreast of the times intellectually. High Mass was not celebrated at the convent on Sundays, and the Sisters attending neighbouring churches, chiefly St Barnabas', were able to hear some of the greatest preachers of the day. After the Second World War the Community had to face a decision about its future. The convent had been erected on leasehold ground, which nearly a hundred years ago was of little value. By 1945 the whole of North Oxford had become a residential area stretching for some miles up the Woodstock and Banbury Roads. The site of the convent, looking on three roads, had become very valuable, and the Community realized it would be impossible to meet the greatly increased charges when the lease ran out. So it was decided to sell the remainder of the lease[1] and to find a house elsewhere on freehold ground. After some search a house at South Leigh, a small village nine miles from Oxford, was found, and bought in October 1945. As the University required the convent buildings immediately, many of the Sisters were dispersed to relations and friends, a few being left to supervise the removal of furniture, etc. For a few months this remnant was there, while workmen hammered, whistled and sang during the process of reconstruction and interior alteration. Then for ten months, as the South Leigh house was still commandeered, they lived a strange refugee life, sleeping in the houses of various Oxford friends. They recited their offices in the Church of SS Philip and James, took their midday meal in a canteen, and other meals in a room of the church hall; while St Faith's School provided a sitting-room. It was not until September 1946 that the South Leigh house was freed, and not until the end of November that the Community took over its new home. The house stood on high ground, with uninterrupted views over miles of country towards the Wytham–Cumnor Hills. Guests were received and retreats held, and facilities given for private retreats. Church embroidery and needlework provided other occupation. The Community opened a branch house at Cirencester, now closed. In 1956 the few surviving Sisters gave up the South Leigh convent, and moved to St Saviour's, a house of the Community of the Holy Name, Malvern Link, Worcestershire.

An "Association of Mercy in Union with the Sisterhood of the Holy Trinity" was begun when the Mother Foundress was still in St John Street (1851–63). It has been maintained ever since and has now a large membership. In 1937 an Association of Priests was formed and has yearly increased in numbers.

On 10 December 1949 the centenary of the foundation of the Society of the Holy and Undivided Trinity was kept, but the actual celebration of this event was postponed until the following June, when a High

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[1] The Convent buildings now form St Anthony's College.

Mass took place in South Leigh Church during Trinity Week. Seven communities were represented, and some of the Cowley Fathers formed the choir. The Sisters had always been in close touch with the Cowley Fathers, and one of them usually acted as chaplain when they lived in Oxford. On that day they remembered many other friends who had rallied round them during the past century—Dr Pusey, Lord Halifax, Bishop Paget of Oxford, Dr Lock, the Warden of Keble, Dr Goudge, Dr Scott Holland, and many more whose names are almost forgotten by the present generation. Unlike some Communities of women this one has always been in close touch with the mainstream of English church life, even if it has never been large in numbers. Successive Bishops of Oxford have acted as Visitors. It still retains the spirit of its foundress, who at the end of her long life could look right back to the start of the Catholic Revival in the Church of England. She lived to see the harvests that were gathered from that grain of seed which she herself had helped to plant by her courageous act of self-dedication on Trinity Sunday, 1841.

In 1963 the Community, now numbering seven, moved from Malvern Link to another house at West Malvern belonging to the Community of the Holy Name. This house once belonged to Dr Pusey, and it was there that Mother Lydia Sellon died.

CHAPTER III

Later Sisterhoods (1851–1858)

WITHIN five years six Sisterhoods had been founded in the Church of England. With but one exception all had been inspired mainly by Roman Catholic communities of women which were engaged in active works of charity and mercy. What did the *average* Englishman of a century ago think about these first Sisterhoods? A glance through the volumes of *Punch* is enough to help one to form a fairly accurate impression. *Punch*'s first reference to Anglican religious communities is in Volume XIX (1850, p. 162)—a maliciously worded article entitled "Convent of the Belgravians", illustrated by a drawing depicting a young lady in a crinoline, standing before a mirror, engaged in putting on a nun's wimple and veil. In the background another damsel, similarly garbed, looks down demurely. The walls of this boudoir are adorned with mock-medieval devices, including a goose-rampant. We read that "everybody who has a proper veneration for the reredos, and who, without holding extreme opinions on the subject of the dalmatic, feels correctly on that of the alb, who has a soul that can appreciate medieval art, particularly the beautiful foreshortening of our ancestors, and who would revive their ecclesiastical practices and institutions to an extent just tastefully Romanesque, will be 'Ryghte gladde' to hear that it is proposed to found a Convent on Anglican principles, under the above title. The vulgar, who think that a minority is necessarily a sect, will of course call it a Puseyite Nunnery; that cannot be helped."

It is stated that "The Convent will be under the superintendence of a Lady Abbess, who will be a real Countess, at the least." Each nun will have to contribute "at least £10 a week, that sum being the minimum at which it will be possible to defray the expenses of the establishment, and keep it select. She will be also expected to bring two silver forks, and all the usual requisites of the toilet." The architecture and furnishings of this Belgravian Convent are described—"the chairs and piano beautifully and grotesquely carved". Fast days would be kept "by religiously eating red mullet and raspberry jam tart. If there is no red mullet to be had, John Dory, salmon, or any fish in season may be substituted." It is explained that "the costume of the sisterhood will consist in a judicious admixture of the conventual style with the fashion of the day. The Nun will not be obliged to sacrifice her hair, but only to wear it plain, *à la Madonna*, and it will be permitted to be partially visible." The nuns will have to "appear in society, in order to display the beauty of sanctity". Their time "will be devoted to practising the charities of life by making morning calls, and occasionally visiting soup kitchens and model lodging-houses in a properly appointed carriage, or if they walk, attended by a footman. Otherwise their leisure will be employed in illuminating books of devotion, practising ecclesiastical tones, and working slippers for the younger clergy. . . . The inordinate indulgence in maceration, encouraged by Rome, will be disallowed; and the only means sanctioned for the restraint of the flesh, will be the gentle and moderate compression of stays. That the Anglican Convent, thus constituted, will lead to 'perversions' there is no fear. Alas! the hard multitude will rather say that the Puseyite sisters are only playing at Roman Catholics, and the vile punster will remark that their Convent is more of a Monkey-ry than a Nunnery."

If one may presume that the pages of *Punch* expressed what the "man in the street" felt about Anglican religious communities of women, there is no doubt that his opinions were critical and hostile. A point to be remembered is that the foundation of at least seven of the first Sisterhoods took place either before or just after the revival of diocesan bishoprics in England by the Roman Church, an action which was interpreted as an offensive example of Papal Aggression. The two terrors of Puseyism and Popery were contemporary. *Punch* was equally bitter, not to say vindictive, towards both of them. On pages 226 and 227 of Volume XIX (1850) there are drawings of "Fashions for 1850, or A Page for the Puseyites". We are shown two ladies in crinolines, wearing nuns' veils, accompanied by a child garbed in a monkish hood, and a footman dressed up like a friar. Other drawings depict the most fantastic costumes, all based on the habits of religious orders or ecclesiastical vestments. But the storm over the restoration of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, and the arrival in England of Cardinal Wiseman, diverted attention from Anglican Sisterhoods. An unforeseen opportunity for a widespread recognition of the good work which could be done by English churchwomen who dressed up as nuns came with the Crimean War, four years later. We may thank Miss Florence Nightingale, who enrolled some of these Anglican Sisters among her nurses, for the cessation of attacks on "Puseyite nunneries" in the pages of *Punch* and other journals.

* * *

The "man in the street" laughed or sneered at "Puseyite nunneries": he did not take them seriously, but the Bishops were worried about "conventual institutions", mainly because few if any of them believed that a young woman had the moral right to make a promise to dedicate herself to life-long service to God if the promise involved refraining from matrimony. They had a horror of religious vows, regarding them as "Romish" abuses. In one sense the Bishops were correct in maintaining that the three vows of religion were "Romish" abuses. So far as is known it was not until 1260 when St Bonaventure compiled a profession formula for the Friars Minor that the vows of poverty, chastity and obedience were taken at profession. After this other Orders adopted this formula, and it soon became general in the Latin Church, except with religious who followed the Rule of St Benedict. Maybe the Superiors of Sisterhoods felt that 'Gothic' vows went with Gothic architecture? Anyhow, all the Bishops had to do to satisfy their scruples was to order these Superiors to stick to the usages of the pioneers of Christian monasticism, reminding them that in those far-off times it was the taking of the habit, after a long period of probation, which had the virtual effect of profession. This simple act involved the natural consequence of self-dedication to the service of God, namely, an obligation to observe poverty and chastity.

As early as 1851 Dr Phillpotts, Bishop of Exeter, severed official relations with Miss Sellon's community at Devonport, because he doubted her assurance of free liberty for any Sister to withdraw if it should seem good to her. Other bishops took the same line with Sisterhoods in their dioceses. However, some of the founders of communities of women, including Mr Carter of Clewer, tried to get around episcopal scruples by pointing out that the Sisters merely "offered themselves perpetually to God", and did not make any formal vow or oath. In 1854 Dr Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford, flatly refused to give his blessing on what he described as "a public resolution of chastity and devotion to Christ". He wrote to the clergyman who had asked permission to perform this profession ceremony: "You ask me to do what, with my sense of the certain danger and probable unlawfulness of vows which Christ has not appointed, it is quite impossible for me to do. . . . No one has, without God's express appointment, a right, in my judgment, to bind themselves for the future in such matters. Let them follow the guiding hand of God from day to day and rely for persevering in a course of right or service on His daily gifts of guiding, enlightening, strengthening grace, and not on the strength or effect of any past vow or resolution. As, then, such a benediction as you would, in my judgment, seem to confirm by a dangerous vow and unwarranted resolution, I must, of course, with real regret, decline to confirm."[1] Four years before this Bishop Wilberforce had expressed the opinion that he regarded the use of the word "professed" as "absolutely un-Christian and savouring of the worst evils of Rome". Elsewhere he wrote that "such tampering with the language, acts, and temper of the Church of Rome in young women of our own communion must tend to betray them into infidelity to their mother Church and to perversion to the Papal (and in this land) schismatical and corrupt communion."[2]

The same opinion was held by Bishop Tait, who wrote that religious vows are "not warranted by anything in the teaching of our Church". He felt that Sisters should be free to "follow the leadings of God's providence in case of a change of circumstances". He was convinced that it is a "mistaken notion that real devotion to Christ's service is strengthened by this attempt to forecast the events of our changeful life which God retains in His own keeping".[3] There was another and stronger reason, so the bishops felt, against allowing women to take religious vows: such vows could not be dispensed in the Church of England. Bishop Tait informed one Mother Superior that "the Church of Rome, in sanctioning such vows, sanctions also a power of dispensing with them; but this claim to such dispensing power is rightly repudiated by us—so that a vow for life may be an entanglement of the conscience when God plainly, in our changing circumstances, prescribes for us a change of duty. The only vows which the Church of England sanctions are such as the Formularies recognize as based on the teaching of God's Word, and for these the law of the land provides by giving its additional sanction to the Formularies."[1]

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[1] R. G. Wilberforce, *Life of Bishop Samuel Wilberforce* (London, 1881), vol. III, pp. 331–2.

[2] Ibid., vol. III, pp. 330–1. It is curious that Bishop Wilberforce did not think of an obvious solution of evading the problem of vows—he could have advised the Sisterhoods in his diocese to adopt the status of Béguinages. After all, Robert Southey as far back as 1829, had asked why the Church of England lacked Béguines (see p. 26). These still fairly numerous communities of women in the Netherlands, the earliest of which was founded in the twelfth century, have never been bound by the three vows of religion. Their members serve a novitiate of at least two years, after which they adopt a picturesque costume of medieval origin. Their Rules exhort poverty, but each Béguine retains the control of her property, and is free to return to secular life at any time, should she feel called to do so.

[3] R. T. Davidson and W. Benham, *Life of Archibald Campbell Tait* (2nd ed., 1891), vol. I, p. 461.

Even as late as 1865, when Sisterhoods had gained a definite status, Bishop Tait wrote as follows: "I have on more than one occasion stated publicly my belief that all vows or oaths administered under the circumstances you describe, not being sanctioned by the legislature, being taken by persons not authorized to receive them, are in the nature of illegal oaths. It is a grave question whether a clergyman of the Church of England, administering such an oath, does not make himself amenable to prosecution before the magistrates. Certainly he acts in a most improper manner."[2]

Bishop Wilberforce, who had several Sisterhoods in the diocese of Oxford, was determined that they should be moulded to fit into "the system of the Reformed Church of England" as expressed in the writings of Bishop Andrewes, Richard Hooker, "and many more of like views with them". He wrote to Mother Harriet Monsell of Clewer and said: "it is only on this third scheme, honestly, heartily and completely adopted and maintained that I can, and on this alone that I can, have any share in organizing and promoting sisterhoods. If they will not work on this scheme it would be to my mind a proof that they would not work safely or profitably and accordingly I should decline further connection with them."[3] This "scheme" had no place for regular "auricular confession", only an occasional unburdening of conscience to a minister of God's Word and Sacraments. Bishop Wilberforce had a horror of what he described as "a semi-Romanist system, with its *direction*, with its development of self-consciousness and morbid religious affection, with its exaltation of the contemplative life, and its un-English tone."[4] It was

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[1] R. T. Davidson and W. Benham, op. cit., vol. I, p. 461.

[2] Ibid., vol. I, p. 457. The bishops might have got round the supposed legal objections to taking of religious vows, and at the same time satisfied the parties concerned, if they had encouraged the use of the profession formula given in the Rule of St Benedict. It is worded thus: "Let him who is to be received make before all, in the oratory, a promise of stability, conversion of life, and obedience, in the presence of God and of His saints, so that, if he should ever act otherwise, he may know that he will be condemned by Him whom he mocketh" (*Rule of St Benedict*, ch. lviii). The point to be noted is that this sixth-century profession formula makes no specific reference to chastity or poverty—it can be interpreted in many ways. It is a pity that Dr Pusey did not follow the advice given him by Dr Hook in 1840, to adopt "Greek terms and forms rather than Latin ones, as likely to give unnecessary offence". Had Pusey and subsequent founders of Sisterhoods adopted, not only Greek terms, but also the grades of the ascetic life, i.e. the system of monastic probation found in the Eastern Orthodox Church, the bishops would have had no excuse for maintaining that religious profession was an un-Christian act, "savouring of the worst evils of Rome".

[3] R. G. Wilberforce, op. cit., vol. III, p. 325.

[4] Ibid., vol. III, p. 328.

in 1854 that he "resolved on a full and absolute removal of crucifixes" from the House of Mercy at Clewer. In May the following year he wrote to Mother Harriet that "the books we allow to be in common use, the religious prints, etc., we place in the rooms, or allow to be worn on the person openly, must be thoroughly Church of England; the provision we make for the spiritual teaching of the sisters and penitents must be prescribed by the same rule. . . . We cannot allow [the Warden or chaplains] to use amongst their sisters, still less to lend to them, Roman Catholic books; or to exhibit in their rooms, images or representations which the Church of England discourages." He warned the Mother to be on her guard against young women "who would wish to submit their lives to the direction of a priest, or who would crave after books of Roman Catholic devotion, simple or adapted, and would probably desire to wear or see crucifixes and the like."[1]

Throughout the 'fifties most of the English bishops would have agreed with what Bishop Tait wrote in 1865: "I do fully approve of ladies who have no home duties, and who think they are fitted for such work, associating themselves together for the care of the poor and the sick. . . . I believe no blessing will ever come on work, however self-denying, which is undertaken to the neglect of those higher duties which belong to home life, and which are imposed directly by God Himself."[2] In another letter the bishop said: "If ladies, members of our Church, desire to live together and cultivate good works for Christ's sake under rules which separate them outwardly from worldly people, they will be enabled to do this most safely if they subject themselves to such restraints as the Visitorship of the Bishop of the diocese implies. It would be a great mistake to suppose that I myself personally think the mode of serving God which these ladies have chosen the best and most accordant with the simple spirit of the Gospel; but I conceive it to be my duty in my position to be ready to guide and, so far as I can, save from error many who are working heartily for God, though not in the way which I myself think best. . . . There is always danger lest persons (especially females) of strong imagination may persuade themselves that there is some peculiar sanctity in the life these ladies lead, not to be found in the quiet discharge of domestic duties."[3]

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[1] R. G. Wilberforce, op. cit., vol. III, pp. 326–7.

[2] R. T. Davidson and W. Benham, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 457–8.

[3] Ibid., vol. I, p. 452. The effect that opinions such as those expressed by Bishop Tait must have had on "females of strong imagination", who were trying hard to persuade themselves that there was "some peculiar sanctity" in the life they were leading, has been brought out vividly by D. L. Murray in the novel entitled *Regency* (London, 1936), p. 265. Today it is difficult, if not impossible, for us to realize the

Such then is the sort of background against which Sisterhoods came into being between 1851 and 1858. The wonder is that almost all the communities founded in this decade have survived and prospered.

1. COMMUNITY OF ST JOHN THE BAPTIST

Convent of St John Baptist, Clewer, Windsor (1851)

Little more than a mile west of Windsor, just off the main road to Reading, standing in what fifty years ago was open wooded country, but which has now been more or less swallowed up by rows of houses and bungalows, are a series of imposing red-brick buildings, all of Gothic Revival architecture. They stand on either side of what was a quiet country lane even half a century ago. It leads from the village of Clewer in the direction of Windsor Forest. Nowhere else in England can be found in one small area so many buildings of conventual appearance, all erected about the same period. The largest and most monastic-looking is the Convent of St John Baptist, secreted from the curious eyes of passers-by with a high wall. The main entrance, with an iron grille in the Gothic doorway, suggests that this might be a convent of strictly enclosed and purely contemplative nuns; that access to the interior would not be permitted. But this is far from being the case: the convent is the mother house of one of the oldest and most numerous of the active communities in the Church of England. The other buildings adjacent to it are witnesses to the multiform nature of its works of mercy and charity.

Most of these buildings were designed by Henry Woodyer, a pupil of Butterfield and famous in his day as one of the leading architects of the second phase of the Gothic Revival. The influence of Augustus Welby Pugin is obvious at first sight, especially in the older parts of the convent dating from 1855. There are picturesque turrets, quaint dormer windows, high-pitched roofs and narrow cloisters. You feel that Mr Woodyer tried to re-create, not only the romantic appeal of the later Middle Ages, but likewise all the inconveniences of their domestic arrangements. Additions were made at various dates to the original block which housed the first Sisters and their penitents. Seemingly endless cloisters and corridors with lancet windows, dark-stained pitch-pine panelling and

spiritual loneliness of a handful of English Churchwomen who were experimenting at being nuns, conscious all the time that the ecclesiastical authorities felt that they were neglecting "those higher duties which belong to home life".

cream distemper, manage to achieve the requisite medieval atmosphere without which the majority of post-Tractarians felt it was impossible to be a good Christian. The whole place evokes memories of Pre-Raphaelite paintings, with which it was more or less contemporary.

Dominating the whole block is a large red-brick apsidal-ended chapel. The exterior is ornamented with a profusion of pinnacles and parapets; the roof with an elaborate *flèche*. It was erected when the original chapel became too small for the growing community. The interior is lofty and spacious. The broad ante-chapel, filled with chairs, is divided from the high-vaulted choir by an imposing rood-screen. In the middle of the choir, between the long rows of stalls, is a memorial brass of the Mother Foundress of this Community, Mrs Harriet Monsell. The tall windows are filled with stained glass, typical of the period in which the chapel was built. The high altar has been remodelled in recent years, and now aspires to conform with the rubrics of the Roman Missal and the Decrees of the Sacred Congregation of Rites—six candlesticks, a crucifix and a veiled tabernacle standing on the mensa; the altar itself being of bare stone. Above it rises up an ornately carved stone reredos, with many figures in niches. On the Gospel side is a life-size alabaster effigy of Canon T. T. Carter, beneath an oak canopy. The first impression of this chapel is one of almost overwhelming richness; on closer examination more and more interesting and striking details are discovered. Altogether it is a splendid example of its period.

In recent times further additions to the conventual buildings were made from the designs of Mr Cecil Hare—very different in spirit from the earlier work—light and airy, with round instead of pointed windows and arches. Surrounding this great convent are pleasant gardens and fields, and through the trees there are glimpses of Windsor Castle.

Such is an impression of the mother house of the Community of St John the Baptist. It owes its foundation to one man—the Reverend Thomas Thellusson Carter (1810–1901)—one of the greatest of the leaders of the Catholic Revival in the Church of England. In 1844 he accepted the living of Clewer, of which parish he remained rector until 1880, when he resigned rather than face prosecution for what was maintained to be illegal ceremonial, for to quote his own words: "Nor would I scruple at once to accept the Bishop's judgment if the Bishop were free to act without the over-ruling force of the higher court and the Privy Council judgment which must determine the case."[1] The full story of his long career has been told in the biography by Archdeacon Hutchings. The inspiration

[1] W. H. Hutchings, *Life and Letters of T. T. Carter* (1903), p. 160.

to found this particular community was the realization of an urgent need of dedicated women who would undertake rescue work.[1]

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The eighteenth century had accepted sexual frailty: its attitude towards certain aspects of morality was very different from that which had grown up as the result of the example set to the people of England by the blameless domestic life of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, which was not at all the same as that of the sons of George III. People began to realize that an even worse social evil than drunkenness was lust. So the reclamation of fallen women and girls was started, first in small houses, conducted by paid nurses or by widows. Public attention was drawn to this apostolate by an article on "Female Penitentiaries" in the *Quarterly Review* of September 1848, written by the Reverend John Armstrong, Vicar of Tidenham, near Gloucester. He pointed out that although "something had been effected, the efforts to meet this huge mischief were 'puny, starved, and dwarfish'. The number of women on the streets of London were computed at ten thousand, the number of inmates of eight penitentiaries or hospitals was but four hundred and forty-one. Hundreds of applications were turned from the doors. Their relations would not receive them; and if they would, home was not the right place for them. There was nothing left for them but to go back to the streets. Legislation might do something; but experience showed that the best hope of reformation lay in private endeavour. Now was the time for a great endeavour, and on a new foundation, that of religion."[2]

The following year Mr Armstrong published other articles, including an *Appeal for a Church Penitentiary*. He proposed that Houses of Mercy should be established "into which sinners from the very streets might at once be gathered", also penitentiaries in the country "to which the more promising cases might be transferred from the refuges, after due testing, for the purpose of a more complete training".[3] In after years the founder of the House of Mercy at Clewer put into words what he himself felt about the situation at that time: "The hard distinctions which the conventionalities of society have drawn can have no place here. . . . There

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[1] See also *The Founders of Clewer* (London, 1952).

[2] F. Warre Cornish, *The English Church in the 19th Century* (1910), vol. II, p. 72.

[3] A significant proof of the general interest in the moral condition of the towns and cities of England by the middle of the last century is to be found in Holman Hunt's famous painting "The Awakened Conscience", which was first exhibited in 1852, the year after the foundation of the House of Mercy at Clewer. It depicts a "fallen woman", moved to remorse by the strumming of a tune on the piano by her lover.

can be no ground for excluding from the range of our compassion, or the possibilities of complete renovation, any even of the deadliest sins. Yet such exclusion has been made in the case which we are now specially considering; for, though fallen woman has not sinned alone, how entirely in the world's eye has the undivided burden of guilt fallen upon her! While the partners of her sin pass in and out among us, unnoticed, save by the sleepless eye of God, on her has lain the blight of a hopeless excommunication. Even the Church has failed in its love towards her. The ministerings of the Son of Man have through us been straitened in her case."[1]

A few women and girls were taken by the Sisterhood founded at Wantage in 1848. Three years later a House of Mercy was opened at Bussage in Gloucestershire (see p. 530, no. 17). In 1852 a Church Penitentiary Association was founded in London, for the purpose of raising funds to help local efforts in establishing similar institutions. But before this a start had been made at Clewer, although in a very humble manner.

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A hundred years ago open fields separated the village of Clewer from the town of Windsor. Within the parish of Clewer, but nearer Windsor, was a marshy district, close to the Thames, in which "besides some few respectable cottages, there was a group of as wretched hovels as could be found anywhere in England, and inhabited by as wretched a set of abandoned women. In this district there lived at the time a poor widow woman keeping a dame's school, one whose motherly nature and devotion fitted her admirably to be the agent of any work of charity among her outcast neighbours." The Reverend C. Wellington Johnson, a private tutor at Eton, helped Mr Carter in his spare time and concentrated on this district, now known as Clewer St Stephen's. "Through Mr Johnson's efforts, and this poor widow's ready helpfulness, some of those fallen women were led to a desire to abandon their dreadful trade. The question was being deliberated how to arrange to send them to the Magdalen Asylum, then the best known and nearest Refuge for such cases, when Mrs Tennant, a lady living in the village of Clewer, being asked to help in the difficulty, offered to receive at once into her own house as many of these outcasts as desired to come."[2]

Mrs Tennant, a lady of Spanish origin, was the widow of a clergyman, and she was much given to good works. On 29 June 1849 she received two women into her own house at Clewer. Shortly after four others were admitted; all of the lowest and most degraded type. "The fame of what had been done quickly spread, and within a few days two other women rang at the gate and asked for admittance; another came from a neighbouring village; a few were sent by friends from a distance. Within four months no less than eighteen were housed under this most hospitable roof."[1] Mrs Tennant must have been a remarkable character. She managed to control these wild girls and guide them unaided. She won their passionate natures by love, and they became utterly devoted to her. Eventually she realized that she must found a permanent House of Mercy, to be conducted in the same spirit as the work she had begun. Several ladies offered their services, as far as their duties allowed. Mrs Tennant's house became too small to accommodate the penitents. Twice this family of fallen women and girls was moved to larger quarters before land was bought in the upper part of the parish, where it was planned to erect a House of Mercy. For reasons of health Mrs Tennant had to give up the direction of the work she had started, and after February 1851 a Miss Cozens was placed in charge of the penitentiary. About the same time the Reverend Charles Harris, the assistant curate of Clewer, invited his sister-in-law, Mrs Harriet Monsell, to stay with him. Her husband, the Reverend Charles Monsell, had recently died, and she wanted something to take her mind off her sorrow. So Mr Harris suggested that she could help the other ladies who were working in the House of Mercy. It was not long before she decided to settle at Clewer and to devote herself to this work of charity to which it seemed God was calling her. Other ladies joined her, and this was the origin of the Community of St John the Baptist.

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[1] W. H. Hutchings, op. cit., p. 78.

[2] T. T. Carter, *Harriet Monsell* (1884), pp. 30, 31.

Miss Cozens and the other voluntary helpers retired after Mr Carter had decided to form a Sisterhood. On Ascension Day, 1851, not long after Queen Victoria had formally opened the Great Exhibition in Hyde Park, Mrs Monsell, then aged forty, was clothed as a Sister. Dr Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford, received her profession on St Andrew's Day, 1852, when she was installed as the first Superior of the new community. Harriet O'Brien, as her maiden name was, had been brought up in the Church of Ireland, and she and her husband, on coming to England, had fallen under the influence of Dr Pusey and the early Tractarian leaders. By the time she arrived at Clewer she had fully accepted their teachings. Apart from a few months' acquaintance with it, she had no experience of penitentiary work, and so far as is known she had even less knowledge of the Religious Life, for, unlike Miss Marian Hughes and other ladies who

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[1] T. T. Carter, op. cit., p. 31.

founded Anglican Sisterhoods about the same time, she had not yet visited any convents abroad or studied the Rules of Roman Catholic communities. She depended entirely on Mr Carter's advice and direction in training the Community of which she had been made Mother Superior. It was he who drew up the first Rule, which was derived from many sources. That the Rector of Clewer must have made a close study of such Rules and the spirituality which grew out of their observance can be proved from the pages of his *Spiritual Instructions on the Religious Life* which were published between 1879 and 1891.[1] Although he "was always strongly anti-Roman"—so his biographer informs us—yet he must have been steeped in Catholic spirituality to have written such books on the Religious Life. From this same source one learns that "he regarded the unity of the Church as depending upon the Episcopacy and the Sacraments". He was satisfied "that the Church can be outwardly divided by pointing to the 'permanent breach' between Rome and the Great Churches of the East".[2]

The difficulties which faced Mr Carter during the first five years of the Sisterhood must have been almost overwhelming at times. He had to train and direct a group of women, none of whom had any experience of what was involved in living in a religious community, when they themselves were doing their best to train and direct a far more numerous group of women, living under the same roof. Besides this Mr Carter, who was a married clergyman with the dual responsibility of a large parish and a family, had been ordained without any specialized study of theology within a short time of leaving Oxford; such being the usual custom in those days. That knowledge of Catholic dogmatic and mystical theology which is evident in some of his later writings was entirely self-taught. How this busy parish priest found time for so much serious reading is a mystery, for we are informed that he "toiled early and late". From the time he became Rector of Clewer in 1844 he was assiduous in house-to-house visiting in addition to every other form of parochial activity.

The sort of problems he had to solve in connection with the relationship of the bishop of the diocese and the newly-founded Sisterhood can be realized from letters (see pp. 300–3). That such problems were solved

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[1] His knowledge of "Vows, and their Relation to Religious Communities" is revealed in an essay thus entitled, published in *The Church and the World*, edited by the Reverend Orby Shipley (London, 1866), p. 360. See also his essay on retreats, ibid. (1868), p. 417. In *The Founders of Clewer* (p. 27) it is stated that Mr Carter and Mother Harriet "travelled abroad and visited a number of convents, and were very generously allowed to study the Rule and Constitutions of the Visitation Nuns".

[2] W. H. Hutchings, op. cit., p. 283.

—in most cases—is another proof of Mr Carter's remarkable personality. What worried Dr Wilberforce most of all was the danger of anything "Romish" creeping into the spirit and observances[1] of the Community. Anyhow there was nothing close at hand to remind the Sisters of the existence of what the bishop called "the Papal (and in this land) schismatical . . . communion" other than the little chapel at Clewer Green, dedicated like the Sisterhood to St John the Baptist, which served the spiritual needs of the Roman Catholics of Windsor until many years later, when St Edward's Church was erected. No doubt old Mr Comberbach—like his venerable predecessor the Abbé Duclos (who taught French at Eton College)—continued to say Mass "quietly and almost surreptitiously for fear of giving offence". It was not until 1854 that the Jesuits moved their novitiate to Beaumont, Old Windsor, about four miles from Clewer. When the Sisterhood of St John the Baptist was founded there was not a single Roman Catholic religious community in the whole of Berkshire, either of men or women. Two miles away Windsor Castle was well in sight of Clewer. Dean Wellesley and the Canons of St George's Chapel took a somewhat detached interest in the Sisterhood; they might admire Mr Carter's zeal as a clergyman, but they were far from sure if they approved any more than did Bishop Wilberforce of his religious opinions.[2]

Despite some difficulties with their bishop, the Community continued to develop. In 1855 the original buildings which had served as the first home of the Sisters and the penitents were pulled down, and a new and still more medieval-looking House of Mercy opened. There was a cloister

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[1] Bishop Wilberforce had an almost fanatical hatred of what he called "The vile harlotry of the Papacy" in every shape and form. Remembering this, it is remarkable that he showed such fatherly interest in the Sisterhoods of Clewer and Wantage (see also pp. 247, 300).

[2] It is interesting to note how the careful supervision exercised over the Clewer Sisterhood by Bishop Wilberforce in the early years had the desired effect of making most people think that it was nothing more than "an assembly of pious women devoted to good works . . . ladies boarded and lodged together, agreeing as a mutual convenience to observe certain regulations". The fact that the Community was directed by a married clergyman and a clergyman's widow may have helped to disarm suspicion. Miss Mary Frances Cusack, the authoress of *Five Years in a Protestant Sisterhood* (1869), from which these quotations are taken, adds that "if these immense sums of money [given to Mother Lydia Sellon] had been given to an establishment like Clewer, where one work of mercy is carried on regularly and steadily, the donors would have known how their money was spent". Miss Margaret Goodman in her far from kindly revelations of *Sisterhoods in the Church of England* (2nd ed., 1863) has nothing to say against the Clewer community. No vows were taken by the Clewer Sisters in the early days. They were "entirely free to leave at any time if it seemed good to them so to do, and this remained in the Rule so long as Wilberforce retained his official connection as Visitor" (*The Founders of Clewer*, p. 28).

with Gothic windows, and a small temporary chapel up in the roof. Eighty penitents could be housed in these new quarters. Postulants presented themselves, novices were clothed and professed. Within three years of the foundation of the Community there were sufficient numbers to justify taking on other work. Mrs Rosamira Lancaster—who with her husband was to establish the Sisterhood of St Peter (Woking) six years later—had founded already an orphanage and industrial school in London, but felt it would be better to move it into the country. Mother Harriet offered to take charge of the children, and this was the origin of St John's Home at Clewer. A ward for convalescents was added, to be moved later to some cottages close by. In 1865 there rose the walls of the even larger red-brick Gothic buildings of St Andrew's Hospital, on the opposite side of the road to the House of Mercy. Within little more than ten years the upper part of the parish of Clewer was overshadowed by the various institutions under the care of the Sisters. They were a witness to the vision, courage, and enthusiasm of Mr Carter and Mother Harriet Monsell, and of the generosity of friends and benefactors. When it had been decided to build St Andrew's Hospital, the Council, which now controlled the material affairs of the Sisterhood, were alarmed at the estimated cost. "Mother Harriet was greatly roused, and, finding no other means available, herself signed the contract, and then set herself with the most indefatigable industry to get together securities in case of her death, at the same time urging forward all possible efforts to collect the sum required."[1] Her faith and determination had their reward.

Once St Andrew's Hospital was completed the indefatigable Mother Harriet decided to open a day-school in the midst of that squalid district whence the first penitents had been drawn. By 1867 she had erected a mission house. Four years later saw the dedication of Clewer St Stephen's, a church which in later times became famous as a stronghold of Anglo-Catholicism. From the first the services were conducted with far more ceremonial than Mr Carter had introduced in the parish church, where as late as 1865 he had got no further than putting on a white stole over his surplice, and he still wore the black gown in the pulpit.

In 1860 Mother Harriet sent a few Sisters to work in the parish of St Barnabas, Pimlico. They opened a school for girls, an orphanage, and then a small almshouse. Then a Refuge for Penitents was added to their care. Other mission houses in London followed—St Mary's, Soho (1862), St Alban's, Holborn (1868), and All Hallows, Southwark, a year or two later. The House of Charity, Greek Street, Soho, was taken over by the

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[1] T. T. Carter, op. cit., p. 117.

Community in 1860.[1] The previous year a group of Sisters went to Oxford to open the diocesan penitentiary at Holywell. In 1863 Mother Harriet managed to spare a few more of her community for penitentiary work in Devonshire, out of which work evolved the large House of Mercy at Bovey Tracey, completed in 1874.[2] There were further developments at Clewer, with the establishment of St Andrew's Cottage as a home of rest for ladies of limited means, also a row of almshouses for the permanent residence of others. One can hardly keep pace with the many foundations made during that period of growth, for besides the houses already mentioned there was St Raphael's Convalescent Home, Torquay (1866), to which St Luke's Home was added later for men. Later on there was St Lucy's Hospital for Children at Gloucester, opened in 1872, and later still an industrial school. Few communities of women increased so rapidly and made so many foundations as did the Sisterhood of St John the Baptist, Clewer, during the first twenty years of its existence.

In 1874 came the first foundation overseas, after several American ladies had made their novitiate and had been professed at Clewer. In 1881 a group of Sisters went to India, where they worked in the Medical College Hospital and Eden Hospital at Calcutta. Mother Harriet resigned her office as Superior-General in 1875, her health having given way at last with the constant strain of responsibilities. She retired to Folkestone, where her Sisters had recently opened yet another mission house. She died

[1] The House of Charity was founded in 1846. Mother Kate, of St Saviour's Priory, Haggerston, writes: "The work there must have been most depressing, as the House of Charity is the Refuge of social shipwrecks and world's failures—sometimes through their own fault, sometimes through misfortune—but through whatever cause, all crushed, all failures. The parish is a district of St Giles, and, as I knew it in the fifties, was a mixed population of Irish, French, Poles, thieves, and prizefighters: a focus of sin and poverty. [The Reverend John Charles] Chambers sacrificed his home life to reside on the spot and help both these parishioners and those who were sheltered in the House of Charity." (*Memories of a Sister of St Saviour's Priory*, 1903, p. 164.)

A few of the Clewer Sisters worked here until the Second World War.

[2] Designed by Henry Woodyer. "A spacious and well-arranged group of buildings constructed of rough-dressed granite with quoins of Bath stone and tall picturesquely-treated chimney shafts of red brick. . . . The picturesque and beautiful site of this building, on a hill overlooking the village of Bovey, and wild moorland beyond, lend additional interest to the exterior, which, in effect, is well suited to the surrounding scenery. . . . Nor does its general design, being thoroughly original, affect in any absolute degree the traditions of a by-gone style. But it has caught the spirit without imitating the letter of old English work. It is the design of an architect who has profited by antiquarian study—not that of an antiquary who has tried his hand at architecture." (Charles Eastlake, *The Gothic Revival* (1872), pp. 331–2.)

The reredos of the chapel—like that of St John Baptist's Convent, Clewer—features niches canopied with acute trefoil-cusped heads, which were so favoured by Mr Woodyer. There is a refinement and grace about his details.

in 1883, worn out by nearly a quarter of a century of active labour for the good of souls, started while yet in the prime of life. "The loving friend that wrote the 'In Memoriam' in the *Guardian*," so Canon Carter pointed out in his Life, "observed that 'When the history of the revival of Sisterhoods in our Church is written, a golden page will be given to Mother Harriet.' It is true. The more the question of Religious Communities for women is understood (and it must become more and more a prominent idea of the English Church) the more it will be seen, that the cause which she so deeply loved and so desired to further for the deepening of the life of the English Church, and the saving of its multitude of lost souls, has received an impulse from her wisdom, her singleness of purpose, her pure devotion, and her loving energy, which it is difficult to overestimate. In the sense in which she would most truly desire the words to be fulfilled, it will be seen in this, as in other respects, that, resting from her labours, her 'works do follow her'."[1]

And the works did follow her, not only the foundations made in her lifetime, but many others, too numerous to be mentioned in detail, e.g. the House of Mercy, Highgate (1900); the House of Mercy, Great Maplestead, Essex (1892); St Mary's Home, Stone, Dartford (taken over in 1901 from the small sisterhood of St Mary the Virgin established in 1860); St Barnabas' Home, Torquay (1892).[2] In India there were a school and a sanatorium at Darjeeling; the Diocesan Mission House at Ballygunge, besides several other hospitals, orphanages, and schools. The affiliated Sisters in the United States established branch houses as far afield as Portland, Oregon.

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The object of the Community of St John the Baptist is to bind the Sisters together in one spirit and with one heart for the fulfilment of the life to which they have devoted themselves, that doing all things in the same appointed order, and with the same mind, they may the more perfectly and effectually spend themselves in the love and service of God, and the love of others for His sake, and in mutual love and care for each other, thus cherishing a common life and work with the constant desire

[1] T. T. Carter, op. cit., pp. 224, 225.

[2] Charles Booth in the seven volumes of his *Life and Labour of the People in London* which deal with Religious Influences refers several times to the Clewer Sisters. In 1900 the Community had no less than twelve houses in various parts of London. The Sisters, in addition to directing numerous institutions and devoting themselves to parish work, were also visiting the married quarters of about half a dozen barracks. Their work at St Alban's, Holborn, is mentioned (Vol. II, p. 146), likewise their home and school for girls in Nelson Square, Blackfriars, "which widely different authorities (High Church and Primitive Methodist) pronounce to be excellent." (Ibid., vol. IV, p. 27.)

of manifesting forth the Mind of Jesus Christ, their One Lord and Saviour.

Canon Carter, in his memoir of Mother Harriet Monsell, writes that "speaking generally her view of the Sister's life was a mixture of the contemplative and the active, with devotion as its root power, but with readiness to accommodate the rule of devotion to the exigencies of the souls among whom the Sister may be set to work. This view she clothed in her own characteristic language in reply to a Sister's inquiry. 'I suppose the Sisters must always be ready to leave God for God (as they say), to leave God in devotion to work for God in those for whom He shed His blood; or rather, ever bearing God about them, to be ready to use broken prayers for themselves and for them. I don't think that Martha's work will hurt Mary's contemplation in this life, so that both are really about our Lord.'

"There was in her mind a distinct ideal of the Community which she represented to herself under a series of concentric circles, composed of shamrocks, the shamrock symbolizing to her Irish mind the fitting image of the individual Sisters who were to be united together in the bonds of the common life, the centre of the circle animating the whole being her ideal of the character and life of St John the Baptist, the 'mirror of penitence, humility, and purity' as she describes him, the 'friend of the Bridegroom and our patron'.

"She illustrated this idea in a diagram, and explained it. . . . 'The central point is St John the Baptist with his motto, "He must increase but I must decrease", so that no individuality forms the central life. The circle is composed of individuals, each with a revelation of the Triune Divine Life, and a manifestation of the Mind of Christ, forming a perfect unity, each bound together in a compact life, each dependent on the other for its perfection, each restrained within the compass of a perfect circle, that represents, as it is kept in its perfection, the perfect life in God.

"'This life implies a quiet dignity, an energy of activity chastened by the restraint of a life of faith and of prayer. Its power lies in its completeness, its perfection in the growing perfection of each life in God. . . . It is ever ready to accommodate itself to any way in which work can be done for God in its appointed sphere, and yet this pliancy calls at the same time for the greatest exactness and accuracy in carrying out each detail of the Constitution and Rule.

"'Thus contemplating the perfect form of our Community, the sanctity of the life of St John the Baptist would shine out in it, the holiness of the Divine indwelling would be manifest, and the exhortation, "Be ye holy as I am holy", would become the standard of the life of each, a standard to be reached not by contemplating others, but by each in themselves contemplating the holiness and perfection of God, and by great personal fidelity to the Rule . . . drawing their own lives and by their silent fidelity the lives of others, into the perfect circle that represents the variety and the unity of the life in God.'"

Such was the spiritual foundation on which Mother Harriet built up her community; the secret of the influence of her Sisters over the lives of all those with whom they came in contact, not only in England but in other parts of the world. As in most Anglican communities, no matter how busy they may be with works of charity and mercy, the recitation of the Divine Office in choir has always been the basis of their spiritual life.[1] From 1858 *The Day Hours of the Church of England* was the Office Book used; the new and revised editions of 1909 and 1937 being adopted as they were published. In 1950 the community brought out a new and revised edition of *The Day Hours of the Church*,[2] and in 1952 a further one entitled *Day Hours.*

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[1] Canon Carter's attitude towards services in the Community chapels is summed up in this letter: "I strongly feel that Sisterhoods should be kept in harmony with Church order. They will occasionally have their own special days of observances, and these ought, I think, to have the bishop's sanction; and further, they ought not to interfere with Church services, at least so far as Sundays and Holy Days, for which a special service is provided, are concerned. . . . "The chapels of Religious Communities are private so far as that there can be no interference from without—such as legally consecrated buildings are subject to; but they are not therefore independent of Church order, and the priests ministering in them are bound to guard the Church order" (*The Founders of Clewer*, pp. 27, 28).

[2] This office book seems to have evolved out of a vernacular diurnal—*Occasional Offices for the Hours of Prayer*—compiled by F. G. Lee and Canon Liddon in 1854, when the latter was Vice-Principal of Cuddesdon Theological College, and which was meant for the use of its students. It was due to Liddon's influence that Sir Frederick Lygon, afterwards Lord Beauchamp, prepared the more complete diurnal entitled *The Day Hours of the Church of England*, first published by Joseph Masters, London, in 1858. Only the "Red Letter Days" of the Book of Common Prayer were given full offices. "Black Letter Days" were only marked by commemorations at Lauds and Vespers. It was not until the supplement (*The Service for Certain Holy Days*) appeared in 1898 that direct invocation of saints was included. Even comprecation was omitted in the earlier editions. No doubt it was due to this restrained devotional language that some bishops made use of this book for their private prayers. The new and enlarged edition of 1873 contained a commendation from Bishop Mackarness of Oxford. So popular did *The Day Hours of the Church of England* become that a smaller edition, containing only the Little Hours, was issued, and in some cases bound up with the Book of Common Prayer. Between 1858 and 1898 five reprints of the complete Office Book were made. By 1898 over 27,000 copies had been sold—a sure proof of the popularity of a vernacular diurnal among Anglicans. It was adopted by many other communities besides Wantage and Clewer. The new and revised edition of 1950, entitled *The Day Hours of the Church* (Longmans, Green & Co.), has for its "most significant change, the adjustment of the Kalendar and

Novices are given instruction in church history, the Bible, Christian doctrine, mental prayer, the Rule and its application to their lives. After profession they may be sent to work in any house according to their capacity. The habit and veil are black, with a linen wimple and binder. A silver cross engraved with the Agnus Dei is worn round the neck.

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In 1918 the Community had over forty branch houses in Great Britain and India. Now, owing to the much reduced personnel, they are far less numerous, and consist of the following.

Clewer. At the Convent: Retreats in a wing at the Convent, church embroidery, wafer bakery, St Anne's House and St Andrew's Cottage for elderly ladies, parish work.

St Basil's Home, Iffley Road, Oxford (home for aged women); St Stephen's College, North Foreland, Broadstairs (public boarding and day school for girls) and St Mary's Retreat House, Salisbury.

The Warden is the Reverend G. C. Triffitt, S.S.J.E. the Visitor, the Bishop of Oxford.

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The branch of the Community of St John the Baptist in the United States, which became independent in 1949, owes its foundation to Miss Fanny Paine of Boston and Miss Helen Stuyvesant Folsom of New York. Early in the 'seventies, on the advice of Bishop William C. Doane, of Albany, they went to England and entered the novitiate at Clewer. In February, 1874, after their professions, Miss Paine (Sister Frances Constance) returned to America with a few other members of the Clewer community. Later on she was joined by Miss Folsom (Sister Helen Margaret).

The Sisters started their work in lower New York. Hospitals, schools and colleges, penitentiaries, orphanages, missions, and parochial work were undertaken as more Sisters were professed. For about forty years the mother house remained in New York City. In 1915 it was transferred to the Convent St John Baptist, Mendham, New Jersey, where a fine Gothic building had been specially erected "of ancient design but equipped for modern living" as was stated in a published account

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ranks of Feasts (previously following the Sarum rite) to correspond to the Western Use familiar to most of us, and found in our Missals". The Roman proper offices for the feasts of the Sacred Heart and Christ the King are given, and among the saints are many not to be found in the Kalendar of the Book of Common Prayer. The Community of St John the Baptist must be congratulated on this well-edited and handy vernacular diurnal.

of the convent. Here is located the American novitiate. The Sisters conduct a school at Mendham, for boarders and day-girls (college, preparatory, and general courses). Also at Mendham is St Marguerite's Retreat House situated across the lawn from the Convent. It is owned and operated by the Sisters.

Parish work is done at St Luke's Chapel, Greenwich Village, New York and at Grace Church, VanVorst in Jersey City. The addresses are: St John Baptist House, 90 Barrow Street, New York 14, N.Y., and St Christopher's House, 278 Second Street, Jersey City 2, N.J. Summer work is done at St Uriel's Church, Sea Girt, N.J.

The Warden of the Community is the Reverend Paul C. Weed, Jr, and the Visitor is the Bishop of Newark.

The postal address of the mother house of C.S.J.B. in the United States is P.O. Box 342, Mendham, New Jersey.[1]

2. SOCIETY OF ALL SAINTS (SISTERS OF THE POOR)

All Saints' Convent, London Colney, Hertfordshire (1851)[2]

The early history of this large and widespread community was so closely associated with Margaret Chapel, London, that a brief account of this place of worship, which played such an important part in the early days of the Catholic Revival in the Church of England, would seem necessary. Margaret Chapel stood at the east end of Margaret Street, which runs parallel with Oxford Street. A century ago it mainly consisted of dingy five-storey houses, while north of it were smaller streets of a much lower type often lined with costermongers' barrows. To the west lay the fashionable quarters of Portland Place and Cavendish Square. Thus Margaret Street touched the two extremes of wealth and poverty. The chapel at its east end had been erected in the eighteenth century and was a plain, ugly building with galleries. The Reverend Frederick Oakeley had been nominated to the charge of the chapel in 1839, and it soon became the favourite place of worship for the disciples of the Tractarian leaders. The three-decker pulpit at the east end was replaced by a small communion-table, vested with a crimson frontal, on which stood a plain cross, an alms-dish, and two French candlesticks.[1] In 1845 Mr Oakeley followed Newman on his road to Rome. He was succeeded by the Reverend W. Upton Richards, who maintained the same standards of worship. Every Sunday morning Margaret Chapel was filled with a select, fashionable congregation, some drawn there out of curiosity, others from motives of piety. There was a certain amount of astonishment in seeing a preacher wearing a surplice instead of the then usual black gown. Whether the slow and ponderous plain-chant of the *Laudes Diurnæ: the Psalter and Canticles set and pointed to the Gregorian Tones*, with Mr Richard Redhead rumbling on the organ, was more devotional than cheerful Anglican chants, provided matter for argument after the service.[2] By 1847, so Benjamin Webb wrote to Dr Neale, "they have now got up a complete musical Mass: the Commandments, Epistle, Gospel, Preface, etc., all sung to the ancient music. I venture to assert that there has been nothing so solemn since the Reformation; and it may *never* be able to be done again."[3]

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[1] Phyllis Bottome's "fragment of an autobiography" entitled *Search for a Soul* (1947) gives a vivid and detailed account of life in a boarding-school in 17th Street, New York, run by the Clewer Sisters about sixty years ago (pp. 188–231).

[2] This section has been written from the valuable notes supplied by the Community.

Among the regular worshippers at Margaret Chapel was Miss Harriet Brownlow Byron, who lived with her sisters in Nottingham Place; her father and mother having died some time before. She was born in 1818

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[1] See illustrations in S. L. Ollard's *A Short History of The Oxford Movement* (1915), pp. 179, 233.

[2] A detailed account of the services is given by G. Wakeling in *The Oxford Church Movement* (London, 1895), pp. 86–95.

[3] A revival of plain-chant had begun soon after the dawn of the Oxford movement. A. W. Pugin was one of the first to fight for the restoration of Gregorian music, when he tried in vain to make Bishop Walsh forbid a full orchestra and mixed choir at the opening of St Mary's, Derby, in October 1839. At Grace-Dieu Manor, Ambrose Phillipps allowed no music in the chapel except plain-chant. The surpliced choir sang the Gregorian chant from large graduals, vesperals, and antiphonals, brought over from France or Belgium. Every Sunday the whole of the Proper of the Mass was sung, and very often on week-days. There was neither the "tom-tomming of drums, the braying of brass instruments, the twanging of fiddles nor the piping of the flute" as in almost every large Roman Catholic church in England during the 'forties and 'fifties. (Cf. Purcell, *Life of Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle* (1900), vol. II, pp. 292–3.)

At the opening of both St Chad's, Birmingham (1841), and St George's, Southwark (1848), elaborate Masses, with orchestral accompaniment, were offered. In 1850 Pugin published *An Earnest Appeal for the Revival of Ancient Plain Song*, which received a far better reception from Anglican readers than from Roman Catholics. Meanwhile Richard Redhead had issued his *Laudes Diurnæ*—the first book of Gregorian chant adapted for Anglican worship. In 1845 Thomas Helmore started a Gregorian class in Oxford. His *Psalter Noted* was published in 1849, and was adopted in most Sisterhoods. The following year his *Manual of Plainsong* appeared, followed by the *Hymnal Noted* in 1851. These three books helped to popularize plain-song among the churches where Tractarian influence had been felt. Thus it came to pass that most aspirants who entered the early Sisterhoods had already acquired some knowledge of plain-chant. (Cf. F. Helmore, *Memoir of the Reverend Thomas Helmore* (1891), pp. 42–7, 64–9.)

and her family were well-to-do folk who had a property at Coulsdon in Surrey. She described herself in after years as "a worldly little thing" before she made her first confession to Mr Upton Richards on 3 July 1848. After this she began to keep a definite Rule of Life, making a daily meditation, reciting the Day Hours, and visiting the poor. Mr Richards seems to have recognized her gifts and possibilities, for he set her to read the Fathers of the Church, and recommended that she should take a course of training at King's College Hospital.

Three years before this the Sisterhood at Park Village West had been founded. The "convent" was within easy walking distance of Nottingham Place, and Miss Byron often went there, usually accompanied by her two friends, the beautiful Miss Ethel Benett, afterwards foundress of the Sisters of Bethany, and Miss Georgina Hoare, who found her vocation as one of the Sisterhood of St John the Baptist, Clewer.

We may be almost certain that Miss Byron and these other ladies assisted at the laying by Dr Pusey of the foundation stone of the new church, dedicated to All Saints on All Saints' Day, 1850, and at the last service which had been held in Margaret Chapel on Easter Monday that same year. For the next nine years the congregation had to worship in a temporary building in Great Titchfield Street, while the walls of Butterfield's masterpiece rose slowly on the site of the former Margaret Chapel. Miss Byron was now convinced that God had called her to form a Sisterhood, and on 16 August 1851 she went with Mr Richards to inspect a house in Mortimer Street and decided to rent it. On St Luke's Day of the same year she gave up the world, without there being anything spectacular about this renunciation. She took up her abode at 67 Mortimer Street with three incurable invalids and two orphans. For the first six months she cared for these inmates alone. One room was fitted up as an oratory, and on the Vigil of St Andrew, 1851, Mr Richards celebrated the Holy Communion for the community that was to be.[1]

As is related in an unpublished history of the All Saints Community: "It was a hard life for our Mother Foundress at the first: she herself did all the housework, even the cleaning of the front door-step: the cooking was done by one of the 'incurables' who happened to be tubercular!" Two or three times a week she took the orphans and went out 'scrapping', going to various great houses where she had leave to call. All those London houses at that time had areas with high railings and steps leading to the basement, down which tradesmen and beggars were supposed to go. The Mother Foundress afterwards said: "I found this begging 'great fun', though I was a little afraid of meeting any of the young men I used to dance with!" She wore at this time a dress very much like what the postulants used to wear—a plain black frock and a white 'baby-cap' covering the whole head and ears.

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[1] The only Roman Catholic religious community in this part of London at the time of the foundation of the All Saints Sisterhood was the Society of the Holy Child Jesus, which had opened a convent school in Cavendish Square almost at the same moment as Miss Byron had moved into the house in Mortimer Street.

After the first six months other ladies joined Miss Byron. More accommodation was needed, and three houses were taken in Margaret Street, opposite the church then in building, and separated from the parish house by a narrow alley. A few essential alterations were made before the houses were suitable for the Sisters and their orphans. The work for invalids continued in Mortimer Street. Meanwhile, on 5 May 1856, the Mother Foundress made her religious profession, and on 4 August, the feast of St Dominic, she was installed as Superior for life, receiving the ring of office from Bishop Wilberforce of Oxford, who acted on behalf of the Bishop of London. The community consisted of only four or five Sisters. The first Statutes were drawn up in 1859, very brief and tentative, but were sufficient to guide the life of the infant community. After the dedication ceremonies of All Saints' Church, carried out by Dr Tait, Bishop of London, on 28 May 1859, the Sisters were able to live a life of much greater regularity. Visitors to the convent, so we are told, "were much impressed with its tranquillity and simplicity. There were already set times for meditation and the recitation of the Divine Office, as well as for reading and for silence. At 11 a.m., when the Sisters were in chapel for their spiritual readings, even the portress spoke only in a whisper. The house was plainly furnished; over the doors were illuminated the texts we know so well—'Here we have no continuing city', 'For your sakes He became poor': and over the entrance 'The Lord preserve thy going out and thy coming in'."

They were valiant women indeed, those pioneers of Anglican Religious Life a century ago! At first the Sisters kept the many Fast Days of the Book of Common Prayer so rigorously that on the advice of doctors they had to modify their method. Nevertheless the general observance remained austere enough. There was never any heat in the houses other than a small fire in the living-room, and this was never lit unless it was quite certain that the room would be used. This spartan existence did not keep away postulants, and the Community increased so rapidly that it was soon possible to begin work outside All Saints' parish.[1]

The first call came from Sir William Jenner, then one of the most famous English physicians. In 1860 he asked Mother Harriet to take charge of at least two wards at University College Hospital, Gower Street. She sent Sister Elizabeth, although she was not then professed, to nurse there. Later on other Sisters worked with her, and the managing committee of the hospital requested the Community to undertake all the nursing work. Eventually twelve choir and three lay sisters were in residence at the hospital. They had their own oratory, where they recited the Divine Office, and where the Holy Communion was celebrated for them daily by the clergy from neighbouring churches. It was not until 1898 that the Community severed its connection with University College Hospital.

From this work evolved the convalescent home at Eastbourne for discharged patients, which was opened on 19 July 1869 by Bishop Wilberforce of Oxford. The erection of this great red-brick hospital, designed by Mr Woodyer in his characteristic Gothic Revival manner, was a stupendous undertaking, carried out and completed by the power of prayer and perseverance.[2] It was not only the first seaside convalescent home in England, but also the first hospital founded and worked by religious of the Church of England, and on this account the clergy and the leading laymen of the Catholic Revival took a great interest in the scheme. All Saints' Hospital then stood in the midst of a field, with no garden, trees, or wall around it, and was therefore much exposed. People from the town tried to look through the windows to see the Sisters, who in those days were a novelty, and aroused much curiosity. The Mother Foundress herself planned this hospital, on the model of some she had seen in Paris, with separate sections for men and women, and a complete wing at right angles to these for the Sisters only. A large and beautiful chapel was added later, with a gallery or tribune with a wrought-iron grille where the Sisters could recite their Offices and make their mental prayer. By degrees the gardens were laid out, with a large Calvary, and two grotto-shrines, one for our Lady and the other for St Aloysius Gonzaga. "Some of us would like to know", writes one of the Sisters, "how and where our Mother Foundress became devoted to this Jesuit saint so little known in England." Sisters and novices were also sent to Eastbourne for rest or change of air in the days when the mother

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[1] It is recorded that about 1868 Sister Martha laid down her life while helping with other Sisters to nurse an outbreak of typhus in Manchester.

[2] Built of red brick and Bath stone this is "a large and plain but effective building, well adapted for its purpose and situation. The fenestration is light and cheerful, the distribution of parts judicious and none the less interesting, though perhaps somewhat the less convenient, for a picturesque crowding of dormers and chimney shafts in the Sisters' House. The steep gable, and open gallery on the first and ground floor of this wing contribute not a little to its effect, and are repeated, with some slight variations, at the entrance porch." (Charles Eastlake, *The Gothic Revival* (1872), p. 331.)

house remained in London, and those who went there never forgot the beauty and quiet of the garden and its conduciveness to rest and devotion. The Hospital was given up in 1957.

In 1870 Canon A. D. Murdoch, the founder and first Rector of All Saints', Edinburgh, and Mr Chinnery-Haldane (afterwards Bishop of Argyll and the Isles) asked the Mother Foundress if she could spare a few Sisters for work in Scotland. Already there were a few ladies working in this parish who wished to enter a religious community; one of them, Miss Robertson, joined the All Saints' Sisterhood, and was afterwards known as Sister Jane Mary. Four Sisters began work in Edinburgh in the year of the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War and at first lived in great poverty. Later on a new mission house was built for them, with a small but beautiful chapel, where there was no difficulty about Reservation, since this was even then a traditional custom in the Scottish Episcopal Church, as is now declared by a rubric in its Prayer Book.[1] The Community usually numbered about six members, engaged in parish work on the guild system, and doing an immense amount of visiting. It was regarded as a great privilege to be sent to work in Edinburgh, owing to the high reputation of the mission house and to its conventual character. A succession of remarkable religious ruled over the House for many years.[2]

In the same year as that of the foundation of the house in Edinburgh came another call of a very different kind—an urgent appeal to help to nurse the wounded in the Franco-Prussian War. The Mother Foundress went to France in person, taking six Sisters with her. They remained abroad from September 1870 to February 1871, and some of their letters which have been preserved tell of their adventures.

The Community continued to increase, and by 1873 it was possible to open a second mission house in the parish of St Jude, Bradford, Yorkshire. Here the Sisters found plenty to do among the poor, but the hard-headed conservative-minded Yorkshire folk took a long time before they were willing to use the word "Sister" as a prefix. The story is told how when they came to the door of the mission house they would ask for "the tall woman" or "the short woman", or even for "Clementina" or "Louisa"!

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The American Congregation of the Society, which has had its own Mother Superior and novitiate since 1890, was born on 12 December 1872 when a few Sisters landed on American soil. It was "a bitterly cold day, laced together with gusts of keen wind; icicles hung on the rigging of the ship and the beards of the sailors, but the welcome was otherwise warm". It was the Reverend Joseph Richey, of Mount Calvary Church, Baltimore, Maryland, who asked the Mother Foundress to spare some of her community. At that date his church was one of the outposts of the Catholic movement in the United States. It is related that after much scrubbing and cleaning on the part of the Sisters an eight-room house became the first Baltimore convent. Starting with a school for girls, work among the great negro population of the city was soon added. A home for coloured children was opened. Within a year of the arrival of the All Saints' Sisters, a call came for their services in New York. Sister Helen, who had been one of the group who nursed the wounded soldiers in the Franco-Prussian War, went to the Bellevue Charity Hospital. Later on she helped to establish there a training-school for nurses, on the lines of the one set up by Miss Florence Nightingale at St Thomas's Hospital, London. It was the first training-school for nurses in the United States. The Sisters also extended their activities to Philadelphia.

In 1890 the Community moved to a new convent at 801 North Eutaw Street, Catonsville, Baltimore 28. In 1916, thanks to a generous benefactress, a convalescent home for girls was erected at Catonsville. Here also is located the picturesque mother house and novitiate, with its fine Perpendicular Gothic chapel. St Anna's Home for aged women in Philadelphia, opened in 1913, provides a happy peaceful atmosphere in contrast to the bustle of the great city. In these houses of the American Congregation of the Society of All Saints one finds the same spirit of peace and austerity as in the convents at home. The same handicrafts are carried on. Altar breads are baked, and the Sisters do practically all the household work themselves. There is the same stress on the solemn recitation of the Divine Office. Meditation and prayer constitute the foundation of the life, and active works find their support in these. Retreats and Quiet days, corporate or private, are given in the Convent Chapel at Catonsville, Baltimore.

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In 1876 the first group of Sisters was sent to South Africa at the urgent request of Dr West Jones, Bishop of Cape Town. The first years in South

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[1] Reservation for Communion, in the rather slack eighteenth-century mode, no doubt survived in Aberdeenshire and elsewhere, but Reservation involving a treatment of the tabernacle or aumbry as a centre of *cultus* was rare in Scotland in the 'seventies. It is doubtful if there were as many as a dozen places where Episcopalians would genuflect before the Reserved Sacrament.

[2] When the All Saints' Mission House was founded there was only one other Episcopalian community in Edinburgh—the Community of St Andrew of Scotland, established in 1867. The Roman Catholic communities of women were limited to the Ursulines of Jesus (1835), Sisters of Mercy (1858), and the Little Sisters of the Poor (1863).

Africa were a time of great trial, but there was plenty of work to be done with an orphanage and a boarding-school in Cape Town, and a House of Mercy at some distance from them. The buildings were old and unsuitable: finally there was an outbreak of typhoid; several children, and all the Sisters but one were among the victims. However, the Community found a good friend in Mr Cecil Rhodes, then Premier of Cape Colony, and it was largely through his help that a new All Saints' Home was built about 1892. The story of the work done by the Sisters in South Africa would need a volume to itself. At one time they devoted themselves to the leper children on Robben Island, but this was given up eventually. Their educational work grew and extended.

In 1878 the Mother Foundress was able to spare four of her Sisters for India, where they worked under the Cowley Fathers. They were put in charge of a cottage hospital for women and children at Umarkhardi, also of St Peter's Girls' School at Mazagon.

Three other works at home were started about the same time: the orphanage and mission house at Leeds; the mission house at Westminster, and St John's Hospital, Cowley, Oxford. The chapel of St John's Home, designed by [Sir] Ninian Comper, and dedicated in 1907, is one of the finest examples of this great architect's "first period", with a magnificent stone rood-screen and windows filled with some of his best painted glass. St Margaret's Home, Liverpool, was taken over from the Community of St Thomas-the-Martyr in 1877, and the same year saw the establishment of All Saints' Boys' Orphanage, Lewisham. Other works were undertaken, and some of them given up later on, among these being St Saviour's Hospital, Osnaburgh Street, a mission house at Wolverhampton, and a maternity home in Battersea.

The Mother Foundress died in 1887, having ruled over her community for thirty-six years, and witnessed its expansion into an organization she had never even dreamed of at the beginning. A children's hospital at Eastbourne was erected in her memory, the foundation stone being laid in 1888. This did not end the foundations made by the Sisters, for not long after they started work in Northampton and Hammersmith.

Mother Harriet was succeeded by Mother Caroline Mary, who held office for six years. The next Mother Superior was Mother Mary Augustine, who revised the Constitution originally drawn up in 1859. In this work she was assisted by the great ecclesiastical lawyer, Sir Robert Phillimore. The new Constitution was adopted in 1896. The motto of the All Saints' Community has always been regarded as expressing its distinctive spirit: "As having nothing and yet possessing all things." From the time of its foundation the Sisterhood has always laid special stress on poverty and separation from the world. The Rule, like that of so many Anglican communities, is based on the Rule of St Augustine. The Sisters have their regular hours for spiritual reading, intercession, and meditation. The Society had its own Office Book. At first the Sisters seem to have used manuscript translations. In 1874 Sister Maria Francesca, the elder sister of Dante Gabriel and Christina Rossetti, made a translation of *the Day Hours of the Roman Breviary*.[1] After her death it was printed under the title of *The Day Hours and Other Offices as Used by the Sisters of All Saints*. A revised edition was brought out in 1922, entitled *A Book of Day Hours for the Use of Religious Societies*. It contains many of the liturgical reforms of Pius X. In 1957 the Society adopted the *Monastic Diurnal*, and the Tymawr version of Monastic Matins was adopted in 1961. While carrying out their multiform activities, the Sisters are bound to a Rule of Silence at certain times of the day, with a Great Silence from after Compline until after Terce the following morning. Novices are not trained for one specific work, but they must be prepared for any occupation which shall be assigned to them in Holy Obedience. The novitiate is for a period of not less than two years.[2] Life vows are taken after a period of three years in temporary vows. The habit, scapular, and veil are black, with a plain, round, linen collar and wimple. A black girdle is worn, from which hangs a small black wooden cross.

Mother Mary Augustine, from the time of her election, felt that it would be better for the Community if the mother house could be moved into the country, and the younger generation of Sisters strongly supported her. After examining several properties, she decided to buy Colney Park, near St Albans. The Georgian manor house was pulled down as it was considered unsuitable for a large religious community, and it was replaced by a magnificent new convent, designed by Mr Leonard Stokes—a well-known Roman Catholic architect who had already designed other convents. The buildings were ready for occupation by the summer of 1901, and were solemnly blessed by Fr Page, S.S.J.E., on 16 July; the Bishop of St Albans arriving in the afternoon to welcome the Community into his diocese. The convent is a characteristic work of its architect and is built round a large quadrangle. As a contemporary observer remarked: "Mr Stokes has chosen to work in Gothic, not the prim, copybook Gothic of the 'seventies, but a plastic, frankly modern type of Gothic, which in his hands is instinct with grace and life." It would not be untrue to say that the whole conception is influenced by the *art-nouveau* style of half a century ago, especially in the carved details on the façade and elsewhere within the buildings. Mr Stokes had designed a chapel which would have been in harmony with the rest of the buildings, but he died before it could be started. [Sir] Ninian Comper was called in, and the three bays of his chapel, which were erected in 1927, stand out in violent contrast to Leonard Stokes' work—even the colour of the brick used is different! It certainly dominates the neighbouring buildings, and in itself is a dream of beauty—very lofty, with a concrete vault of twenty-six feet span. The large windows are in the style which antiquarians would call "Debased Gothic". Standing at some distance from the great east window, filled with perfect Comper painted glass, is a classic ciborium, with its columns gleaming with his favourite mercurial gilding, and reminiscent of his ciboria at Pusey House, Oxford, St Andrew's Cathedral, Aberdeen, and St Mary's, Wellingborough. At first there was a suspended pyx above the altar in the chapel behind the choir, but more recently this method of Reservation has been superseded by a veiled tabernacle on the high altar. Comper's work also figures here in St Anne's Home adjoining the convent. His plans have now been completed with the erection of the remaining three bays of the chapel under the direction of his son, Mr J. Sebastian Comper.[1]

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[1] Maria Rossetti entered the novitiate in 1874. She was professed in October 1875 in the presence of her mother and sister, Christina. Her brother, Dante Gabriel, wrote in a letter: "Poor Maggie is parting with her grey hair next Saturday, and annexing the Kingdom of Heaven for good." She died in the autumn of the following year "in a rapture of heavenly anticipation like some medieval saint" (Oswald Doughty, *A Victorian Romantic* (London, 1949), p. 589.)

[2] Until 1932 the Community was composed of choir and lay-sisters. Since then there has been no distinction between its members.

An interesting link between Colney Chapel and the past was discovered —the presence of the foundations of a chapel dating from the eleventh century, frequented by pilgrims journeying to St Albans.

The original mother house in Margaret Street, so long the centre of the life of the Community, now became a branch house, since replaced by an entirely new building, but incorporating the old refectory and chapel. The change of headquarters brought about several changes; the orphans were moved to the country, also the novitiate. Their life became very different from what it was in "the good old days", when their cells were merely tiny clapboard cubicles. To those accustomed to the regulations of a modern novitiate it may seem strange that the early novices did practically all the mission and institutional work in the parish of All Saints; they taught in the Sunday-schools, and acted as probationers in the wards of University College Hospital. One novice always acted as sacristan at All Saints' Church, and others used to help her with scrubbing its pavements twice a week. As if these and many other duties in the mother house were not sufficient, a small mission was opened in Finsbury to provide extra occupation and training. Once a move had been made to the country, all was changed: the novices thenceforward retired into the background of community life, and like the model children of a past generation, were to be seen and not heard. In former times, owing to the multiplicity of branch houses, the mother house in Margaret Street ceased to be in anything but a formal sense the real heart of the Community. Each branch house developed an ethos of its own, reflecting the personality of its Sister Superior. But with the opening of the great convent near St Albans, the Community found a home that was a real home—a peaceful spot where young Sisters could receive their training and where old Sisters could return to spend their declining years.

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[1] It was Mother Mary Emily, who ruled over the Community from 1905 to 1929, who sought out Mr Comper, as he then was. She was also responsible for building the children's Home and the present house in Margaret Street. Besides these powers of organization and development, she had great intellectual gifts, translating several books from the Latin, revising the Office Book, and doing a great deal to promote the intellectual life of the Sisters. Mother Mary Emily was a woman of deep spirituality. Her help was sought by many people outside the Community as well as by the Sisters under her care. She taught for many years at St Cyprian's School, Cape Town, until she was sent for to come home as Novice Mistress, prior to her election as Reverend Mother.

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At the present time the following works are carried on by the All Saints Community in England:

Children's Home (for boys and girls, aged 3 to 16), Training Centre (for girls), and St Anne's Home (for chronic invalids), at London Colney, St Albans; All Saints' Home, 82 Margaret Street, London, W.1 (mainly for girl students); St Elizabeth's (for incurable women), Seaford, Sussex; St John's Home, Oxford, for invalid women.

The Chaplain-General is the Reverend Frederick John Nash; the Visitor, the Bishop of Crediton; and the Confessor Extraordinary, the Abbot of Nashdom.

3. COMMUNITY OF ALL HALLOWS

All Hallows Convent, Ditchingham, Bungay, Suffolk (1854)

The flat countryside on either bank of the River Waveney which eventually reaches the sea at Great Yarmouth, is not unlike parts of France and Flanders. When passing through the straggling village of Ditchingham, about two miles north of Bungay on the main road to

Norwich, the appearance of a large group of red-brick buildings, dominated by the *flèche* of a chapel—obviously a conventual establishment—is more than enough to create the illusion that one is in foreign climes. For modern convents are rare in East Anglia. This little village has been the headquarters of an Anglican Sisterhood for over a century. It was founded at a time when the Catholic Revival in the Church of England had hardly made itself felt in the Diocese of Norwich, but a few years after the Community of All Hallows was established, Fr Ignatius and his Benedictine Brothers invaded the cathedral city, and between 1863 and 1867 their monastery at Elm Hill became rather too well known for the strange services conducted in its chapel. When the Community of All Hallows was founded there was only one Roman Catholic community of women in East Anglia, the Benedictine nuns of East Bergholt. So it needed some courage to form a Church of England Sisterhood in a district where the sight of the religious habit was unknown. This is how it came about.

Miss Lavinia Crosse was born in 1821, and was the third daughter of a physician and surgeon in Norwich. As she grew up she began to take an interest in work among the poor, and about 1847 started to help in the parochial activities of St Peter Mancroft, Norwich, devoting herself to her poorer neighbours in every possible way. So her life went on until 1853, when she heard that a number of clergymen and influential layfolk in the diocese of Norwich were considering establishing a penitentiary (as such institutions were called in those days), and that it would be run on the lines as recommended by the London Church Penitentiary Association. The Reverend M. S. Suckling, Rector of Shipmeadow, offered his services as chaplain to the proposed establishment, and the Reverend E. Scudamore agreed to act as provisional secretary. In March 1854 after a public meeting held in Norwich, a council was formed, and on 6 May 1854 a Home was opened at Shipmeadow; a small farm-house having been rented in this village on the Suffolk side of the winding River Waveney. A month later Miss Crosse, on Mr Scudamore's recommendation, became superintendent: this proved to be the beginning of her life-work. Not long after she was joined by other ladies.

That same summer Miss Crosse visited the House of Mercy at Clewer and the penitentiary at Bussage to study their methods of rescue work among women and girls. As time went on she became convinced that in order to ensure the stability of the work started at Shipmeadow the only thing to do was for her to form a Sisterhood under a definite Rule of Life. Meanwhile Mr Scudamore had succeeded Mr Suckling as Chaplain. He strongly encouraged Miss Crosse in this scheme, and on the Eve of the Feast of the Circumcision, 1855, she took the three Vows of Religion in the little oratory of the House of Mercy at Shipmeadow. Among those present were the Reverend T. T. Carter of Clewer, who recommended Lavinia Crosse as first Superior. Two other ladies were clothed as novices. Such was the foundation of the Community of All Hallows.

It was a few weeks later that Dr Neale circularized the clergy of Central Sussex and South Surrey regarding a proposed nursing institution which would evolve into the Community of St Margaret, East Grinstead. The Crimean War was still being waged, and Miss Nightingale and her band of nurses were devoting themselves to looking after the sick and wounded in the hospital at Scutari.

Not all the supporters of the House of Mercy at Shipmeadow approved of it being run by a Sisterhood, or, more correctly, some of them were rather nervous of such an innovation, because the Tractarian movement had not made any advance in East Anglia at that date. In spite of these qualms, the premises were soon found to be far too small to accommodate the number of women and girls received, and it was decided to erect a permanent home in the parish of Ditchingham. A site was bought within a short distance of the rectory, and building was begun. The first part of the new House of Mercy was ready for occupation by 1859, and the Sisters and the penitents moved there from Shipmeadow. The buildings were finished by 1864, including the chapel. The consecration was performed by Dr Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford. Before the Community left Shipmeadow a cottage school had been opened in the village, and now an orphanage was started at Ditchingham, for Mother Lavinia's sympathies were wide and embraced all classes of those who needed help. The Community increased slowly but steadily, and by 1876 it became necessary to erect a separate house for them, apart from the penitents and orphans. That year the foundation stone of the convent was laid.

Mr Scudamore, who had acted as Warden of the Community since its foundation, died in 1881, and in memory of him a wing was added to the convent in 1885. This was done to fulfil his wish that any of the penitents who desired to live under a Religious Rule, instead of returning to the world, should have the chance to do so. So a group of Magdalens was formed. Eight years before this the All Hallows Country Hospital had been built, at first with accommodation for no more than twenty patients, but it proved so popular that it had to be enlarged in after years. In 1884 the Community had sufficient numbers to undertake two new lines of work. A mission house was established in Norwich, and three Sisters crossed the Atlantic at the urgent request of Bishop Silltoe, of

New Westminster, British Columbia. They began their apostolate at Yale on the Fraser River, where they opened a school for Indian children, then another school for Canadian girls.

At home the activities of the Community were extended by the opening of a refuge in Norwich in 1887, and another refuge in Ipswich, known as "The Lodge of the Good Shepherd", established two years later. In all these works Mother Lavinia had been the moving spirit. She died on 26 June 1890. A chapel to the memory of the foundress was built at Ditchingham and dedicated in 1895.

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The object of this community, as set forth in the Constitutions, is the service of God in a life of complete self-dedication under the Vows of Religion. The novitiate is at least two to three years, following a three to six months' postulancy. Life vows are taken after three years in simple vows. Throughout its existence of well over a century it has carried on its various works of charity and mercy without any publicity or advertisement, but it is now well known even outside East Anglia. The mainspring and centre of all its various activities is the chapel at the mother house, where the Day Hours of the Divine Office are recited, according to the new East Grinstead breviary, and a stream of prayer goes on day by day. It is a simple Gothic building, designed by Mr A. Frere, with the choir divided from the nave by an oak screen. The high altar stands in an apse, backed by reredos painted by the late Mr Alan Henderson, at one time a pupil of and assistant to [Sir] Ninian Comper. It was Henderson who decorated the statue of our Lady and the Holy Child beneath its Gothic canopy, standing on the Gospel side of the choir. The greater part of the interior of the chapel is decorated in gold and colour, thus perpetuating the medieval East Anglian tradition.[1]

The mother house, known as "The Convent", is an almost perfect example of mid-nineteenth-century Gothic Revival conventual architecture.[2] Compare its details with some of the drawings in A. W. Pugin's *Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England*, and there is little doubt where the inspiration came from. The round pepperbox-shaped turret and the narrow lancet windows are almost identical with those in Pugin's bird's-eye view of Mount St Bernard's Abbey. The Sisters undertake church needlework in the embroidery room. St Michael's House, the original House of Mercy, is now used for the training of girls, from school-leaving age until eighteen years. Every effort is made to progress with the times. All Hallows School, housed in another building, was established about ten years after the foundation of the Community to provide a good education on a spiritual basis at a moderate cost. It has undergone many alterations in the past century, and it is now an up-to-date boarding-school for girls, with a fully-qualified teaching staff and its own chapel. The picturesque choir dress worn by the girls, with white veils and short cottas, is of French origin. The educational work of the Community was extended in 1947 with the opening of All Hallows Preparatory School at Hedenham Hall, an old Tudor house on the main Norwich Road. Both schools are recognized by the Ministry of Education. All Hallows Hospital at Ditchingham is now equipped with all modern requirements, and still remains "independent", and is supported by voluntary contributions. Holy Cross House, the Memorial House built by Mr Scudamore, is now used by guests and retreatants. The Gate House is available for priests or laymen for holidays or retreats. All Hallows Cottage, West Runton, near Cromer, is used by the Sisters as a holiday house, or let to friends of the Community. From the mission house in St Julian's Alley, Norwich, the Sisters work in the parishes of St Peter with St Julian, Norwich; St Mark, Lakenham; St John, Timberhill with All Saints and St Michael-at-Thorn.

Such then are the good works carried on today by the Community of All Hallows, but they are only a means to an end. The spirit of the Community is to be found in its motto: "*Semper orantes. Semper laborantes*"—Prayer has priority over other work. The Warden is the Reverend Hilary Beasley, C.R.; the Visitor, the Bishop of Ripon; the Patron of the Schools, the Bishop of Norwich.

4. COMMUNITY OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY

St Mary's Home, Rottingdean, Sussex (1855)

The history of this Community, like that of the Communities of St Thomas-the-Martyr, All Saints, and Holy Cross, has been so closely interwoven with the story of the church and parish which gave it birth, that a few words about the original background are necessary.

It was in the year 1850 that the Reverend Arthur Douglas Wagner, son of the Reverend Henry Mitchell Wagner, Vicar of Brighton from 1824 to 1870, was appointed priest-in-charge of St Paul's, West Street, erected by his father at his own expense, and which had been completed two years before. Richard Cromwell Carpenter, the architect

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[1] To commemorate the Community's centenary in 1955, the chapel was enlarged, and a new organ installed.

[2] It was designed by Henry Woodyer. Many of the details are reminiscent of the same architect's earliest buildings at Clewer, erected about the same date.

employed, had also designed St Mary Magdalene's, Munster Square, which the *Ecclesiologist* (the magazine of the Cambridge Camden Society) declared was "the most artistically correct new church yet consecrated in London". The same could have been said about St. Paul's, Brighton, for here, as at St Mary Magdalene's, could be found the perfect material expression of Tractarian ideals of worship.

St Paul's was completely medieval in inspiration, and was designed in the English Decorated style of Gothic. The old-world atmosphere is stressed by the long cloister-like passage by which the church is entered from the street. The interior is dim, dark, and mysterious, due to the abundance of stained glass in the windows. There is a faint odour of stale incense. Votive lamps and candles flicker in the distance. Separating the nave from the spacious chancel is a magnificent rood-screen, which would have delighted Augustus Welby Pugin, who, incidentally, was responsible for the design of the glass in the great east window, carried out by Hardman. In fact, this famous Roman Catholic architect might have planned the church himself; it is reminiscent of many of his own buildings, and shows how much Carpenter was influenced by him. The choir stalls (fitted with misericords in the correct medieval fashion) must have rejoiced the heart of Dr Neale. The reredos behind the high altar is a very early work of Burne-Jones, so St Paul's can claim a link with the Pre-Raphaelite movement as well as with the early Tractarians. Brighton Protestants were scandalized at this church: they had never seen anything like it, and regarded it as a popish abomination and the abode of the Scarlet Woman. They gave it plenty of publicity, and the result was that it soon became one of the most frequented churches in the town. Every Sunday it was thronged with visitors, some drawn there out of curiosity, others from motives of piety. Right from the start the services were conducted with as much ritual and ceremonial as was possible a hundred years ago, though today what went on would be regarded as very mild and harmless.[1]

One can picture the congregation at St Paul's in the early 'fifties of the last century: the gentlemen in frock-coats and top-hats; the ladies in their crinolines, mantles, muffs, and coal-scuttle bonnets.[2] No doubt

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[1] Mr Wagner's evidence before the Ritual Commission in 1867 reveals that incense was not used, and that he had given up wearing eucharistic vestments at the request of the Bishop of Chichester. When questioned about "St Mary's Hospital", i.e. the Sisterhood, he replied that "it is a charitable institution, partly a penitentiary, partly an orphanage, and partly a nursery for poor children, and a school". (Cf. *Report of Ritual Commission*, 1867, pp. 112–15.)

[2] A picture of church life at St Paul's in the 'fifties is to be found in D. L. Murray's novel *Regency* (London, 1936), pp.22 1–12. "Thea and her guardian entered [the church] by the cloistered passage running from the porch, which was like a warm

many of the latter were readers of the *Monthly Packet*, a magazine edited by Miss Charlotte Yonge, which had started in 1851, and were also familiar with her novels *The Little Duke* and *Heartsease*.

The Crimean War was being waged in 1854. People were beginning to feel that there must be something to be said for "Puseyite Sisterhoods" after all, considering the heroic works of mercy which were being done by those members of the Park Village and Devonport communities under the direction of Miss Nightingale. *Punch* had ceased to make jokes about them, which was enough to prove that there was a change of heart.

On 1 December 1855 Dr Pusey had expressed the opinion in a letter: "I think that the plan of the Clergy 'forming sisterhoods' is an amiable mistake."[1] Nevertheless, if Mr Chamberlain had done so at St Thomas's, Oxford, and Mr Upton Richards at Margaret Chapel, London, how could a church like St Paul's, Brighton, be without its own Sisterhood? A community of women would be the crown of Mr Wagner's work.

Among the young ladies who were working in the parish was Miss Elizabeth Neale, sister of Dr Neale. She had already established a small orphanage, and might have become the foundress of a Sisterhood under the direction of Mr Wagner, had she not decided that she had a stronger call to found the Community of the Holy Cross in the parish of St George's-in-the-East, London, where Fr Lowder had no women workers to help him. In 1855, not long after Miss Neale had left Brighton and handed over her orphans to the care of her brother's Sisterhood at East Grinstead, Mr Wagner formed a group of ladies into a quasi-community, which became the nucleus of the Community of the Blessed Virgin Mary, which was formally constituted in 1858. The choice of the name recalls that the founder's "devotion to the Blessed

black cavern in the January dawn. . . . A few indistinct figures knelt at the benches of dark wood that supplied the place of the more familiar cushioned pews." The altar was "vested in a frontal of white silk, with a pair of bronze vases holding flowers patterned rigidly into Gothic shapes. . . . Then came a pattering of quiet feet like raindrops, and into the front benches filed a procession of women in grey shawls and deeply veiled black coal-scuttle bonnets, half-way between the habit of nuns and the dress of respectable matrons. They were the Sisters whom Mr Wagner was to weld into the Community of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Each made a profound curtsey to the altar before subsiding into her place upon her knees, and their intent posture increased the sense of expectancy in the atmosphere. . . . It was all, [Thea] told herself again, utterly unlike anything she had ever seen before, except in the pictures to historical novels."

[1] Cf. Clarke, *The Oxford Movement and After* (1932), p. 256.

Virgin manifested itself in nearly all his actions. To every one of the churches which he founded, he gave a picture of the Blessed Virgin, a reproduction of the traditional 'St Luke' Madonna treasured in Santa Maria Maggiore at Rome.[1] His personal devotion was also apparent in his devout observance of her feasts . . . which were always observed at St Paul's with a sung Mass and special devotions. Such teaching and practice may be almost a commonplace today, but to take up such an attitude in the England of the middle of the nineteenth century argued a considerable amount of courage."[2]

A row of ordinary dwelling-houses in Queen Square and Wykeham Terrace served as the mother house of the Community. There was nothing monastic about their architecture, and they were a far cry from the Gothic Revival romanticism of the great convents of East Grinstead or Clewer. By degrees the Sisters found themselves in charge of a free penitentiary for women and girls; a home for girls, who attended the church school; a home for boys, which served as a choir school for St Paul's; a home for older boys, who were apprenticed in the town; a home for poor elderly ladies, where a few girls were trained for domestic service; a dispensary for the poor; a boarding-school for the daughters of gentlemen with limited means, and a school of church embroidery. Later on St Mary's Home, Buxted, was opened for training older girls for domestic service. Besides the above activities, the Sisters did the usual sort of parish work.

The Sisterhood found itself the centre of unwelcome publicity in 1865, after the trial of Constance Kent for the murder of her half-brother, a child of four years old. Mr Wagner refused to reveal at the trial what she had said to him in confession. St Mary's Home, Brighton, was attacked by a mob, and its windows broken. Then it was discovered that Miss Kent had wished to give the sum of £1,000 to Mr Wagner to be used by him for the benefit of the Sisterhood and other parochial charities. He refused to accept the gift, and thus prevented further scandals and slanders.

Apart from this event, the history of this now nearly a century-old Community has been peaceful and there is little to record. It has lived a hidden life, devoted to good works, which have met with little or no external recognition. The postulancy lasts six months; the novitiate two years, after which life vows are taken. The Community has never been a large one, never exceeding more than thirty Sisters. Its spiritual life has been based on the solid foundation of the recitation of the Divine Office in choir; *The Divine Office*, a translation of the whole breviary, is now used. The Rule and Constitutions were modelled on those of the Visitation Order and the Rule of St Augustine. The motto of the Community is "*Caritas Christi urget nos*", and the aim is to express this by hospitality and sympathy towards all those with whom the Sisters are in contact.

After the death of the founder in 1902 it was discovered that owing to the absence of an endowment it would be impossible to maintain all the works of charity which had been carried on for forty-seven years. Some of them had to be given up. The houses in Queen Square and Wykeham Terrace were regarded with disapproval by the local health inspectors—times had changed and with them new requirements had been introduced. Eventually it was decided to look for a site for a new St Mary's Home, and this was found on high open ground to the north of Rottingdean, about five miles east of Brighton. In October 1911 work was started on the erection of the present home—a large block of red-brick buildings, situated in spacious grounds on the road from Rottingdean to Falmer.[1] In November the following year the penitents moved here with some of the Sisters, and in 1914 the rest of the Community followed. Only three sides of the quadrangle have been built for lack of funds, but there is a dignified chapel.

Owing to present Home Office regulations the training of young girls under eighteen has been given up, and only the older ones are now cared for by the Sisters. The embroidery room is still maintained and much work is done for churches. Priests and other guests are received for private retreats. At the present time the chief work of the Community is looking after elderly and infirm women who are unable to care for themselves. Parochial work is done at St Paul's, and St Bartholomew's, Brighton; Rottingdean, Ovingdean, and Woodingdean. The Visitor is the Right Reverend Kenneth Mackenzie, sometime Bishop of Brechin; the Warden, the Reverend Andrew Blair, C.R.

5. SOCIETY OF ST MARGARET

St Margaret's Convent, East Grinstead, Sussex (1855)

A visitor to the then newly completed Convent of St Margaret, East Grinstead, eighty years ago, must have felt that "The good old times of England" sung of in Dr Neale's verses *had* returned, almost miraculously, when he set eyes on that vast pile of Gothic buildings, whose walls of cream ashlar contrasted with the brown-red tiles of the steep-pitched roofs. The great convent had been begun in 1865, and at that date there was no conventual establishment anywhere in Britain planned on such a magnificent scale and with such apparent indifference to cost. If St Margaret's Convent did not convince people that England's Church was catholic, nothing would!

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[1] St Mary Magdalene's, St Bartholomew's, and the church of the Annunciation were all built at the sole cost of Mr Wagner; likewise St Mary's, Buxted. He contributed generously to the erection of St Martin's, Brighton, which was a memorial to his father. He died in 1902 at the age of seventy-seven.

[2] H. Hamilton Maughan, *Wagner of Brighton* (1949), p. 20.

[1] The architect was F. E. Cawthorn.

How picturesque and old-world was the gate-house, with its great Gothic portal, giving access to the main block. How one was transported to the Middle Ages by that quaint garth with a replica of a typical medieval stone cross standing in the midst of smoothly mown lawns. What a fascinating confusion of pointed arches, tall chimneys, and odd dormers, mingling with many gables with mullioned diamond-paned windows. Then the shock on entering that lofty refectory, with its open timber roof, stone walls, encaustic tile pavement, projecting pulpit, and open fire-place—large enough for the biggest yule log ever found in Ashdown Forest! The spacious kitchen too evoked memories of monastic banquets such as were described by Sir Walter Scott, but doubtless these good Sisters used the great fire-places not to roast joints for their own dinners but to feed the many hungry orphans for whom they cared.

As to the church—it was too large and stately to be called a chapel—had Mr Street ever designed anything so devotional? The rows of stalls, on either side of the wide and immensely high choir, were as solid and dignified as those in many a cathedral, and each seat of the stalls was being carved elaborately on the under side by one of the Sisters; a task which must take many years. Tall clustered columns of black marble rose from the sanctuary floor to the level of the stone-vaulted roof, forming, as it were, a frame for the high altar and reredos; the former raised on seven steps—the correct symbolical number, so antiquarians pointed out. Mr Gilbert Scott had designed some fine reredoses, but could any of them compare with this one with its five Gothic arches enclosing groups of realistically carved marble figures? High up above the reredos a rose window glowed with richly coloured stained glass. Invisible from the choir, and behind the high altar, was a smaller chapel, with the white glass of a hanging lamp reflecting the light of the flame burning within it. For St Margaret's Convent was the first Anglican place of worship to introduce the practice of continuous Reservation, at least with the Reserved Sacrament as a centre of *cultus*.[1]

Even today, when many another convent and monastery on more or less the same scale can be found in England, St Margaret's, with its beauty and dignity, still holds its own. Perhaps the mellowing of the cream stone and red tiles after long exposure to the sun, wind, and rain, together with the green foliage of surrounding trees, adds to the charm. No matter, here one finds an example of Gothic Revival architecture which no other country in Europe can equal: the spirit of the medieval builders was captured by George Edmund Street; one is not merely conscious of a clever imitation of detail, as is the case in his Law Courts in the Strand. More than all else, this convent is a lasting memorial to the man who dreamed, prayed, and laboured for its erection—perhaps the most brilliant and versatile priest of the Church of England in the nineteenth century.

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John Mason Neale, the founder of the Society of St Margaret—the official title of the East Grinstead Sisterhood—was born in 1818.[1] Brought up in an Evangelical family circle, he fell under the influence of the Tractarians during his time at Cambridge between 1836 and 1841. He was ordained priest the following year, and in 1846 was appointed Warden of Sackville College, East Grinstead.[2] His health prevented him from accepting any parish work; he had to be content with a salary of £28 a year for looking after the inmates of a small almshouse. One of the earliest members of the community he formed thus pictures the situation in which Mr Neale found himself: "Young, ardent, enthusiastic, large-hearted, full of sympathy, a poet, scholar, a student, and, to crown all, gifted with intense energy of purpose, never, to our judgment, did man seem more utterly out of place than was this young priest, in the midst of these surroundings . . . this highly-wrought, highly gifted young man, seemingly utterly wasted and thrown away in his bucolic *entourage*, was to kindle a light which, by God's grace, has shone far and wide, and the grand-children of those townspeople who set their faces as a flint against the Warden of the College, and the Founder of St Margaret's, now love the institution which he had created, and reverence his memory. . . . His work lives now.

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[1] Dr Darwell Stone summed up the history of Reservation and Benediction in Anglican churches in a letter dated 21 February, 1926. "I am inclined to think that Neale began Reservation (and possibly Benediction) when he founded St Margaret's, East Grinstead, in 1854, but I cannot fix Reservation before 1857 or Benediction before 1858. From that time I think that it was 'rare' and 'secret', and the secrecy has prevented records, and the people who knew about it are mostly dead. I saw the reserved Sacrament in a Hidden Chapel of St Bartholomew's, Brighton, in 1896, and about the same time in a similar chapel of the Annunciation, Brighton. I failed to find out when the Benediction with locked doors on a week night evening in the Resurrection, Brighton, of which I knew, began. I think that there was more of this kind of thing between the 'fifties and the end of the century than most people think, but possibly, as you say, more in Sisterhood chapels (like the Benediction in Queen Square [Bloomsbury] in the 'seventies) than in parish churches." (F. L. Cross, *Darwell Stone*, 1943, pp. 310–11.)

[1] Eleanor A. Towle, *John Mason Neale—a Memoir* (London, 1906); *Letters of John Mason Neale*, selected and edited by his daughter (London, 1910); A. G. Lough, *The Importance of John Mason Neale* (1962).

[2] Dr Neale was unusual in being, as a clerk in Holy orders, Warden of Sackville College. The last Warden, the late Lieutenant-General George McMunn, stated that the position was as follows: "There were fifteen Wardens before Dr Neale, dating from 1619. Three of these were clergymen. All the Wardens since Dr Neale have been laymen." Strictly speaking, the Wardenship is not an ecclesiastical appointment.

"Below the town lies a green belt of pasture-land, beyond which the great brown ridges of Ashdown Forest sweep the southern horizon . . . away westward, a richly wooded green country stretches away till it melts into the blue distances of Reigate and Dorking. Beautiful as this lovely view is to look at, scattered over the vast area, buried in the woods and wilds, were innumerable hamlets and isolated cottages, badly built, badly drained, far from human help and resource, when fever or any illness attacked the inmates. Day after day, as he paced, as his custom was, up and down this terrace, and looked out over the fair scene, his heart burned within him at the thought of all the miseries of these wretched cottages. . . . Scholar, student, poetically imaginative man though he was, he was not one to simply sigh and sympathize, and then let things take their course. He no sooner felt an existent evil than he tried to find a remedy for it. And so it came to pass that God put it into his heart to try to form a Sisterhood, whose special object should be to go out into these poor cottages, to live with, and nurse the sufferers under their own roof. It seemed a wild idea, a hopelessly impracticable one. People were stiffer, and more set in their own special grooves than now-a-days, and society was more aghast at any departure from routine. Besides the Bishop had inhibited him for having a Bible with a cross on the cover, and a cross and candlesticks on the Communion Table."[1]

It is probable that Mr Neale first gave serious thought to founding a Sisterhood when he was writing his book *Annals of the Virgin Saints*, published in 1846. But it was not until eight or nine years later that several ladies asked his advice about entering the Religious State, the first Anglican Sisterhoods having already been founded. The Warden of Sackville College felt, however, that another and rather different type of community was urgently needed—dedicated women who would go round the countryside as nurses. Two of the ladies who had consulted him agreed to take up this sort of work.

The first thing to be arranged was to have the future Sisters trained as nurses. In January 1855, Mr Neale sent Miss Ann Gream, daughter of the Rector of Rotherfield, to the Westminster Hospital as a probationer. About the same time he circularized the neighbouring clergy regarding the proposed "Institution for supplying the Clergy of Central Sussex and South Surrey with nurses trained for attendance on the sick poor". The letter was marked "Private", and, at the same time, Mr Neale refrained from giving his own name: anybody who wanted further information was asked to write to one or other of four local clergymen, who were not regarded with the same suspicion as the Warden of Sackville College. Enclosed with this circular were some of the Rules which it was proposed to adopt for the institution. The object was to supply the villages which lay within twenty-five miles of East Grinstead with Nursing Sisters, "who, when requested by the Clergyman of the Parish, and under his direction, may visit and attend the sick, and do such other works of charity as shall hereafter be found expedient or practicable; the numbers of, and means possessed by, the Sisterhood, being taken into consideration". It was stressed that every Sister shall have full and uncontrolled liberty at any moment to leave the institution; that none would be admitted without the written consent of her parents, if under the age of twenty-five, and that there would be free intercourse with parents, brothers, and sisters at any time—at that date it was prudent to dispel any suspicion that these nurses were nuns in disguise. The explanation that their dress would be "plain and uniform, of materials suitable to the season, and without any unnecessary ornament", was doubtless inserted to assure the more Protestant-minded clergy that they need not fear there would be anything "Puseyite" in the garb of these ladies.

Mr Neale received some interesting replies to this circular—some favourable, others full of misgivings, doubts, and even opposition. As might be expected, the Reverend Benjamin Webb, then Rector of Sheen in Staffordshire and later well known as the Vicar of St Andrew's, Wells Street, was enthusiastic, but even he remarked that the Sisterhood "will be a curious experiment", and he wondered if "our Church can naturalize such an Institution", although he could not see "why a system like that of the Little Sisters of Charity (e.g.) should not be developed." The Reverend W. Upton Richards, of Margaret Chapel, regretted that he was far too worried with raising funds for the erection of a new church in Margaret Street to help financially. The Reverend J. Chandler, of Witley, feared that "the name of J. M. Neale, of East Grinstead, may raise a prejudice against the scheme in some quarters, but this cannot be helped".

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[1] Mother Kate, *Memories of a Sister of St Saviour's Priory* (ed. 1912), pp. 13–15.

Having completed her training in London, the first Sister was sent out to nurse on 13 July 1855—a poor woman dying of consumption in an overcrowded tumble-down cottage in a lonely part of the parish of Rotherfield. She had to sleep in a loft, through whose thatched roof the wind penetrated. For over six months the Sisters took it in turns to nurse this woman, besides taking care of the baby, mending clothes, looking after children, and other domestic work. When all the able-bodied neighbours went off to the hop-fields in the early autumn, their labours were increased. Bread had to be baked, and as there was no coal, the Sisters had to collect wood from the forest. On one occasion when Mr Neale visited the place he found the thatch had been blown off the roof of the loft, and the rain was pouring down on her bed. Such was the spartan training given to the first members of St Margaret's Community. They gained a rich experience of the conditions in which the poor lived when nursing in the marshy valleys of the Rother and the Eden. Testimonies of their kindness, devotion, and skill were forthcoming from the clergy, doctors, and patients.

The first Sisters made their home at Sackville College, but in the autumn of 1855 a cottage was rented in Rotherfield, which became their headquarters when not engaged in nursing. It was dedicated to St Margaret. Miss Gream, however, continued to live at her father's rectory in the same parish. Mr Neale, despite his poor health, thought nothing of walking the fourteen miles and back, if no conveyance was to be had. He was assiduous in his visits to the little community. But such an arrangement was realized to be impracticable, and in June 1856 a small house was found in East Grinstead, between the college and the parish church. The same week as the nine Sisters moved in, Mr Gream died. His daughter, then aged forty-seven, was now free to take charge of the Community.

This humble "convent" has been described to us by Mother Kate, as "A funny little home, . . . standing endwise to the road. . . . The furniture was all of plain deal, stained dark brown, and cocoanut matting on the floor. I was perfectly fascinated with the little dormitory, with its buff-coloured plaster walls and partitions of dark stained wood, its little iron bedstead, wooden table with washing apparatus, and rough red earthenware pan for more extensive ablutions. . . . The refectory, a sort of semi-underground shed, took my fancy greatly. . . . The Oratory was a sweet little place, originally built, I believe, for a workshop."[1]

Mr Neale wrote that "the first convent is a red-brick building of 1753, ugly enough, but not offensive. It will hold twelve Sisters". The oratory was made out of a little building, gabled east and west, which used to hold a post-chaise. A young architect, G. F. Bodley, was called in to make necessary alterations. At its opening in 1856 the Litany was said, before Mr Neale said Mass. At the Offertory the Sisters sang the *Pange Lingua*; after the Consecration the *Tantum Ergo*. He often came to recite the offices with the Community, just as Butler did with his Sisters at Wantage. Every evening the Litany of the Holy Name was recited, followed by the singing of the hymn *Jesu dulcis memoria*. Presumably these hymns were sung in English.

Mother Kate also gives us a picture of Neale's study—"a marvellous place, literally lined with books—great folios, unsightly duodecimos, parchment bound, leather bound, every size, every variety, every age, every language—treating chiefly of Ecclesiastical History, Ecclesiology and Hagiography, thronged the shelves from floor to ceiling. And these were not enough: cross shelves filled up the middle of the room, packed and crowded with books, so that there was barely space to squeeze round from the door to the little fireplace in the corner, over which hung strange and valuable ikons, brought from Russia and Greece. . . . It was a real treat to look round at these numberless tomes of every age and language, from the depths of which Dr Neale drew the treasures which he gave forth to the world."[1]

Reference to the list of Dr Neale's published writings, given in his *Life* (Appendix II), is enough to show the extraordinary versatility and immense literary output of a man, hampered by bad health and a multitude of other responsibilities, who died at the comparatively early age of forty-eight. His books range over countless subjects, and cater both for the simple and the learned. Such was the man who founded, formed, and trained the Society of St Margaret.

A Rule had to be drawn up, and it was grounded on that of the Visitation Order as it was originally composed by St Francis de Sales before the Sisters became an enclosed community. There are certain passages which are identical. The spirit of the "*Entretiens Spirituels*" must have inspired the instructions given by Dr Neale to the first Sisters. On certain practical details he consulted Mother Harriet Monsell, whose Sisterhood at Clewer had been in existence four years before his own foundation was made. But the spirit and objects of the two communities were far from similar. That of East Grinstead was "to be essentially a Missionary Sisterhood, living in an atmosphere of fresh air, and mingling very largely with the world outside: the Sisters making themselves all things to all men, if by any means they might save some; going forth open-hearted to face all manner of unlooked-for emergencies, and on occasion to forego all means of grace, and yet to hold them fast by God . . . it was a tremendous undertaking, and so it was felt to be both by the Sisters and their Founder."[1]

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[1] Op. cit., p. 21 and 22.

[1] Op. cit., p. 31. D. L. Murray has woven much of Mother Kate's memories into the novel *Regency* (1936). At the same time it is stressed that the "Sisterhood of St Etheldreda" at "Crowfield" does not pretend to be an exact picture of the Society of St Margaret, and that no exact portrait of its founder has been attempted.

There was always something of "the boy who never grew up" about John Mason Neale: his letters to his friends cannot be described as discreet —he invariably said just what came into his mind at the moment; for instance, when writing about the Rules he remarked: "You know my abhorrence of the pseudo-asceticism of St Saviour's, Osnaburgh Street, and Devonport. I went to Clewer twice, and learnt all that I could there, and had a long correspondence with the Superior, who is one of the most sensible women I ever saw. . . . I drew up some rules based on those of Clewer, so far as the great difference of the design would permit. Then I learnt how completely I had hit the right nail on the head. I had not a *single* demurrer to the scheme." Then he states that "the Bishop has approved, generally, of the principle of the printed rules; the general principle . . . is taken from Clewer".[2]

The spirit of the Community had, of necessity, to be much less rigid than that of other Sisterhoods. When absent from home the rules of behaviour were to be as simple and unconstrained as possible. Dr Neale confided to a friend that the Sisters having meals with a family, even if friends were present, "scandalizes the Clewer people, with whom we are on intimate terms". He himself felt it would be "the height of unreality" for the Sisters to withdraw. He allowed them to read modern books—even novels, for "some could be read with real profit".[3] He realized that rapid changes in the Sisters' lives from weeks of active service to enclosure made "everything more difficult". He chose a dark-grey habit and linen cornette for them to wear, fearing that black would frighten children. The bands joining the scapular suggest Carthusian inspiration.

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[1] *St Margaret's Magazine* (1894), vol. IV, p. 10.

[2] *Letters of John Mason Neale* (1910), pp. 234, 235.

[3] One would like to know what novels Dr Neale allowed the Sisters to peruse. Did his selection include Anthony Trollope's *Barchester Towers* and George Eliot's *Scenes of Clerical Life*—both of which were published in 1857, the year after the little community had settled in its first convent at East Grinstead? It is a foregone conclusion that Miss Charlotte Yonge's *The Daisy Chain*, which appeared in 1856, would have been in the library, as well as her *Little Duke* (1854) and *The Lances of Lynwood* (1855). But what about Charles Reade's propagandist novel *It is Never Too Late to Mend*, which came out the year before? Mrs Craik's *John Halifax, Gentleman*, and Charles Dickens' *Little Dorrit*, both published in 1857, doubtless passed Dr Neale's censorship. There is evidence that Dr Neale approved of Trollope, as proved by Mrs Neale's letter to the author (9 February 1864) quoted by Michael Sadleir in *Things Past* (1944), p. 30.

The whole thing was an experiment, as were all the other attempts to establish Sisterhoods at that date. Neale, like other Anglican clergymen engaged in the same task, needed as much training and guidance as the Sisters. He spared no time or pains to fit himself for his task. For the first few years, to all intents and purposes, he undertook the duties which, in other circumstances, would have been performed by the Mother Superior and Novice Mistress.

The Community had been in existence scarcely two years when the original purpose for which it was founded, i.e. nursing the poor, was enlarged. Early in 1857 Neale's sister, Elizabeth, who had established a small orphanage at Brighton in connection with St Paul's Church, asked him if his Sisters could take over her duties, since she felt it was her duty to respond to the urgent call to go and found a community in the parish of St George-in-the-East, London, under the direction of Fr Lowder.[1] A house was rented on the London Road, at the other end of the town to Sackville College, and nine orphan girls were brought from Brighton to East Grinstead. Two Sisters were placed in charge, and the house was renamed St Katherine's. This was a new responsibility for Dr Neale. On Sunday afternoons he went there to catechize the children, and delighted them by the stories he told them. Sometimes, if no other teachers were available, he gave them lessons in arithmetic and geography. On festivals he took them out for rambles and picnics. These fatherless children found a new father in this erudite scholar, whose learning was respected all over Europe.

It was among the orphans that Dr Neale spent his happiest hours; with these little ones he could relax. "The hills surrounded a tended enclosure, where under good influences hopes might breed and virtues freely blossom; but the very sight of these guarded lives brought to mind the children who, in city alleys and haunts of wickedness, knew no more of piety and prayer than of open blue heavens and sunshine or green country fields."[2] So Dr Neale told his sister to send two children from Wapping, but he had to keep them apart from the others at first, for there was much to unlearn and to learn. Realizing that they might be bored with country life and miss the excitements of London, he took them to a fair when it came to East Grinstead, and thoroughly entered into the fun with them. Those Sunday afternoon Bible classes were made as wonderful and thrilling as fairy stories, for Dr Neale, somehow or other, had the gift of bringing out the mystical interpretation of the Old Testament in such a way that even children were fascinated with the imagery he employed. As to the Sisters, they "saw Christ and Christ only, in every chapter from Genesis to Revelations".

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[1] See p. 356.

[2] *Letters of John Mason Neale*, p. 245.

In October 1857 the Sisters found themselves subjected to painful publicity as the result of a legacy left them by one of their number who had died. Her funeral took place at Lewes. Before this her father had organized a mob to create a disturbance in the churchyard. He insinuated that his daughter had been ensnared; deliberately put out to nurse a scarlet-fever patient, then, before her death, forced to make a will in favour of the Community. While standing around the grave, the Sisters were attacked by the rabble, and only escaped with police protection. The Bishop of Chichester, who up to then had been fairly well disposed towards the Sisterhood, withdrew his patronage. Many friends accepted the story as true and stopped subscriptions to the Community, but others remained loyal and rallied round the Sisters.

The Community had more than outgrown the little house which had been their first convent, and in 1858 moved to larger quarters, An adjacent house was taken for the orphanage. But the number of Sisters continued to multiply so rapidly that Dr Neale, with his characteristic vision and confidence in divine providence, decided to erect a permanent mother house, to be of such a size that the scheme must have alarmed some of his friends and supporters. On 7 August 1865, a year before his death,[1] the foundation stone was laid of the present St Margaret's Convent. Nearly two hundred clergymen, Sisters, and lay folk made their way in procession from the High Street to the site of the convent outside the town. There were banners and the chanting of psalms to Gregorian tones. The inhabitants watched this strange sight with wonder and respect. They must have wondered at the figures of the Archimandrite Stratuli and the chaplain of the Russian Embassy in their gorgeous robes, who came to do tribute to the friend and constant defender of the Eastern Orthodox Churches. The total cost of the convent was over £70,000.[2]

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The Constitutions of the Society define the spirit and purpose that "the Sisters separate themselves for the work whereunto God calls them under the invocation of the Holy Name of Jesus, determining to do all things for the glory and the interests of that Name which is above every name. As it was the Name by which our Lord willed to be known in the humiliation of His Infancy and Cross, so the Sisters shall recognize their dedication to it as marking them for the special service of all those in whom our Lord continues His life of lowliness on earth. The sick, the poor, the orphan, as His chosen representatives, shall be their constant care. They shall tend the sick in the spirit of His words, 'Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these, ye have done it unto Me'. And as Jesus represented by His poor is to be the object of their active work, Jesus, yet more lowly, as present in the Blessed Sacrament, shall be the central Light of their devotion. They shall offer their work to His Glory in the Blessed Sacrament, and in reparation for the dishonour that He endures that He may be among His creatures." Considering Dr Neale's enthusiasm for the Christianity of the Near East, exemplified by his monumental *History of the Holy Eastern Church*, his *Translations of the Primitive Liturgies* (with Dr Littledale), and his *Hymns of the Eastern Church*, not to mention his frequent contacts with oriental archimandrites, and relations with even so exalted a personage as the Metropolitan of Moscow, it is rather surprising that his whole attitude towards eucharistic devotion should have been so uncompromisingly "Western"—not to say late medieval. Almost from the foundation of the Community Dr Neale had worn a chasuble in the Sisters' oratory. He started a daily Celebration in July 1855; Reservation in 1857, and by 1859 he had familiarized the Sisters with the extra-liturgical rites of Exposition and Benediction, since to his mind these were the logical means by which the dishonour endured by our Lord among His creatures could be repaired. No such innovations on customary Anglican usages were ever attempted by Butler of Wantage or Carter of Clewer in the chapels of the Sisterhoods they founded. It is quite possible that Neale's liturgical researches had led to the discovery that the rites of Exposition and Benediction were the outcome of the emotional quality of medieval "Northern Catholicism". In more recent times both Fr Thurston, S.J., and Dom Gregory Dix proved conclusively that these eucharistic devotions, which many people still regard as specifically 'Italian' and 'Counter-Reformation', were part and parcel of popular religion throughout Germany, Scandinavia and the Low Countries long before Luther was born, although quite unknown in Italy.[1]

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[1] He died in August 1866.

[2] Another reason why St Margaret's Convent must have made such an impression on all who visited it in those early years was due to the fact that eighty years ago the only Roman Catholic churches in the district were at Tunbridge Wells, fourteen miles eastwards, and at Crawley, nine miles to the west. Here, since about 1861, the Capuchins had been labouring to win back to the practice of their religion countless families of the surrounding countryside who had been almost entirely without spiritual opportunities for generations. There were no Roman Catholic communities of women anywhere near East Grinstead in the 'sixties of the last century.

As in most other Sisterhoods of the Anglican Communion, the basis of the corporate worship is the recitation of the Divine Office in choir. Dr Neale—like St Benedict—believed that "Nothing is to be preferred to the Work of God", and by this he meant, not only the Day Hours, but the Night Office as well, at least in the chapel of the mother house and in other convents where there were large communities. He had prepared manuscript translations of the Day Hours of the Sarum Breviary, which were used by the Sisters in the very early times. It was not until after his death in 1866 that these Offices were printed. The first of the three volumes of *The Night Office of the Church* was published in 1870, followed by *Breviary Offices from Lauds to Compline* in 1877. These liturgical books are mostly translated from the Salisbury Breviary, but, as was characteristic of Dr Neale's eclectic tastes, there are many enrichments from other medieval English Breviaries and from Roman, French, and different continental Office Books.[2] The Psalter was so arranged that its weekly recitation was seldom interrupted, even on festivals. In this respect Dr Neale anticipated the reform of the Breviary by Pius X. When away from home, or when prevented by necessary duties, the Sisters are bound only to the recitation of the Day Hours. Continuous prayer is kept up throughout the day, each Sister in turn having one half-hour at the prayer desk before the altar. Special times are set apart for mental prayer and spiritual reading. The postulancy lasts six months; the novitiate from two to three years, after which life vows are taken.

For more than sixteen years Dr Neale had been inhibited by the Bishop of Chichester, and it was not until 1863 that Dr Gilbert readmitted him as one of the licensed clergy of the diocese. Subsequent bishops took a fatherly but somewhat detached interest in the Community, not always able to approve of certain devotional customs. Soon after the appointment

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[1] Cf. Thurston, "Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament" in *The Month* (June, July, August and September, 1901); Dix, *A Detection of Aumbries*, 1942, pp. 47-60; Benedict Steuart, *The Development of Christian Worship* (1953), pp. 265-266.

[2] In the Preface to the first edition of the third volume of *The Night Office* (1877) it is stated that: "after our Founder was taken to rest, we were urged to publish the Matin offices he had given us: and we did so, filling up the blanks left by him with insertions from the same book from which he had translated (as, for instance, the lessons of the third nocturn, which he had been wont to turn into English extempore when saying the office)". The first revision of the *Breviary Offices* was made by the late Bishop Hall of Vermont for the use of the Cowley Fathers and other Episcopalian communities in America. In 1914 a second revision was brought out at East Grinstead. Since 1953 the Office Book of the S.S.M. has been a translation of the reformed Roman Breviary of Pius X, entitled *The Divine Office* (2 vols, Oxford University Press, 1953).

of Dr Basil Wilberforce to the see of Chichester in 1895 he examined the Rule, Constitutions, and Breviary, and expressed his willingness to act as Visitor to the mother house, provided that Benediction was discontinued. As a further token of his attitude he invited the Sisters to open a house for mission and rescue work in Chichester. The Sisters worked here from 1898 to 1922, and attended the daily Eucharist in the Cathedral.

The first foundation to be made from East Grinstead was in Soho. In 1858 Sister Mary and Sister Kate were sent to work in the parish of St Mary's, Crown Street, at the urgent request of the Reverend J. C. Chambers.[1] "Those who know Shaftesbury Avenue today, will hardly believe what that area then was. Shops of utmost variety yet equally degraded, chiefly supplying animals and old clothes; dens where the dying speeches of criminals hanged at Newgate, together with the police-news, atheist and revolutionary catechisms, and vile rhymes were printed and bought by children along with their elders; schools for thieves, a great shambles out of which red streams flowed into the gutters, and a swarming population, largely foreign. At the Seven Dials end of Crown Street was a low square of almshouses, and in the middle, the church and church house. A side door in a dirty court black with November mud, illuminated by a gin-palace and reeking of cat's meat, admitted the Sisters to their dwelling."[2]

Such were the surroundings in which Sister Mary and Sister Kate began their work when they answered the call from Soho. Many friends rallied round them, including Mr Charles Wood (afterwards Lord Halifax), Mr and Mrs Gladstone, Lady Herbert of Lea, and others under the influence of the Tractarian piety. It is hard to picture any "convent" more redolent of holy poverty—one large room divided into two by a curtain; a "sitting-room" with three chairs and a table; one bedroom, a tiny kitchen, and a so-called "servant's room". Outside, swarming children, wild youths and noisy girls, ragged women with babies. Fights and attempts at murder were too frequent to be bothered about. Day- and night-schools were started. Within a few months more than a hundred children were being taught by the Sisters. Guilds for lads and girls were formed. A smallpox epidemic broke out in the slums of Seven Dials. The Sisters nursed their patients in those filthy courts and reeking dens, and on at least one occasion had to carry a coffin containing a corpse to the nearest mortuary, for there was nobody at hand to help them.

In 1865, the Sisters, to the grief of the poor families, who were now devoted to them, moved to Ash Grove, off the Cambridge Heath Road, Hackney. The new home was in a very different sort of world; moribund and trying to be respectable. Here the Sisters worked in several parishes of Hackney, Haggerston, and Shoreditch. Cholera broke out the following year, and gave the Sisters another opportunity to win the love and affection of the poor. Then they opened an orphanage and founded a guild for working girls. Their spiritual director was the Reverend R. Tuke of St John's, Hackney.[1] In 1867 he made his submission to Rome, and by February in the following year Sister Mary, five of the community, and two or three friends followed his example, despite the efforts made by Dr Littledale and Fr Mackonochie to dissuade them.[2]

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[1] This once-famous ritualistic church has now been demolished.

[2] C. C. Martindale, S.J., *An Untold Tale* (1935), pp. 4-5.

Mother Kate, and the few others who remained in the Church of England, recalled those difficult times which followed: "Left by our comrades in arms, deserted by her . . . who had been our leader, not only here, but in the past years in Soho, judge how we felt! Some of us felt it to be impossible to continue work in Haggerston. . . . what could a few feeble folk like us do? Better leave the field entirely, and return to the Mother House at East Grinstead, or concentrate at Plymouth. But Fr Mackonochie, firm of will and purpose, was determined the work should continue, the Sisters should be established. . . ."[3] There were strong reasons for the little Community remaining in this part of London. The spiritual destitution of the vast parish of Haggerston had been mentioned in 1860 during a debate in the House of Lords. Largely due to the zeal and energy of that great Victorian Churchman, Robert Brett of Stoke Newington, the parish was broken up. Three new churches were built—St Augustine's (1867), St Chad's (1869), and St Columba's (1869).[4]

By the end of the 'sixties the part of Haggerston which lies between the Regent's Canal on the north and Bethnal Green Road on the south

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[1] See p. 91.

[2] Little did they guess that within eighty years these Sisters would be honoured as the foundresses of a Franciscan Third Order Regular community more numerous and wide-spread than the mother which had given it birth in pain and sorrow—the Congregation of the Five Wounds. One likes to think that it was the spartan and heroic training that Sister Mary received while she was a member of Dr Neale's community that enabled her, when she became as Mother Mary first Abbess of Mill Hill, to build up her own great Congregation, whose more than four hundred members are to be found, not only in Great Britain, but in the United States and throughout the Uganda Missions.

[3] *Memories of a Sister* (1912 ed.), p. 102.

[4] The first was designed by Henry Woodyer, the other two by James Brooks. This latter architect also remodelled St Mary's (the original parish church designed by John Nash in 1827). St Michael's, Shoreditch (1865), and St Saviour's, Hoxton (1866), were likewise his work.

had become the most extensive and closely concentrated Anglo-Catholic outpost in the whole of London.[1] The clergy of all the churches needed the help of a Sisterhood. In 1868, after a brief sojourn in Kingsland Road, Mother Kate established her Community in another house in Great Cambridge Street.[2] It was renamed St Saviour's Priory. Situated almost in the centre of the three new parishes, close to St Augustine's Church, the Priory soon became a hive of spiritual and social activities as vocations to the Community increased rapidly. From this affiliated house of the East Grinstead Sisterhood, many foundations were made during the next twenty years—St Saviour's Grange, Herne Bay, Kent (Home of Rest for women and girls); St Saviour's Hostel, Brighton (Home of Rest for men and lads); St Chad's Cottage, East Liss, Hampshire (for women, girls, and babies); St Saviour's Orchard, Buxted, Sussex (Home of Rest for Church workers). A Mission House was opened in Eaton Square, London, S.W., and another in Lambeth.[3]

Much of this was the work of Mother Kate, who died in 1923. She could look back half a century and more, recalling how, in those first years in Haggerston, she was thankful "for finding a farthing in an old coat when we had not a penny in the house", and how there were other days when all the Sisters had to eat was cabbage, gained by selling old bottles at the nearest rag-and-bone shop. Katherine Egerton Warburton was one of the most courageous and heroic members of the Society of St Margaret. To appreciate fully her character it is necessary to read her *Memories of a Sister of St Saviour's Priory* (1903) and *Old Soho Days* (1906), both, unfortunately, long out of print.[1] She had made her own Dr Neale's favourite maxim: "What is difficult *may* be done: what is impossible *must* be done." He used to say that he would have no orphan, much more no Sister, rejected for want of means, and it was a strict rule with him that his community had no endowment fund—God would provide, was his motto.[2]

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[1] Even if these Haggerston churches were strongholds of Anglo-Catholic doctrinal teaching from the time of their opening, it is doubtful if the ceremonial approximated to that of St Alban's, Holborn, as described in the evidence of witnesses before the Ritual Commissions of 1867 and 1874. However as incense and vestments had been introduced at St Matthias', Stoke Newington, by 1865, it is probable that the Haggerston churches fell into line with the "advance guard" almost at once.

[2] Now known as Queensbridge Road.

[3] Charles Booth pays tribute to the work carried on at St Saviour's Priory half a century ago (*Life and Labour of the People of London* (1902): Third Series, Religious Influences, Vol. II, pp. 89–92). He writes: "Of these Sisters twenty-eight live here and work in four of the adjacent parishes. Thirteen are allocated to St Augustine's, and these are, to a great extent, responsible for the parish organisation. The Priory itself is the centre for a number of charitable operations. There is a dispensary at which doctors' prescriptions are made up for the bare cost of the drugs, and simple remedies are given away. There are halfpenny dinners for the school children and, in winter, free dinners for men out of work, and occasional free teas on Sundays. Dinners are also sent out to the sick, and thousands of tickets for bread and groceries or coals are given away. Work is found for women. Immense quantities of old clothes are collected and sold at nominal prices, together with new garments specially made and sent for this purpose; contributions being acknowledged from no fewer than two hundred 'local centres' or other sources."

Mr Booth describes the girls' club, the girls' and infants' Sunday school, the Band of Hope, and many other good works carried on by the Sisters. He ends his account of the Priory by saying: "Of course, much is hoped for, but very little result is claimed. In fact, from the strictly religious point of view, failure is frankly admitted. The Sisters work on 'in the hope that it will tell in the end'. There is certainly here no immediate cause for alarm on the part of the Protestant Alliance."

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A few Sisters were sent to Ipswich about 1861, and at the same time a small House of Refuge for women and girls was opened at Ash, near Aldershot. Early in 1862, the Reverend John Comper, at that time rector of St John's, Aberdeen, asked Dr Neale if he could spare one of his Sisters to work in this parish. She was the first member of a religious order to undertake work in the Scottish Episcopal Church. A few months later she was joined by other women, and in June 1864 a house was taken for them in the Gallowgate. Later on St Margaret's of Scotland became the first of the affiliated houses of East Grinstead.[3] "Comper is such a pleasant man to work with", wrote Dr Neale. Here the Sisters carried on the usual sort of work among the poor, and the

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[1] It was Mother Kate (in collaboration with the Reverend F. Hogg, of St Alban's, Holborn), who founded the *Order of the Charity of St Francis* in 1902. Its Rule is substantially the same as that of the Third Order of St Francis, and its membership is confined to persons living in the world, both clergy and layfolk. The Little Office of our Lady (either in Latin or in English) is recited by the lay tertiaries, or if preferred, the usual Franciscan Third Order office, consisting of twelve *Paters, Aves,* and *Glorias*: six times for Matins and Lauds; one each for Prime, Terce, Sext, and None; and two for Vespers and Compline. The community spirit is kept up by monthly meetings and a chapter twice a year, with an annual retreat. To ensure a unity of doctrinal belief there is a *credenda* which must be signed by all who wish to join this Third Order. Fr Hogg was succeeded as Director by Fr Chappel, S.D.C. The present Director is the Reverend A. J. Henley, vicar of St. Mary's, Aston, Birmingham, 6. At the end of at least six and a half years' probation a simple vow of obedience is taken to the Father Director, limited to matters concerning the government and Rule of the Order.

[2] A new chapel designed by Harold Gibbons, was dedicated in 1925, being a memorial to Mother Kate.

[3] The distinction should be noted between (1) the mother house at East Grinstead, which carries on various works there, (2) the branch houses, which are staffed from East Grinstead, and (3) the affiliated houses which have their own Mothers Superior and their own novitiates.

Gallowgate at that date was the worst quarter of the city. Three years later some rooms were fitted up as a mission chapel—the nucleus of the present Church of St Margaret, of which Mr Comper became the first incumbent in 1867, having resigned St John's owing to difficulties with the bishop over ceremonial. A convalescent home was needed, and the Sisters rented a cottage at Cults, on Dee-side, and later on another house at Cove Bay. In 1874 they moved into what proved to be their permanent headquarters—two houses in the Spital, situated on a hill with a fine view over the sea. Seven years later a few Sisters were sent to work at Holy Trinity, Stirling. In 1892 others went north to the Orkneys, where St Olaf's Home at Kirkwall was founded. In 1902 work was undertaken at Lerwick, where the vast crowds of fish workers throughout the summer herring season afforded a wide field for works of charity and mercy.[1] In the past the Community of St Margaret of Scotland have also sent Sisters to labour among the fisher lassies at Stornoway and to do parish work at Fraserburgh, and Oban. At the present time the work is concentrated at the mother house in Aberdeen.[2] Here are to be found St Martha's Home for children; the Hostel of St Margaret for the aged and infirm, and a guest house for ladies. Mission work is carried on in the parishes of St Margaret's, Gallowgate, and St Clement's, Mastrick. Church embroidery and the making of altar breads provide other work for the Sisters. As in all of the affiliated houses of the East Grinstead Community, St Margaret's has its own novitiate. The chapel, designed by [Sir] Ninian Comper, and dedicated in 1892, was the first of this famous architect's buildings. The apsidal east end with its tall, narrow windows, recalls that of the Kirk of the Holy Rude, Stirling. The reredos is richly painted and gilded, and the most interesting feature of the striking interior is the stone Sacrament House on the Gospel side of the sanctuary—no longer used for Reservation, as a tabernacle has been placed on the altar. The lovely little chapel is, in its own way, one of the most perfect examples of modern ecclesiastical architecture in Scotland.[3]

Lack of subjects made it impossible to accept the invitation to send

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[1] "The House of Charity", as it was called, was the most remote convent in the British Isles. It was built in 1904, in memory of Mary Margaret Cameron. The Sisters gave up their work in Shetland about 1918. Since then their former convent has served as the rectory of St Magnus' Church. The chapel contains some fine stained glass designed by [Sir] Ninian Comper.

[2] In 1959 St Margaret of Scotland took over St Mary's, Dundee, from the Mother House.

[3] There is associated with the Community the Fellowship of St Margaret of Scotland, the aim of which is to join together with the Sisters in prayer and oblation to God for the conversion of souls in Scotland and the revival of the Religious Life

Sisters to Hawaii in 1864—the call was answered by the Society of the Most Holy Trinity (see p. 275)—but another branch house was opened in Queen Square, Bloomsbury, in 1870, which became the headquarters of a school of embroidery. It was in charge of three or four Sisters and known as St Katherine's Convent. Before long the accommodation was increased by buying the adjacent property, which enabled the Sisters to house the young women working on the embroidery and to receive guests. Frontals, banners, and vestments were made here and supplied to cathedrals and churches at home and abroad. Altar breads were baked, and the Sisters also worked among the poor children of neighbouring parishes. A chapel was erected, and Dr Littledale appointed chaplain. On Sunday afternoons Benediction was given with the monstrance. It is related that this service was carried out in Latin.[1] The convent soon became very popular with a small group of extreme Anglo-Catholics, who could satisfy their devotional needs with services of a type unknown in any parish church in London during the 'eighties of the last century.[2]

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The first of the affiliated houses of the Society in North America was established in Boston, Massachusetts, in 1873. Two years before this a group of Unitarian ladies had obtained permission for Sister Teresa of East Grinstead to take charge of a children's hospital in Boston. The Community, consisting of three Sisters, took possession of a house in Louisburg Square as its convent. Here they were in close touch with the Cowley Fathers, who had taken charge of the Church of the Advent in 1872. From Boston, foundations were made at Newark, New Jersey, Philadelphia, and elsewhere. The little chapel of St Margaret's Convent, Boston—all very correct Gothic Revival in its furnishings—became the spiritual heart of the Society's work. Here, as in the English mother house, there was a tabernacle on the altar with continuous Reservation. Dr Neale's version of the Day Hours of the Breviary was recited by the Sisters in choir. Private prayer, meditation, and daily intercessions assured that the spirit of the founder was maintained across the Atlantic. Women were received as guests, and retreats or quiet days were organized.

Eventually another convent was established at South Duxbury, Massachusetts, which provided an ideal summer home for the Sisters. In recent years a guest house and a camp for girls have been added to the activities. St Margaret's House, Montreal, Canada, was a fairly early foundation of the Society. Here fifty women of all denominations are nursed and cared for by the Community. Forming part of the American Branch of the Society is St Margaret's Convent, Port-au-Prince, Haiti. The Sisters conduct a school for girls, direct a pioneer school for the handicapped, and engage in many other works of mercy and charity among the very mixed races on this West Indian island.

At the present time the American Branch of the Society consists of the following houses:

(Mother house) 17 Louisburg Square, Boston 8, Massachusetts; South Duxbury, Massachusetts; St Margaret's Home, 51, Sherbrooke Street West, Montreal, Canada; St Monica's Home, 125 Highland Street, Roxbury 19, Massachusetts; St Margaret's House, 5419 Germanstown Avenue, Philadelphia 44, Pennsylvania; St Margaret's House, Jordan Road, New Hartford, New York; St Margaret's House, 2 Oliver Street, New York 38; Grace Church Mission House, 950 Broad Street, Newark 2, New Jersey; St Margaret's Convent, Rue Montalais, Port-au-Prince, Haiti.

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The year 1873 saw the foundation of St Saviour's Orphanage, Hitchin, followed by many more houses—too numerous to describe in detail. They included St Margaret's Mission, Cardiff (1873—from which three mission houses were opened in Roath, Cardiff, in 1885, 1889, and 1890); St Catherine's Home for patients in advanced tuberculosis, Ventnor, Isle of Wight (1879); St Margaret's House of Mercy, Roath, Cardiff (1882—with a refuge in 1889 and a children's home in 1890); St Margaret's Convalescent Home for Ladies, Kingsand, Plymouth (1887); St Alban's Girls' Orphanage, Worcester (1888); The Mission House, St Columba's, Sunderland (1890); St Cuthbert's Mission, Newcastle-on-Tyne

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both for men and for women as a means to that end. The Fellowship grew out of a great desire to do something to help to restore the catholic faith to Scotland. It was started in 1941 and now numbers well over three hundred members.

[1] Walter Walsh in his *The Secret History of the Oxford Movement* (Popular Edition, London, 1899), p. 135, quotes from a pamphlet by Owen C. H. King entitled *The Character of Dr Littledale as a Controversialist* in which the writer states that he heard a Latin Mass at Queen Square "and although Dr Littledale was not the officiating minister on that occasion, still the demeanour of the assembled Sisters showed that they were witnessing a service to which they were quite accustomed". King goes on to describe Benediction in Latin as being given by Dr Littledale on Sunday afternoons, though he does not say explicitly that he himself had ever been present at the function.

[2] Dr Littledale died in 1890, and his friends erected a reredos in his memory. About twenty years later this reredos was taken to Farnborough Abbey, Hampshire, where it was re-erected in the crypt. For in 1908 Sister Ellen Mary, the Superior of St Katherine's Convent, and about sixteen members of her community and household, came to the conclusion that there were not sufficiently plain reasons against joining the Church of Rome. They were received into this Church by the late Abbot Cabrol, and many of their vestments, etc., were handed over to the Benedictines of Farnborough. (Cf. *Pax*, Summer, 1948, pp. 89–90.)

(1893); St Barnabas' Cottage Hospital and Nursing Home, Saltash, Cornwall (1894); St Margaret's Rest, Ferryhill, Co. Durham (1895); St Margaret's Mission, Newcastle-on-Tyne (1896); Free Home for the Dying, 29 North Side, Clapham Common (1896); St Margaret's, Chichester (1898).

It was in 1887 that the Sisters started work in Ceylon, where they conducted an orphanage at Polwatte, a middle school for girls,[1] and the Bishop's College, Colombo.[2] An interesting part of the Community's work in Ceylon has been the training of six novices belonging to the Syrian Jacobite Church of Malabar. The Metropolitan, Mar Theodosios, asked the Mother of St Margaret's to receive these young Indian women into the convent at Colombo, where they were trained. This action has resulted in a close bond of friendship between the two communities.[3]

Another field for work on the foreign missions was found in 1898 when a few Sisters went to South Africa to help the Church in Johannesburg. The work of several small communities has been kept up by being taken over by St Margaret's. The first was the convent of the Sisterhood of SS. Mary and Modwenna, Dundee, whose works were maintained from 1901 until 1959. The Community of SS. Mary and John, Chiswick, was affiliated in 1910. The Sisters of the Poor, Chesterfield, were amalgamated with the Society of St Margaret in 1943.

Each of the many houses mentioned above could provide more than enough material for a fascinating story of the care of the sick, the poor, the aged, and the orphan on the part of the Sisters. In all these establishments the daughters of Dr Neale have devoted themselves to all those in whom our Lord continues His life of lowliness on earth. They have never sought publicity. Their labours have been more or less hidden to the outside world, and this is what they would wish. Such has been the amazing growth and development of that "Institution for supplying the Clergy of Central Sussex and South Surrey with nurses trained for attendance on the sick poor" established so quietly and so timidly nearly a century ago. Mother Ann Gream, the first Superior, died in 1886, and her work of directing the Society of St Margaret was continued by Mother Alice, who had also been trained by Dr Neale, until her death

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[1] The Ceylon Government took over St Mary's School in 1960.

[2] The Community withdrew from Bishop's College in 1955.

[3] There is now a monastery in the Malabar Jacobite Church in the south-west of India, whose approximately 363,000 members have always displayed such weakness for schisms. The early C.M.S. missionaries encouraged the formation of "Reformed", i.e. Jacobite sects. So it can be understood why the Jacobite Metropolitan of Kottayam was glad to avail himself of the Society of St Margaret to revive the religious life for women in his own Church. Its rite—that of St James—was among those included by Dr Neale in his *Translations of the Primitive Liturgies.*

in 1902. Since then there have been other Mothers-General of the Society which today numbers about two hundred professed Sisters, working in many parts of the world. The Warden is the Reverend F. B. Dalby, S.S.J.E.; the Visitor, the Bishop of Chichester.

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At the present time the mother house is responsible for the following: The School of Embroidery and Altar Bread Department; St Margaret's Convent School; St Agnes' and St Michael's School—all at East Grinstead. Also St German's Mission House, 56 Ruby St, Cardiff, and St Saviour's, East Moors, Cardiff; St Catherine's Home (for delicate children), Ventnor, Isle of Wight; the Hostel of God (a Nursing Home for advanced cases), 29 North Side, Clapham Common, S.W.4; St Mary's Convent, Burlington Lane, Chiswick, W.4 (a Guest House for elderly ladies and St Joseph's Hospital for Incurables); Neale House, 138 Huntingdon Rd, Cambridge (work among University and Townspeople); St Margaret's Convent and Girl's Home, Polwatte, Colombo, St John's Home, Moratuwa, Buona Vista Girl's Home, Galle, Ceylon; St Margaret's Mission, St Mary's Orphanage Rosettenville (European children) and St Joseph's Home, Sophiatown (Coloured children), Johannesburg, South Africa.

AFFILIATED HOUSES

(Autonomous houses with their own Novitiates, electing their own Superiors.)

St Margaret of Scotland, 17 Spital, Aberdeen (see pp. 350–1).

St Saviour's Priory, Queensbridge Road, London E.2. In the summer the Sisters maintain homes of rest at Herne Bay and Seaford. They work in the London parishes of St Augustine and St Chad, Haggerston; St James, Bethnal Green; Holy Trinity, Hoxton; St John the Baptist, Holland Road; Holy Cross, St Pancras; and St Silas, Kentish Town.

St Margaret's, Boston, U.S.A. (see p. 352–3).

The Priory of Our Lady, Walsingham, Norfolk (Priory since 1955). The Sisters work in the Shrine Church, attend to the needs of pilgrims and visitors, are responsible for the Hospice of Our Lady and help in the parishes of St Mary, St Peter, and St Giles. They have their own Convent and Chapel in separate grounds.

6. COMMUNITY OF THE HOLY CROSS

Holy Cross Convent, Haywards Heath, Sussex (1857)

About a mile west of Haywards Heath station, where the Bolnore road, leading south, reaches the open country, will be noticed a large group of red-brick buildings, half hidden by trees. This is the Convent of the Holy Cross; the home of one of the oldest Anglican communities of women. It was founded in 1857 by Miss Elizabeth Neale, sister of the Reverend J. M. Neale, the founder of the Society of the Sisters of St Margaret, East Grinstead (see p. 343). Miss Neale, on receiving an urgent call from the Reverend C. F. Lowder, went to work in the slums of the parish of St George-in-the-East, London. It may seem strange that Miss Neale did not enter either her brother's community, or the Sisterhood already in process of formation by Mr Wagner at St Paul's, Brighton, under whose direction she had founded a small orphanage. No matter, she went to London with one companion and took up her abode in a district at that date notorious for its poverty, squalor, and vice. A few months later Miss Neale was joined by four other ladies. On the advice of Mr Lowder and with the approval of Dr Tait, Bishop of London, she was installed as Superior of a little community which took the name of the Holy Cross.

* * *

The Community kept its centenary in 1957. The stately convent at Haywards Heath is a far cry from the slum cottage in East London which was the home of the first Sisters. Here is a large and lofty cruciform conventual church, evocative of those built in North Germany in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[1] A carved wooden reredos in the form of a triptych rises above the high altar standing in the apsidal east end, pierced by tall, narrow windows. The spacious choir contains seventy stalls. Here the Sisters carry out the Divine Office according to the Monastic Breviary in the Latin tongue with a perfection that would surprise most Roman Catholic communities. One would even venture to say that the rendering of the Solesmes plain-chant is in standard comparable with that of the Benedictine nuns of Stanbrook Abbey. The choir is separated from the nave by a magnificent stone rood-screen, with three arches giving a view of the high altar. There are three side chapels—the fittings of which are those of a monastic church in their restraint and severity. Most of the windows are filled with stained glass, designed by Kempe. Within the convent are to be found a long cloister, a dignified chapter-house, and a comprehensive library, such as might be found in a male community of Benedictines. The refectory too is more reminiscent of that of a monastery of monks than of a convent of Sisters, likewise the common-rooms, which possess an indefinable masculine atmosphere, possibly due to the solid simple furniture and the absence of pious pictures.

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[1] It was designed by Charles Eamer Kempe and W. E. Tower, and opened in 1902.

Everything is in the best of taste. The kitchens are fitted with modern improvements—light and airy, practical and convenient. Through the windows one has a glimpse of fifty acres of well-wooded grounds, gardens, and a farm.

* * *

What a contrast was the first home of this community! So great has been the change in that district of East London in which the pioneer Sisters were called to work, that, when visiting it today, it is difficult to picture what it was like a century ago.[1]

Ratcliff Highway still runs through the parish of St George-in-the-East, but it is no longer crowded with foreign sailors from every country—Scandinavians, Greeks, Malays, Lascars, Dutch, German, Spanish, and French. In 1857 the Highway was the home of a vast population drawn from the lowest types of humanity, about a third of them Irish in origin, if not by birth. Nearer Whitechapel were streets full of poor German families—these more respectable. Today the long Highway has been cleaned up, and is merely drab and dull. No longer are to to be seen—as in Fr Lowder's time—"the poor denizens of the neighbouring brothels, flaunting their finery and their persons, and plying their hateful trade by night and day." Gone are the dancing and the concert rooms, once so numerous; there are probably less than half the number of public houses that there were in the 'fifties of the last century. For it is long since St Katherine's and London Docks were the chief centres of shipping on the Lower Thames. Many of the narrow courts and alleys, with their horrors of sight, sound, and smell, have given place to modern blocks of flats. When Miss Elizabeth Neale and her companions started to work in this district and visited the poor in their own homes, more often than not they had to struggle up narrow and rickety stairs, passing lower regions peopled with men, women, and children, who opened their doors to stare curiously at the Sisters in their black robes, until at last they reached a garret "where a poor woman lies dying on the floor, huddled into a corner on a bag of straw, covered for the sake of warmth with all the rags which constitute the property of the place. One is half stifled with the intolerable smell. At a glance we take in the awful poverty, for literally, there is not a stick of furniture, save the crazy-looking table and one broken chair. The children—well, I have seen them quite naked like savages. Perhaps even in the depth of winter no fire in the grate. We are told, and we could have guessed it from their faces, that they have not tasted food that day."[1]

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[1] A vivid and carefully documented picture of Wapping in Fr Lowder's time is given in Ann Stafford's novel *Light Me a Candle* (1949). The story is centred round the early years of the Sisterhood of the Holy Cross, in which the heroine tries her vocation. Dr Pusey, Mother Lydia Sellon, and Mother Kate of St Saviour's Priory, are among the real characters introduced.

These horrible slums surrounded what was then the main source of London's wealth and commerce—the Docks. The narrow, cobbled streets were congested with horse-drawn wagons laden with merchandise from all parts of the world. Within the docks and on the river could be seen a forest of tall masts, with sails fluttering in the breeze. The state of the lower Thames hardly bears description: its shores at low tides were rotten with guano, decayed fish, and other refuse. In the hot summer of 1850 the smell was so intolerable that there was talk of moving Parliament. A *Punch* cartoon depicted Father Thames as a filthy old man, dragging up dead rats from the sludgy waters, reeking ooze, described as the "cesspool whence is made the beer we drink".[2]

It will be realized what heroism was needed to live and work in these surroundings—would it not be better to say *sanctity*? "In the midst of such scenes of sin and misery the children were brought up, the school of too many being the streets, abounding in temptation, echoing with profane and disgusting language, and forming a very atmosphere of vice; their examples at home a drunken father and mother, with brothers and sisters already deep in sin; and abroad thieves and prostitutes a little older than themselves. Thus they were early taught to thieve, to swear, to be bold and immoral in their manners and talk, and so to fall in with sins which they beheld in others at the most precocious age."[3]

With the help of two curates, Charles Lowder did what he could to minister to the enormous population of this parish. They lived in Calvert Street in a shabby little mission house which soon afterwards became the Sisters' "convent". The year before the establishment of the Community an iron chapel, dedicated to the Good Shepherd, had been built, which was soon crowded on Sundays and weekdays. Within six months of the Sisters' arrival, Mr Lowder secured an abandoned Scandinavian church

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[1] [Maria Trench] *Charles Lowder: A Biography* (London, 1881), p. 109.

[2] Hippolyte Taine (1828–93) records his impressions of Wapping in 1861: "I have seen the bad quarters of Marseilles, of Antwerp, of Paris, they do not come near to it. Low houses, poor streets of brick under red-tiled roofs cross each other in every direction, and lead down with a dismal look to the river. . . . One hears a grating music in the spirit cellars; sometimes it is a negro who handles the violin; through the open windows one perceives unmade beds, women dancing. Thrice in ten minutes I saw crowds collected at the doors; fights were going on, chiefly fights between women; one of them, her face bleeding, tears in her eyes, drunk, shouted with a sharp and harsh voice, and wished to fling herself upon a man. The bystanders laughed; the noise caused the adjacent lanes to be emptied of their occupants; ragged, poor children, harlots—it was like a human sewer suddenly discharging its contents." *Notes on England* (3rd edition, 1872), pp. 33, 34.

[3] Ibid., pp. 105–6.

in Wellclose Square, transforming it into an Anglican place of worship. He expected that this church would become the headquarters of the Mission; he had not then thought of building St Peter's, London Docks.[1]

It was in Wapping—that artificial island formed by the river Thames and St Katherine's and London Docks—a little world of its own, cut off from the rest of the parish—that the Sisters began their conventual life devoted to liturgical prayer and to works of mercy and charity. After a few months they took a few penitents into their house in Calvert Street. In June 1858 Mr Lowder secured a house at Sutton, where eighteen women and girls were looked after by a few Sisters; the others remaining in London. He loved to visit this home and "to see the rescued ones employed usefully in the laundry and kitchen, or, in their time for recreation, in the garden, enjoying country sights and sounds which some had never known, and but few since the days of innocent childhood".[2] The Sisters had a difficult time with some of these penitents. It was long before these could bear restraint or curb their violent tempers long indulged; while the dreadful atmosphere of their former homes, the oaths and blasphemies which formed their conversation, had blunted their feelings, and tended to harden them in sin.

In 1860 the Community undertook an industrial school for girls. A block of old almshouses at Hendon was procured and renamed St Stephen's Home. Later on the penitents were moved from Sutton to this high and healthy spot, then in the country. Meanwhile the peace of St George-in-the-East had been disturbed by the notorious riots which took place at intervals throughout 1859 and 1860, by way of mob-protest against ceremonial. They were organized by the publicans and brothel-keepers whose trade was being damaged. When the storm had blown over, the parish was divided and a new mission district created out of Wapping. Here was built the famous church of St Peter's, London Docks, designed by F. N. Pownall, which was consecrated on 30 June 1866.

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[1] When the Holy Cross Sisters were established in 1857 there were no Roman Catholic communities of women in this district of East London, but the old Virginia Street Mission—the forerunner of the present church of SS. Mary and Michael, Commercial Road—had been started probably before the eighteenth century. The present church was opened by Cardinal Wiseman a year before the foundation of Miss Neale's Sisterhood. St Patrick's, Wapping, an off-shoot from Commercial Road, dates only from 1871. A temporary iron church was opened by the Oblates of Mary Immaculate in Prescot Street, Tower Hill, in 1865. It was not until many years after Mr Lowder had founded the convent in Calvert Street that Roman Catholic Sisters of Mercy came into the district; the Sisters of Charity of St Vincent de Paul (Wapping) and the Sisters of the Immaculate Conception (Tower Hill) arrived even later. Considering the immense cosmopolitan population of this area, a large proportion of which were at least nominal Roman Catholics, it is amazing that Fr Kelly and the other Irish priests of SS. Mary and Michael, Commercial Road, can have been able to cope with their flock without the aid of Sisters. The Christian Brothers had opened parochial schools about 1838. The East London Christian Mission, founded by William Booth in 1865, which changed its name to the Salvation Army in 1878, was the most aggressive soul-saving force in this district. But its "soldiers"—male and female—had not then adopted a distinctive uniform.

[2] Ibid., p. 151.

Scarcely were the octave services after the consecration ended when a cholera epidemic broke out in London, one of the first cases being in Wapping. For over two months the clergy and the Sisters, aided by voluntary workers, fought the dread disease. Every morning the Sisters knelt before the altar in St Peter's, not knowing if any of their number would be the next victim. By the end of August the worst was over. Dr Tait, Bishop of London, came to inspect the cholera wards, preached in the church, and visited the convent. Mr Lowder wrote a letter to *The Times*, appealing for help. The response was so generous that the Sisters were able to open a convalescent home at Seaford, Sussex. Within three days of securing the house, Mother Elizabeth and one of her Community had everything ready to welcome about thirty women and children, also a number of men from the parish. The inhabitants of Seaford objected to these cholera convalescents worshipping in their church, so open-air services were held on the cliffs. A local Protestant agitator tried to stir up strife by abusing the Sisters. Other convalescents followed later.

The cholera epidemic of July–September 1866 proved a blessing in disguise. Mr Lowder and the Sisters had won the confidence of East London. From now onwards the former was invariably known as "Father"—a title he had achieved by his paternal devotion to his "children". Three years later, Mr Linklater, who joined the staff of St Peter's, wrote: "The people have never forgotten the lesson they learnt during this fearful time. Hearts that had hardened themselves against the Gospel message in health were crushed with shame and sorrow when, in the agonies of sickness, they experienced the tenderness and love of true Christian charity. The dens of poverty and vice seemed more grim and ghastly to those who witnessed the solemn ministrations of grace amidst their horrible surroundings. Walls that had for years resounded with the blasphemies of seemingly hopeless reprobates now echoed with the sobs and prayers of hearts touched with penitence. Night and day the clergy and the Sisters toiled as hearts can only toil that toil for the love of God. The sights and smells they had to endure are past all telling. To this day the people in the parish talk of the kindness they then experienced, and the good they received."[1]

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[1] [Maria Trench] op. cit., p. 227.

As early as 1861 a few Sisters had been sent to work in the parish of Bedminster, Bristol, and in 1868 others went to Portsmouth, and in the following year Mother Elizabeth was able to spare a few more of her community to the parish of St Jude, Sheffield. By 1869 the Community of the Holy Cross had grown to such an extent that the mother house had to be moved to Walworth, where they were welcomed by the vicar of St Paul's, Lorrimore Square, at that date one of the most "advanced" churches in South London. Parish work was carried on here, and the mother house was eventually established in Kennington, where it opened schools. A few Sisters were left in the old convent in Wapping, to continue work among the poor of St Peter's. The House of Mercy at Hendon was closed and the penitents removed to Walworth. In 1876 the Sisters undertook the charge of an institute for trained nurses at York, where they remained until 1905. They also engaged in parish work at SS. Peter and Paul, Charlton, Dover, from 1877. They gave up parochial work at St Paul's, Lorrimore Square, in 1880, and concentrated their activities at the newly opened church of St Agnes, Kennington, which soon became famous for the ornate "Sarum" ceremonial at its Sunday High Mass.

The lease of the Community's property at Kennington expired in 1886, and they decided to move the mother house into the country. Land was bought at Haywards Heath, Sussex, where the first part of the present convent was erected. It was blessed by Fr Benson, S.S.J.E., in 1887. Thanks to a generous legacy from a sister of the Mother Foundress, another wing was added two years later, used first as a convalescent home. It was in 1902 that Lord Halifax laid the foundation stone of the conventual church. Mother Elizabeth retired from the superiorship in 1896 and died in 1901.

The Community of the Holy Cross during many years had all the appearance of an active religious foundation. In London at one time it had houses in Wapping, Hendon, Walworth, Kennington, Pimlico, Clapham, Upper Norwood, and Streatham, and in addition carried on work in several different parishes. Further afield the Community had houses in Bristol, Seaford, York, Dover, Portsea, Sheffield, Brighton, Winchester, Devizes, Scarborough, and at Limpsfield in Surrey. The work undertaken has included a penitentiary, an industrial school, two other schools of a different kind, a nurses' home, two convalescent homes, several parochial mission houses, and two retreat houses. The tenure of these diverse works has varied from a few months in some cases to seventy-six years at London Docks, and twenty-eight years of providing conducted retreats. In its earlier days the Community, having begun and established a particular work, was always ready to pass it into other hands and go elsewhere to break up further new ground. Pioneer work was repeatedly undertaken and later relinquished in favour of some other pioneer effort.

The change from diverse and scattered works to one large conventual house came about, not from any preconceived policy, but from varied circumstances. Some of the Community's activities passed into the hands of the public authorities, others to secular workers such as were not forthcoming in earlier days. For one reason or another the active works of the Community dropped off and there emerged the Community's ultimate vocation as a quasi-Benedictine monastery.[1] The change is less remarkable than may at first appear. From the beginning the Community claimed to be neither active nor contemplative, but to represent the mixed life. Amidst the most strenuous apostolate the liturgical spirit was always present. Not only the Day Office but the Night Office also was maintained at the mother house and even in branch houses where there was a sufficient number of Sisters. St Peter's, London Docks, had liturgical ideals seldom to be found at the period, and this coincided with Mother Elizabeth's own outlook. Fr Lowder's influence and co-operation in the founding and early days of the Community entitle him to be considered as a co-founder. Seventy years afterwards the people of Wapping still call the Community "Fr Lowder's Sisters", and meanwhile the valiant characteristics of the Mother Foundress had been shaping the destinies of the Community in accordance with a definite outlook to bear fruit in her own time in the developing of the Holy Cross Convent at Haywards Heath.[2]

The Community from its beginning had embodied features which are in marked contrast with some of the contemporary communities of Anglican origin. In doctrine and practice the Sisters were associated with Fr Lowder's famous "popish" characteristics for which both he and the Sisters suffered much persecution.[3] It was the custom at St Peter's to have days of Exposition in reparation for the sins committed in the neighbourhood of the church, and it is interesting to note that the first monstrance used at St Peter's was the property of the Community. The Sisters drew more fully from catholic sources both in doctrine and practice than was commonly done by the Anglican communities of the period. It is therefore not surprising that from the building of the Convent at Haywards Heath in 1888 the conventual life should develop into what it has now been for more than a quarter of a century. This history of the Community has much in common with that of the Sisters of the Poor, founded by Fr Nihill in 1866. These also have now given up most of their external work and adopted the Benedictine Rule (see p. 403).

Indeed the Community of the Holy Cross is now a quasi-Benedictine congregation. Its purpose is defined as the sanctification of its members by the religious vows and the observance of the Holy Rule of St Benedict. According to this Rule, "nothing is to be preferred to the Work of God". At the same time the Community makes no claim to belong to the Benedictine order; rather is it a modern congregation, following an ancient Rule, using the Monastic Missal and Breviary in the Latin tongue for its corporate worship. The liturgical traditions of the Benedictine Order are observed faithfully; thus the Conventual Mass, Vespers, the Little Hours and Compline are sung daily, according to monastic usages and with the Solesmes plain-chant. The spiritual training given to the Sisters is that found in any normal Benedictine community at the present day. There are both choir and lay-sisters. The Community is not enclosed in the strict sense, for there are no grilles, but the Sisters leave the convent grounds only for urgent business reasons.

The active works are secondary to the liturgical life, and vary in character, and include work for Christian unity. Two retreat houses were maintained, the one in the convent grounds at Haywards Heath, the other at Limpsfield in Surrey. Then the retreat work was established at Haywards Heath in larger premises and the house at Limpsfield closed. Today there is a guest house of the normal monastic type, where priests and visitors are made welcome, and where a certain number of lady boarders have a permanent home. A smaller building is also set aside for guests. No external work is undertaken. The ideal now set before the Community of the Holy Cross is that of pre-Reformation Benedictine communities in Europe, before the Council of Trent imposed grilles and rigid enclosure. The Visitor is the Bishop of Chichester.[1]

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[1] This Benedictine assimilation was mainly due to the Reverend Victor Roberts, who, at his death (1954) had entered upon the thirtieth year of his Wardenship.

[2] On 3 May 1957, as part of the centenary celebration, the Warden blessed a plaque incorporating the names of those Holy Cross Sisters buried in the various localities in which the Community has worked.

[3] An objective and quite sympathetic picture of St Peter's, London Docks, half a century ago is to be found in Charles Booth's *Life and Labour of the People in London* (Third Series: Religious Influences (1902), Vol. II, pp. 34–37). He points out that Wapping is "an island with a separate life of its own. No one can enter or leave without passing the constable at the dock bridges". Living in this world apart from the rest of London, where "the people are all working class, and many of them very poor", it was easy for the clergy to maintain "the tradition of Ritualism [dating] back to the days of Fr Lowder." Mr Booth adds: "the devotion of the vicar is absolute, and his spirit dominates everything. . . . Here is a repetition of the extreme Anglicanism of St Augustine's [Stepney] . . . and the same success."

[1] For the history of the community, see Alan Russell, *The Community of the Holy Cross, Haywards Heath, 1857–1957* (Haywards Heath, 1957).

7. COMMUNITY OF ST PETER

St. Peter's Convent, Horbury, Yorkshire (1858)[1]

A hundred years ago Horbury was a mere village, dominated by its stately parish church in the classic style of architecture. Now it has been engulfed in that almost never-broken urban district stretching from Dewsbury to Wakefield, where it is hard to believe that this was once peaceful countryside. Standing in the midst of the original village, and surrounded by high walls, is St Peter's Convent, set back in spacious and well-planted gardens. There are many trees which hide the view of houses which have grown up all round in the past century. The older parts of the convent are almost perfect examples of Gothic Revival conventual architecture, reminiscent of the first portion of the House of Mercy at Clewer, though not so magnificent as St Margaret's Convent, East Grinstead.[2] More than ninety years' exposure to the rain and smoke of the West Riding have mellowed the red-brick and stone facings. Narrow tile-paved cloisters, lit by lancet windows, with panelled walls beneath cream distemper, surround a traditional monastic garth. One is conscious of that Tractarian looking-back to the Middle Ages. But it must not be supposed that the present-day community which occupies this convent—one of the two branches of the original Sisterhood—takes after the character of the architecture. On the contrary these Sisters are in the closest touch with the world of today.

The Tractarian atmosphere of the chapel has been made less pronounced by the insertion of fairly recent stained glass of a somewhat kaleidoscopic pattern in the windows of the apse. Yet there are still the Gothic Revival choir-stalls, and most of the other typical period furnishings have been retained, one is glad to discover.[3] The chapel could not be described as imposing: rather is it homely and simple. On the south side of the choir is the Blessed Sacrament Chapel, completed in 1896. The pyx which at one time hung below the tester has been superseded by a veiled tabernacle. This convent in the heart of the West Riding was for many years a lonely outpost of the Catholic Revival in the north of England, and with the Convent of the Holy Rood, Middlesbrough, represented the only two Anglican communities of women in the whole of Yorkshire.

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The moral condition of most of the mill towns of the West Riding of Yorkshire a century ago was more than sufficient reason for founding a House of Mercy. The Reports of the Royal Commission on Health of Towns, published in 1845, had revealed the incredible state of overcrowding which existed, and the squalor in which countless families were forced to live through no fault of their own. A large proportion of the population of these industrial towns dwelt in cellars. Can it be wondered at that rescue work among women and girls was needed?

So another Sisterhood arose out of the Church Penitentiary movement already mentioned. Canon John Sharp, Vicar of Horbury, and Mrs Sidney Lear (Miss H. L. Farrer, of Ingleton) determined that Yorkshire should take its part in this good work. Like Canon Sharp, Mrs Lear was a disciple of Dr Pusey, Mr Keble, and the other Tractarian leaders. Horbury was one of the few parishes in the north at that date where the influence of the Oxford movement had been felt. Inspired by the reports of what had been done for the reclamation of fallen women by the Sisterhoods of Clewer and Wantage, Canon Sharp resolved to establish a penitentiary in his own parish. The sum of over £1,000 was collected, and with it a furnished cottage was taken in Millfield Road.

There is a tradition that the first two women who offered themselves for rescue work were sent by Canon Sharp to be trained at Clewer under Mother Harriet Monsell. He realized that far better results might be expected from the services of a few self-devoted women than of paid matrons. The cottage was opened on 31 March 1858. The next day was Maundy Thursday, and a man brought his daughter to ask for training at this embryo House of Mercy.

Frances Ellen White—one of the two original Sisters—became the first Mother Superior of the Community, and ruled over it for twenty years. In 1873 Fr Benson, S.S.J.E., paid a visit to Horbury, when he revised the very simple Rule which had been drawn up. He also wrote and signed a treatise on the Religious Life, containing passages which appear in his published writings. This was used as the spiritual foundation for the life of the Sisterhood. By 1861 the number of penitents had increased to such an extent that larger premises were needed. In February of that year the two founders started to collect money to buy the site of the present convent. Its foundation stone was laid by the Bishop of Ripon on 19 July 1862. The first two wings, north and west, were opened on 14 September 1864, after a service in the parish church, with a sermon by the Dean of York. On 4 August 1869 the Earl of Beauchamp laid the foundation stone of the existing chapel, which was dedicated on 28 November 1871. All these buildings were paid for by the generosity of the Community and its many friends. A hospital for aged and infirm women was erected with money given by the Reverend John Keble, and opened in 1864. This branch of work had been started in 1859 and came to an end in 1880.

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[1] From historical notes supplied by the Community of St Peter, Horbury.

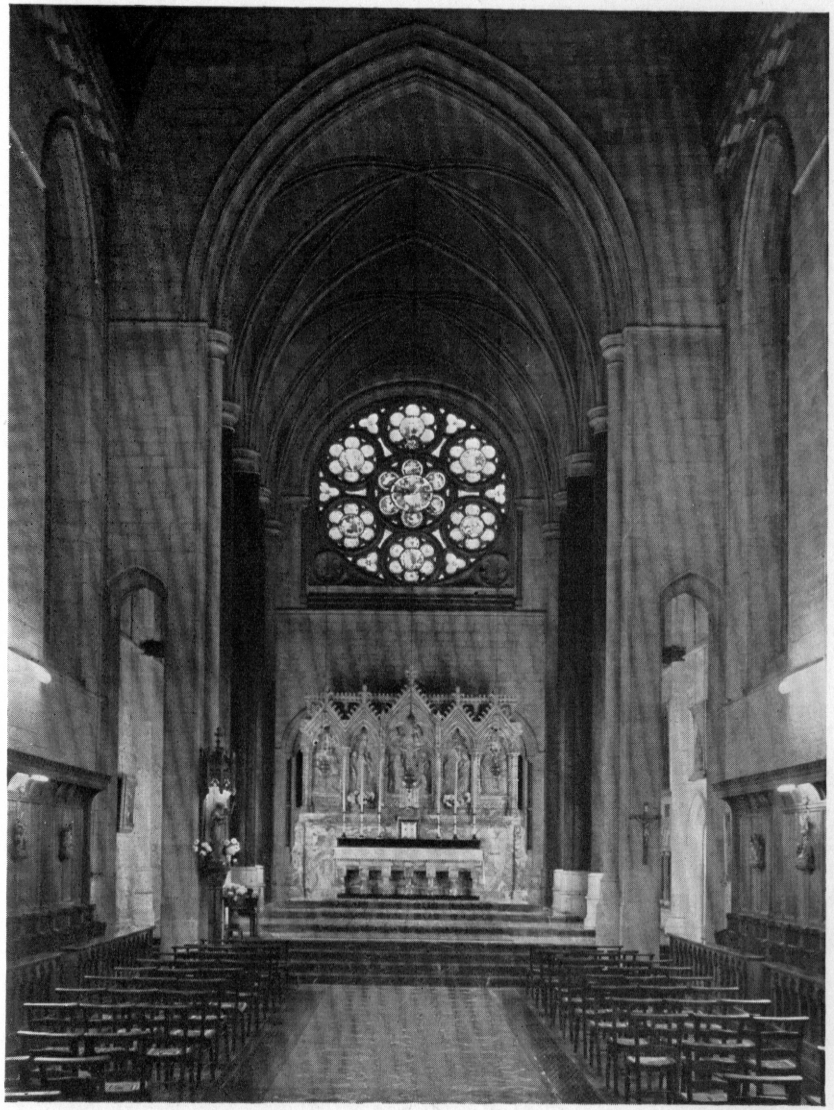
[2] The earlier portions of the House of Mercy were designed by Henry Woodyer, who was also responsible for most of the buildings at Clewer.

[3] It is a pity that so few chapels of Anglican religious communities, erected in the hey-day of the Gothic Revival, have retained their original furnishings. As was remarked in the *Church Times* (31 October 1952): "It is important to take serious thought before getting rid of unfashionable Church goods of sound workmanship. Put a dossal in front of that frightful marble reredos, but do not dismantle it, if you want to escape a charge of vandalism when you are in your grave. You just cannot tell how the mysteries of accepted taste will work. . . . The Victorian revival about which our modish gossips have been chattering for the last year or two, has officially arrived. . . . In the Victoria and Albert museum, the arts and crafts of the period, lingering no longer in the twilight of faded gentility, glow again in the radiance of their decorative splendour."

Mother Louisa Goodenough, of Heath, Wakefield, was elected as second Superior in 1878. It was she who amplified the simple Rule which had been observed since the establishment of the Community. Canon Sharp, the Reverend A. J. Micklethwaite (chaplain), and the Reverend Dr Littledale—according to tradition—helped Mother Louisa in the revision.

Horbury—unlike several Sisterhoods in the south of England—managed to escape any suspicions of being tainted with the errors of Romanism. Had this not been the case, it is certain that Dr Bickersteth, Bishop of Ripon, would not have consented to act as Visitor of the House of Mercy. Canon Sharp's theological position was that of the early Tractarians. For this reason moderate churchmen, such as the Dean of York, the Vicar of Leeds (Dr Woodford, afterwards Bishop of Ely), the Earl of Mulgrave, and the Hon. J. Stuart Wortley were glad to allow their names to be published as members of the council of the House of Mercy. The only layman on this body who might have been regarded as sympathetic to ritualism was the Hon. Charles Lindley Wood (the late Lord Halifax), who joined the council in 1865.

The annual reports of the 'sixties and 'seventies reveal that women and girls were sent to the penitentiary from all parts of England, from Scotland, and from Wales. Many, after their discharge, returned for holidays. We find testimonies from employers, statistics of cases which were successful from the point of view of the Church Penitentiary Association, and letters from the penitents themselves, full of appreciation and gratitude for the kindness shown them by the Sisters. Reading these annual reports, the friends and benefactors of the House of Mercy may have felt that the Sisterhood had every right to say (in the words of St James): "I will shew thee my faith by my works".



[Morgan Wells

St Margaret's Convent, East Grinstead (1865–70)
By George Edmund Street

See p. 336

[W. Marchant

HOLY CROSS CONVENT, HAYWARDS HEATH (1902)
By C. E. Kempe and W. E. Tower

See p. 350

How the works of mercy and charity multiplied as the Community increased in numbers! It was seldom that any appeal for help was not answered by the Mother Superior. In 1874 parish work and a night-school were started at Horbury Bridge. The following year saw the opening of St Hilda's Day-school, which developed later on into a high school. A separate building for it was erected in the grounds of the convent in 1880. It was also in 1875 that the first Sister was sent to work at St Mary's Home, Carlisle, at the request of the bishop.[1] Another rescue home was opened at Leeds in 1883, followed three years later by the Lincoln Diocesan Home at Freiston, near Boston. An important branch house was St Mary's Home, Rusholme, Manchester, established in 1889.[2] The County Home at Stafford, a refuge at Lichfield. Parish work at St George's, Nottingham, and at Tonge Moor, Bolton, were additional activities. As if these good works were not enough, the Sisters then took on St Winifred's Home, Wolverhampton, for criminally assaulted children, and St Monica's Home, Croydon, for the same purpose. At the mother house new outlets for the energies of the Community were found. As early as 1863 the Sisters had started to take orders for surplices, which paved the way for embroidered stoles and thus to the making of vestments and altar linen. Illumination was added to this department. For a few years some of the Sisters visited women in Wakefield Prison and also at Stafford. When women were received no longer at Wakefield the Sisters were asked to help young lads, and carried on work among them in Sheffield for a short period. We also hear of the Community interesting itself in the fisher girls at Filey. In 1905 a high school for girls was opened at Nassau in the Bahamas. St Andrew's Home for Girls, Joppa, Midlothian, was taken over from the Community of St Andrew of Scotland in 1919 (see p. 414). Another new venture, started four years earlier, was week-end retreats for women and girls at Horbury. In 1916 the annual retreat for girls in the home was begun; in later years this retreat became a mission. An annual retreat for Associates of the Community was first held in 1880, and some years after this retreats for the clergy and ladies were started.

The first two Mothers Superior, Frances and Louisa, were great benefactors to the Community and the House of Mercy. They were instrumental in laying the foundations of the Religious Life and stabilizing the daily round of worship, prayer, and work. The Sisterhood owed much to its Wardens: Canon Sharp (founder), Archdeacon Brooke, and Archdeacon Walsham How. Two of the chaplains deserve special mention: the Reverend A. J. Micklethwaite and the Reverend J. E. Swallow.

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[1] In 1888 St Mary's Home, Carlisle, was taken over for a time by the Order of Holy Charity from Edinburgh (see p. 451). Later it passed to secular direction.

[2] For some years in the 'nineties the House of the Good Shepherd in West London provided a further centre for rescue work. When this was given up parish work was begun at the Ascension, Lavender Hill, Battersea.

During the years following the First World War certain changes were made in the rule and Constitution of the Community, mainly in accordance with the general trend in Anglican women's communities on more traditional and conventual lines. In 1930 the Horbury Community was divided into two independent communities by a group of fourteen Sisters asking for release to form their own Community of St Peter's Chains, Manchester, at St Mary's Home, Rusholme, the senior Branch House of the Community. This was granted and St Mary's became for the time being their Mother House.

The main body of the Community of sixty-three Professed Sisters and sixteen Novices with the Superior moved to Laleham Abbey, near Staines, Middlesex in 1932, handing over the House of Mercy, Horbury, to the Community at Manchester, who eventually moved into it as their Mother House, and changed their title to Community of St Peter Horbury.

(*a*) COMMUNITY OF ST PETER THE APOSTLE, WESTMINSTER

Laleham Abbey, Staines, Middlesex

The Community had purchased Laleham Abbey early in 1932, and it now became the Mother House of the Community. The House had originally been a "cell" of Westminster Abbey (before it developed into a Georgian Mansion, seat of the Earls of Lucan.) This "cell" was actually on the site of the present Guest House Chapel at Laleham, and was given to the monks of Westminster by Edward the Confessor, and dissolved by Henry VIII. To stress this link with the past, the official title of the Community was changed to "St Peter the Apostle, Westminster". The letters S.S.P. which originally stood for Sisterhood of St Peter, were retained.

The old stables of the Abbey were rebuilt as a boarding school for girls, which was started in 1934 and continued until 1957, when instead of the school, the Community took over the care of elderly ladies. A fresh wing was built adjacent to the School building which was again altered to give separate bed-sitting rooms, etc., and now there are fifty ladies each with her own room, besides two large common rooms and two dining rooms.

In July 1925 the Community had started work at Walsingham—at the Parish Church of St Mary, and in charge of the Pilgrim Hospice. They withdrew from this in 1943.

The work at St Andrew's Home, Joppa, Midlothian, begun in 1919, was relinquished in 1953, when state agencies had largely taken over this type of work.

The Retreat work carried on for so long by the Community at Balhousie Castle, Perth, came to an end there during the war, soldiers occupying the castle, but it was transferred to the Community's own Retreat and Guest House, Sunnybrae and Stoneyhill, Walkerburn, Peeblesshire.

In 1923 the Community were asked to take over the Home for Girls in Bourdon Street, Berkeley Square, and at that time declined since the house was not adapted for the work as they felt they would want to develop it. In 1927 they did, however, do so as St George's Training School. After the war a large property was bought in Gloucestershire, near Stonehouse. The girls had already been evacuated to this area as London was unsafe for them. They have continued there, though the school has somewhat changed its character, being under the Ministry of Education and registered as an Independent School until 1964. The Community regret that they feel they cannot continue to run the school as it is now after 1964, when the Ministry of Education will tighten their regulations governing this type of school, and require re-registration, if ordinary and backward pupils of school age are both catered for, but they will continue to accept those over school age. From 1934 to 1958 there was also a boarding school at Laleham Abbey.

At present in addition to the Mother House at Laleham Abbey, the Community has the following Branch Houses.

A Mission House at 75 Kenton Gardens, Kenton, Middlesex, for St Mary's Kenton. St George's Training School for Girls, Oldbury House, Stonehouse, Glos. (which is registered with the Ministry of Education as an Independent School); Sunnybrae and Stoneyhill Retreat and Guest House, Walkerburn, Peeblesshire, Scotland; S. Peter's Convent, Nassau, Bahamas. The work in Nassau was begun in 1905, but the Sisters were withdrawn in 1929. In 1946 the Bishop of Nassau requested the Community to resume it, and in 1948 six Sisters took over St Peter's Convent, Nassau, Bahamas, where they are building up a Native Bahamian Community, and working in six parishes and their Missions.

Altar breads are made at Laleham Abbey, also church vestments and white needlework.

The Community follow the Rule of St Benedict in the mixed life of contemplation and work. The Divine Office is said or sung in its entirety, Day and Night Offices, the latter being anticipated. The Monastic Office is in English.

The Regular Superior is the Abbot of Nashdom.[1]

(*b*) Community of St Peter, Horbury

St Peter's Convent, Horbury, Yorkshire

The smaller group of the Horbury Community, acting on the advice of Fr Lucius Cary, S.S.J.E., and with the permission of Dr Seaton, Bishop of Wakefield, remained at St Mary's Home, Dickenson Road, Manchester, which was then the senior branch house. The official title first adopted by this now independent branch was *The Community of St Peter's Chains*. The then Bishop of Manchester, Dr F. S. Guy Warman, was the first Visitor. Fr Cary revised the Rule and Constitution originally compiled by Canon Sharp. It was stated that the Community had been founded "to live a life of entire self-sacrifice, manifested in Rescue work among women and girls, in Parochial mission work, Retreat work, and in such other ways as the Community may deem consonant with the spirit of its foundation."[2] In 1932 Bishop Seaton and the Trustees of the House of Mercy invited the Community to return to Horbury, but until 1941 St Mary's Home, Manchester, continued to be the mother house. Not long after the election of a new Mother Superior in 1939 both the Manchester Home and the Retreat House at Chester were handed over to the Wantage Sisters. From now onwards the mother house and all works of mercy were concentrated at Horbury. The official style was changed to the "*Community of St Peter, Horbury*".

It was in 1941 that the penitentiary became a senior approved school for girls. Eight years later it was replaced by a special boarding-school for maladjusted children under the Ministry of Education. In 1949 it was decided to restart St Hilda's Day-school in its original building, and since then it has grown rapidly. Retreats continue to be held at frequent intervals, and are now both for the clergy and the laity. The Church Embroidery and Altar Bakery departments are functioning. The parish work at Wakefield Cathedral, begun in 1925, is under the care of the Sisters, who also engage in mission work as their numbers permit.

The spirit of the Community of St Peter is that of a family, with the daily Mass and the celebration of the Divine Office in choir as the basis of its works of mercy and charity. *The Monastic Diurnal* and the Office of

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[1] An illustrated brochure, *Laleham Abbey*, was published in 1962.

[2] *Anglo-Catholic Annual*, 1935.

Matins translated into English from the *Breviarium Monasticum* are used. With the exception of Matins and Prime all the Hours are sung.

There has been a close relationship between the Community of St Peter and the Community of the Resurrection, Mirfield, since 1932. The Visitor is the Bishop of Wakefield.

8. COMMUNITY OF THE HOLY ROOD

Convent of the Holy Rood, Grove Hill, Middlesbrough (1858)[1]

Middlesbrough, which at the 1951 census had a population of 147,336, started life with one house in 1830. Three years later, in the year when the Oxford movement began, there were only twenty-three persons living in what was the nucleus of this immense modern town. By 1858, when the Community of the Holy Rood came into being, it had grown into a straggling town of 15,000 persons. This rapid growth was due to the development of the ironworks in the Cleveland district of Yorkshire. Incredible as it may appear, there was no hospital nearer than Newcastle, where serious casualties could be treated, and accidents were frequent among the thousands of men employed in the iron foundries. The ratio of men to women was ten to one, and the dwellings were so overcrowded that in many cases beds never got cold, for night-shift men tumbled in as soon as the day-shift men tumbled out. The spiritual condition of the town was just as bad. There was only one church, St Hilda's, with its six hundred seats mostly appropriated to those who could afford to rent them. The incumbent was non-resident, and the parish was looked after by one curate.

In 1854 Mrs Teresa Newcomen, of Kirkleatham Hall, Lady of the Manor of Coatham, built and endowed Christ Church, Coatham. She gathered round her a small community of ladies, known as the Christ Church Sisterhood, who were sometimes referred to as the Good Samaritans. These ladies devoted themselves to parochial work and visiting the sick. Associated with them was a group of tertiaries, one of whom, Miss Mary Jacques, had been trained by the Lutheran Deaconesses at Kaiserwerth. Coatham, so it should be explained, was at that date a sea-side village, near Redcar, about eight miles east of Middlesbrough. In 1858 a terrible explosion took place at Snowden and Hopkins's ironworks. Seventeen men were badly injured, and some were blown into the River Tees. The worst cases were sent to the nearest hospital at Newcastle. There was nobody in Middlesbrough to nurse the others, who were taken to their homes or to lodging-houses. A gentleman in the town went over to Coatham and begged Miss Jacques to return with him. She came at once, and, having attended to the wants of the sufferers, visited the poorer parts of Middlesbrough and realized the appalling conditions of the majority of its inhabitants.

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[1] Most of the facts recorded in this section are taken from *The History of the Community of the Holy Rood* (Middlesbrough, 1950).

Something had to be done about it, so she consulted the Reverend J. Postlethwaite, Vicar of Coatham, and the Christ Church Sisterhood. They resolved to start a simple kind of institution, and decided to make a beginning in the newly formed "Conventional District" of St John's, to which the Reverend Adam Clarke-Smith had been appointed. Miss Jacques (from then onwards known as Sister Mary) took a small house in Albert Road and two cottages behind it in Dundas Mews. She provided all the furniture, and it became a parish centre as well as a hospital. Sister Mary and her helpers soon won the confidence and affection of the poorer classes, and the little hospital was always full. Within a short time it had to be enlarged. In 1859 ground was bought at North Ormesby, on which a hospital accommodating thirty patients was erected. Requests came from other places for nurses, and the first foundation to be made by the infant community away from Middlesbrough was a cottage hospital at Walsall. It was placed under the charge of Sister Dora Pattison, who eventually severed her connection with the Community, although her sister, Frances Pattison, became its second Superior. In 1867 the name of the Sisterhood was changed to the *Community of the Holy Rood*. The Rule was revised by the Reverend R. L. Page, Vicar of Coatham, who not long after joined the Society of St John the Evangelist, Cowley, of which he later became Superior-General. He kept in close touch with the Sisters and remained their Warden for many years. It was a considerable time before the Community was fully stabilized, and not until 1871 that Mother Teresa Newcomen and Sister Frances Pattison took life vows. They went to Oxford and made their religious profession before Fr Grafton, S.S.J.E. During those early formative years the Community owed much to the Cowley Fathers, who guided and directed the Sisters in their various undertakings. They formed, as it were, a lonely outpost of the Catholic Revival in the North of England, for the only other Anglican community in Yorkshire was the Sisterhood of St Peter at Horbury. About 1874 some of the members wished to embrace the contemplative life, and eventually left the Community; the Mother Foundress being convinced that its vocation was to the mixed life.

Meanwhile other foundations were made—a hospital at Brotton in 1875, followed by another hospital at Northallerton in 1879. A new wing was added to the North Ormesby Hospital in 1878. As early as 1867 a home for orphan and destitute children had been opened at Coatham, and in 1870 the mother house was removed to Leeds and the orphans taken there. Six years later the Sisters came back to Middlesbrough, a convent having been built next the hospital at North Ormesby, which was still an outlying suburb of Middlesbrough. This became the headquarters of the Community. In 1898 the cottages in the grounds which had long accommodated the orphans were needed as isolation wards. An adjacent building, known as Worsley House, was taken and adapted, and remained the orphanage until 1923.

The Mother Foundress, Teresa Newcomen, died on 29 April 1885 and was buried with her husband in the family mausoleum at Kirkleatham, having ruled over the Community for thirty-one years. She was succeeded by Mother Frances Pattison, a sister of Mark Pattison, the friend of Newman and the early Tractarians. During the seven years of her Superiorship she did much to strengthen and extend the work of the Sisterhood. After her death in 1892, she was succeeded by Mother Elizabeth—the third Superior, who remained in office until she died in 1905. She was tall and beautiful, with a lovely voice, and a keen sense of humour. She had a marvellous influence over rich and poor—all alike loved her, especially the little children. She had been in charge of the hospital throughout the years when Mother Teresa and Mother Frances were Superiors. The next Superior was Mother Anne, who died after only three and a half years of office and was succeeded by Mother Isabel, who directed the Community of the Holy Rood for over twenty-one years. During this long period many changes took place in its work.

In 1917 Hodroyd Hall at Felkirk, near Barnsley, passed into the hands of the Sisters, who renamed it Holy Rood Priory. It was used as a retreat and rest house until 1934, when it had to be sold because there was no endowment fund to maintain it. In 1923 it had become clear that the North Ormesby Hospital would have to be enlarged, and at the same time there was a conviction that the calls of the nursing responsibility were conflicting with the real fulfilment of the Sisters' vocation to the Religious Life, which must always be primarily to a "life", the "work" being subordinate to that—the same story as in so many other Anglican communities in which, by degrees, the original purpose of good works has given place to a more contemplative manner of life. In the case of the Community of the Holy Rood the result of this change of outlook was the sale of the convent in North Ormesby and the purchase of Erdeley, Grove Hill, to which property outside Middlesbrough the majority of the Sisters and the orphans moved shortly after. The children were housed in two cottages in the grounds. In 1927 a small chapel was built and blessed by Dr William Temple, Archbishop of York, who gave permission for Reservation. Five years later, on 10 October 1932, he laid the foundation stone of the new chapel and convent.

This two-storied group of brick buildings was designed by Mr W. E. Haslock, one of the diocesan surveyors—very different in style from the typical Gothic Revival convent which had been the mother house of the Community since 1876. No chimneys break up the long lines of the roof, and the square-headed windows would have been regarded as almost "pagan" by the Sisters of a bygone generation. Moreover it is probable that they would have felt that the spacious chapel, with its tall circular windows and austerity, was hardly "devotional", and it would have amazed them to see the marble altar with its six candlesticks, even more so the hanging pyx above it, and the beautiful painted rood suspended from the arch over the sanctuary. It is this chapel, consecrated by Archbishop Temple in 1934, that is the heart of the life of this Community, whose Rule now lays down that "The special dedication of the Community is to reproduce the steadfast devotion of the women at the Cross" and that the "Sisters shall regard their life as given to God in reparation for man's abuse of possessions, sex, and freedom". The postulancy lasts six months; the novitiate two years. Life vows are taken after three years of temporary vows. The Canonical Office is said daily by the Sisters, sanctifying each part of the day, and bringing them from active work into closer contemplation of God. They use the *Hours of Prayer*, compiled by Fr Trenholme, S.S.J.E., from the Day Hours of the Sarum Breviary. The Rule stipulates for at least one hour daily of meditation and prayer, with additional provision for spiritual reading and intercession.

After the new convent had been opened, Erdeley was used as a guest house, and afterwards as the orphanage. In 1948 it was found necessary to give up the orphanage as the result of present-day legislation, and the house is now used as a medical nursing home, which is meeting a very urgent need.

Today in addition to the Nursing Home the Sisters have a Retreat and Guest House. Mission work is done in several of the Middlesbrough parishes as well as in St Hilda's and St Saviour's, Leeds. Church Embroidery forms an important part of the Community's work. There is also a bakery for altar breads. Some teaching of Scripture is done in an aided school. The Archbishops of York, since the time of Dr Maclagan, have acted as Visitors of the Community. The present Warden is the Reverend Donald Patey, C.R.

9. COMMUNITY OF ST MARY THE VIRGIN

Wymering, Hampshire (*c.* 1858)

The *Hampshire Telegraph*, 8 October 1859, informed its readers that a group of Sisters had kept watch over the coffin of the Vicar's father, while it rested in Wymering Church before the funeral. This news must have surprised and perhaps alarmed many persons, because religious communities of women, even Roman Catholic ones, were almost unknown in or around Portsmouth at that date. Eight years before this Mother Lydia Sellon had taken a house at Alverstoke, near Gosport on the west side of Portsmouth Harbour, and installed a few of her Sisters of the Sacred Heart to take charge of a small orphanage, but it would appear that this institution had been given up by 1859. There were, in fact, few visible signs of Catholicism in any shape or form in this part of Hampshire, other than the unobtrusive "Mass Houses" dating from the Penal Times, hidden away in Portsea and Gosport. None of the parish churches showed signs of Tractarian influence.

The Anglican Sisterhood, whose arrival in the then quiet little village on the north side of Portsmouth Harbour was first mentioned in the local newspaper, had been founded a year or two earlier for work among the poor in the parish of St Matthew, City Road, London. Its founder, the Rev. George Nugée, was one of the curates at St Paul's, Knightsbridge.[1] Having ample private means he was able to devote himself to many other works of mercy and charity. In 1859, as patron of the livings, he appointed himself to the parishes of Wymering and Widley, and brought his Sisters with him from London. He himself took up his residence in the Manor House, and handed over the Vicarage to the Community, which became known as St Mary's Home. An extension was made by the erection of a cottage, connected to the Vicarage by a cloister. After the parish church had been restored and refurnished in 1861 provision was made for the Sisters to occupy seats behind the choir.

In a Hampshire Directory for 1866 it is stated that St Mary's Orphanage is "conducted by a lady superior and nine sisters of mercy. These ladies attend the sick, train orphans, superintend the various minor offices in the parish church (in which there is daily—morning 8.30 and evening 5.0—full choral service) and conduct a middle class school. This institution is supported by voluntary contributions." Dr Sumner, who had been Bishop of Winchester since the reign of George IV, visited the Community on at least one occasion. He "gave them his blessing in the most fatherly manner, and expressed himself delighted with the working of the institution".[1] This was gratifying as he was an Evangelical.

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[1] See pp. 91, 92.

But some of the parishioners grew alarmed at the comings and goings of the black-robed Sisters on their errands of mercy. They protested to the Bishop of Winchester that these "phantoms" housed in the Vicarage were familiarizing the rural population with practices which were alien to "our English Protestant Religion". Dr Sumner does not seem to have paid any attention to the aggrieved parishioners. When questioned by the Ritual Commissioners in July 1867, Mr Nugée informed them that the Sisterhood had the charge of government hospitals in Portsea and Aldershot, and that the Government had asked them to take on another hospital. Besides nursing the sick the Sisters were still running the orphanage, teaching in the schools, and doing parish visiting. It would appear that the numbers of the Community must have increased by that date, for the Vicar says: "in fact it is a complete organisation of nursing sisters."[2]

The background against which this Sisterhood grew up was quite as "extreme" as that of Fr Lowder's Community of the Holy Cross in Wapping, or of Fr Nihill's Sisters of the Poor in Shoreditch—indeed very much in advance of that of the other female communities established in the 'fifties and 'sixties. In Wymering church the ceremonial was an eclectic version of the Roman rubrics devised by Mr Nugée, who felt that the Use of Sarum was not conducive to the cause of the Reunion of Christendom, in which he took a keen interest.[3]

Today the Community of St Mary is forgotten, and it has proved impossible to discover when it was finally disbanded. It seems probable that when Mr Nugée moved the Brotherhood he had established at Wymering in 1867 to Walworth, London, in 1872, he took the Sisters with him. What happened to the orphans is unknown. Most likely they were handed over to the care of another Community. Were the Sisters to return to Hampshire today they would find the medieval parish church, where they worshipped at the daily Mass and the ornate services on Sundays, swallowed up in the western extension of Cosham and the rapidly growing housing estate of Paulsgrove. The only Anglican community anywhere near are the Sisters of St Anne who have a convent at Emsworth, about five miles away to the east.

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[1] *Report of Royal Commission on Ritual* (1867), p. 51.

[2] Ibid., p. 58.

[3] See p. 93.

CHAPTER IV

Communities founded between 1860 and 1870

By 1860 Sisterhoods had taken root in the Church of England.[1] Few people questioned now their usefulness, even if the costumes worn by these devout ladies seemed impractical, and savouring too much of medieval fancy-dress. Within the next decade ten more communities of women were established. With the exception of the Benedictine nuns at Feltham, all had for their object works of charity and mercy among the poor, or teaching in schools.

What the average High Churchman of the late 'fifties and early 'sixties felt about religious communities of women was expressed by the Reverend William Gresley, Prebendary of Lichfield, and incumbent of All Saints', Boyne Hill, Maidenhead, in his now-almost-forgotten book *Bernard Leslie*.[2] Chapter XII of that book is devoted to "Sisterhoods". It evokes an atmosphere of mild and gentle Tractarianism, with detailed descriptions of the services in an imaginary church, where there was none of the "gaiety and glitter of the Roman ceremonial", merely the "happy mean of the English ritual . . . with its penitential tone, which, if duly carried out, needs very little to commend it to the most fastidious taste".

Mr Gresley explains that the almost-inevitable result of the "thorough carrying out of the Church system was that a good many persons came to desire to give up the world entirely and to lead holy and devoted lives, dedicated solely to God, in works of charity and devotion—to become in short Sisters of Mercy".[3] He has "not the smallest doubt that such a life is sanctioned by Holy Scripture as well as the Universal Church"; nevertheless he admits that one meets "sometimes with persons who fancy they have a call to a religious life, without having one. There is something romantic in the idea of being a Sister of Mercy, which is likely to captivate the weak-minded; then some would be glad to go anywhere to escape the troubles and annoyances of home. I mean young ladies who have a will of their own, and live uncomfortably with parents who are exacting and oppressive." So Mr Gresley lays down the rule that "*persons must never leave duties to which they are obviously called, in order to undertake others to which the call is doubtful*. . . . Anyhow the religious life has now become recognized in the English Church. The devotion of earnest women to nurse the wounded soldiers in the Crimean War has given a sort of éclat and popularity to the notion that it is praiseworthy in religious persons to renounce worldly comfort for the sake of others. . . . Home and comfort have been too long the idols of Englishmen, a settlement and establishment in life the *summum bonum* of Englishwomen. It is a great point to have it admitted that there may be something nobler and more desirable than these acknowledged blessings; at any rate, that those who believe themselves called to a higher life are to be commended as praiseworthy, and not condemned as mere enthusiasts."[1]

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[1] Dr Neale, in a letter dated 26 November 1861 (*Letters*, p. 337), gives the following statistics of Sisterhoods at that time: Clewer (26), St Margaret's (15), St George's, i.e. Wapping (12), Margaret Street (11), St Thomas's, Oxford (8), St Mary's, Brighton (10), Horbury (4). This makes a total of 86 Sisters. He says that "Wantage has many more", and adds that he has not obtained details from Ditchingham. "Miss Sellon one can hardly make common cause with. There is an important Sisterhood at Tenterden, Kent. . . ." (For this last, see p. 528.)

[2] (1859), pt. 2.

[3] Ibid., p. 144.

It is worth noting that Prebendary Gresley ventures to say: "I do not see that in the Church of England the Bishops have anything to do with [Sisterhoods]. I mean, they have no right whatever to interfere with these establishments, any more than they could prohibit persons from being district-visitors, or teachers in schools. Where is the law or custom which gives them authority or makes their sanction needful? It is one of those matters surely with regard to which each branch of the Church Catholic may make its own regulations. If the practice becomes extensive in our Church, it might be quite right to place them formally under the authority of the Bishops. . . . But as things are now in England, I do not think that the Bishops are at all connected of necessity with these institutions. . . . Bishops cannot afford to commit themselves to a new experiment, but let the experiment succeed and they will gladly adopt it. Some have already generously given their sanction."[2]

The chapter ends with some interesting observations. Bernard Leslie's friend, Mr Manwaring, who runs St Peter's, Helmstone, in obvious imitation of the methods in vogue at St Barnabas', Pimlico, or at the parish churches of Clewer and Wantage in the 'fifties, is of the opinion

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[1] Op. cit., pp. 146–9.
[2] Op. cit., pp. 149, 150.

that "it would be absurd to keep [Sisterhoods] rigidly to the example of former times or foreign Churches. The modern English mind, English habits, and English feelings, are totally different from those which existed formerly in mediaeval times, and which now exist in foreign Churches. God has mercifully given us a Church which, while it is in essence one with that of the Apostles, is singularly adapted to our modern requirements. In reviving the system of religious houses, we must endeavour to adapt it to the wants and feelings of the English Church and people. . . ."[1] "Vows, I think, should be temporary, not binding for life, but renewable. It is most desirable that any person getting tired of the life, and finding herself unsuited for it, should be at liberty to withdraw, otherwise she may infect the whole sisterhood with her discontent. And again, whereas English ladies are used to clean linen and food, and little personal niceties, I think due attention should be paid to these minor matters."[2]

Between 1860 and 1870—the period covered in this chapter—several communities of women showed signs of being affected by what Mr Gresley described as the "gaiety and glitter of the Roman ceremonial". There were some Sisterhoods which were not satisfied with the "happy mean of the English ritual". For instance, in 1867 Bishop Tait felt obliged to write to Mr Mackonochie about what was going on in the chapel of the East Grinstead Sisters at Hackney. This loyal remnant which had not followed Mr Tuke into the Church of Rome appeared to hold religious opinions and practise customs which the bishop maintained were dangerously Romish. He deplored their "custom in reference to the reservation of the Elements in the Holy Communion", of which he was certain that Mr Mackonochie must also disapprove.[3] He feared that in the Sisters' oratory there were "signs of a devotion to the Blessed Virgin going far beyond what the Church of England approves as due to her who is blessed amongst women". He stated that "the practice of the reservation of the Elements in the Holy Communion" would alone prevent him, and he supposed any other bishop in the Church of England, from becoming Visitor of their institution. He trusted that these Sisters would be induced to give it up. His letter ended thus: "I pray God to guide them to a sober view of their duties as members of the Church of England, and I should rejoice to hear that they can bring their Sisterhood in all things to the model which I approve."[1] But St Saviour's Priory, Hackney, was far from being the only Sisterhood in which things went on to which no Anglican bishop in the 'sixties would have been expected to give his blessing. It is improbable that the bishops realized that the rites of Exposition and Benediction with the monstrance, which had been introduced by Dr Neale at East Grinstead almost from the foundation of his Society of St Margaret, were not in the least Italian in origin, but merely medieval devotions which had their roots in Northern Europe. For all we know it may have been Dr Neale's antipathy to everything savouring of "Romanism" that encouraged him to satisfy the spiritual needs of his Community with rites of German, Scandinavian, and Netherlandish origin. It was only natural that the daughter houses should copy the usages of the mother house. It would appear that Dr Littledale and a few other convent chaplains had started to use either the whole or parts of the Roman or Sarum Missals (in English) instead of the Book of Common Prayer as their altar book. Their excuse was that the chapels of Sisterhoods lay outside the jurisdiction of the diocesan bishops. So can it be wondered that the bishops regarded many of these convents as hot-beds of Romanism? There were other functions, so they heard, performed in these chapels, such as the Blessing of Candles and Ashes, not to mention the elaborate ceremonial of Holy Week, according to either the Roman or the Sarum rites.[2]

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[1] Op. cit., p. 152.
[2] Ibid., p. 155.
[3] So far as is known the first published Order for Communicating the Sick with the Reserved Sacrament is that given in *The Day Office of the Church*, edited by the Reverend H. A. Walker and the Reverend T. I. Ball (London, 1869), p. lxvii. The rubric says: "The Blessed Eucharist when reserved for sick persons shall be kept in some decent and becoming place on or near the Altar of the Church or Oratory." It is interesting to note that Communion is given under both kinds by intinction. This same book provides a form for the Benediction of a tabernacle (p. lxxxiv).

Again, there was the almost dictatorial usurpation of the powers of an "extraordinary confessor" justified on doubtful grounds, not only by Dr Pusey but by other clergymen. As is pointed out by the Reverend C. P. S. Clarke: "one idiosyncrasy of those who believed in the value of religious communities of women is interesting. Enthusiastic would-be-founders embarked on the task with a light-heartedness, or perhaps one should say with a faith and courage that almost takes one's breath away. It seemed the most natural thing in the world for a zealous parish priest,

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[1] R. T. Davidson and W. Benham, op. cit., vol. I, p. 464.

[2] By the middle of the 'sixties several versions of the Ordinary and Canon of the Mass had been published in English, also more than one Anglican Missal. Religious communities were able to follow the Ceremonies of Holy Week, etc., by means of that most complete Office Book and People's Missal, entitled *Divine Service*, first published by John Masters, London, about 1867. The Reverend H. A. Walker had edited several plain-chant Masses with English words. Cheap editions of the Introits, Graduals, Tracts, Sequences, Offertories, and Communions throughout the liturgical year were on sale, and much used in ritualistic churches and the chapels of Sisterhoods.

surrounded by needs with which only women could cope, to found a Sisterhood."[1]

As time went on and it became clear that Sisterhoods had come to stay, the ecclesiastical authorities realized that steps must be taken to regularize them. In February 1862 the subject of Sisterhoods was debated in the Convocation of Canterbury. The Lower House requested that a Committee should be formed to "consider the modes and limitations under which encouragement and guidance might be given" to such groups of women living in community. Bishop Tait supported this resolution and said: "as nothing but good can arise from these individuals devoting themselves for Christ's sake, if their labours are judicious, so it is desirable that we should consider what advice can be given, and what checks can be put upon any tendency towards a want of that judiciousness which is necessary in such matters. . . . Though their efforts have naturally been viewed with some jealousy, I have great reason, in my own diocese, to be thankful for the amount of self-denial and goodness of every kind which has been evinced by those who have devoted themselves to the work, and I must say that I think we ought not to be too critical in judging of the precise way in which they perform their work."[2]

Bishop Tait's diocesan charge of 1866 contained several kindly references to Sisterhoods. He bade his clergy and layfolk "not to be too prejudiced to learn either from Rome" or from foreign Protestants. He pointed out that "time was, and not long ago, when Roman Catholics were supposed to have a monopoly of Sisters of Mercy: when Protestants all held that women might work as true Sisters of Mercy (and, thank God, they can), one by one, from their own homes; visiting the poor and desolate in their own neighbourhood; but that the system of our Church forbade any organization for a combined effort to use the services of women. The fearful emergency of the Crimean War dispelled this theory. Other efforts were doubtless being made before, but that melancholy time changed public opinion. The heroic spirit who stood forth to guide [Miss Florence Nightingale] and those no less brave who seconded her efforts, told the world that English Church-women were ready to combine, where combination was needed, for any great Christian work, and our hospitals will probably always henceforth bear more and more, the better they are administered, the impress of that great example."

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[1] *The Oxford Movement and After* (1932), p. 255. This "light-heartedness" is proved in particular in the correspondence which passed between Dr Pusey and the then twenty-five-year-old Fr Stanton, who, when he thought he was going to be appointed to St Saviour's, Leeds, wanted to establish a new Sisterhood completely under his own jurisdiction. Cf. George W. E. Russell, *Arthur Stanton: a Memoir* (1917), pp. 54-70.

[2] R. T. Davidson and W. Benham, op. cit., vol I, p. 455.

The bishop added that he felt "that the time has come when the clergy generally and the heads of the Church must enter fully into the question of how the help of Christian women living in community, and holding themselves ready to act amongst the sick and poor, is to be best arranged. . . . God knows we need their help, if they will give it in the way that our Church approves."[1] In other words, Bishop Tait would have agreed with Mr Gresley that "in reviving the system of Religious Houses, we must endeavour to adapt it to the wants and feelings of the English Church and people", and that "the modern English mind, English habits, and English feelings, are totally different from those which existed formerly in mediaeval times, and which now exist in foreign Churches". But it was not easy to find the *via media* by which the services of Christian women living in community could be fitted into the general system approved by the Church of England in the 'sixties.[2]

Considering the Tractarian background and atmosphere of most of the novels of Charlotte M. Yonge, it is rather surprising that she never gives a detailed description of any Sisterhood. As editor of the *Monthly Packet*, she admitted a few articles about their works of mercy and charity. In the *Heir of Redclyffe* (1853) Miss Yonge records how Guy left £3,000 to found a Sisterhood, but no more is said about it. The year 1873 saw the publication of *The Pillars of the House*, in which it is related how a consumptive clergyman founded a Sisterhood. His widow joined it, and as "Sister Constance" later on became Superior of a daughter house. *The Castle Builders* (1854) also mentions a Sisterhood. The first chapter of *The Trial* (1864) tells us of Sister Katherine and Sister Frances: "two ladies from a nursing sisterhood, who not only worked incredible wonders with their own hands among the poor, but made efficient nurses of rough girls and stupid old women" in the fever-stricken parish of Stoneborough. In 1876 Miss Yonge mentions in *The Three Brides* that Lady Susan Strangeways made a retreat in a Sisterhood to recover from the effects of the London season. In a later novel—*Beechcroft at Rockstone*—we have an amusing description of two unattached nuns—Sister Beata and Sister Philomena. "My brother calls them Cousins of Mercy. The elder one has tried two or three sisterhoods, and being disappointed with all the rules, I fancy she has some idea of trying to set up one on her own account at Mr Flight's [church] . . . They are really one of his experiments—fancy names and fancy rules, of course. . . . So they act as parish women here, and they do it very well." This slightly cynical attitude towards religious communities also comes out in another of Miss Yonge's later stories—*Nuttie's Father*—in which a church worker mentions that the new vicar has "a house of sisters . . . his womenkind are rather grand —quite out of our beat, and in parish work I am only an estimable excrescence".

Charlotte Yonge does not appear to have had any direct contact with Sisterhoods except the Wantage Community, of which she became an Associate shortly after the death of Keble in 1866. In a letter she "compared the atmosphere of the place, both parochial and conventual, to a brisk, frosty morning, because of the dislike shown there for any kind of unreal sentiment—of which she highly approved".[1] After a subsequent visit to Wantage in 1868 she recorded the "eager life . . . so much the sparkling, hurrying stream".[2] The importance of her novels to the student of Anglican Religious Life lies in their vivid and truthful picture of the domestic surroundings from which the majority of the first Sisters were drawn. Miss Yonge's Victorian maidens are all potential postulants: they are the sort of material which novice-mistresses had to mould into shape.

But there were other young ladies, unaffected by Tractarian teaching, who were feeling the urge to dedicate their lives to religious and social work. The rigidly Protestant clergy of Islington in London and in other parts of England had already formed groups of "Biblewomen", who were carrying on much the same sort of works of charity and mercy among the poor as those initiated by the first Sisterhoods. In the slums of Seven Dials, the undenominational workers of the St Giles' Mission, founded in 1857, were no less devoted to the poor than were the East Grinstead Sisters who began their apostolate in the same district a year later. It was a proof that "the saintly life can flourish in the most unfavourable conditions, and the works which follow are the same, whether

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[1] R. T. Davidson and W. Benham, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 267–8.

[2] Yet there were Sisterhoods in which a *via media* acceptable to almost any mid-Victorian bishop had been evolved. Such a community is that described in *The Chronicles of St Mary's* by "S.D.N." (1868). The religious background of this story is definitely Tractarian. There is hardly a trace of any subsequent Anglo-Catholic development in ritual or ceremonial. Written in a style that evokes memories of Miss Charlotte Yonge, this book enables the modern reader to capture the atmosphere of Anglican Sisterhood life nearly ninety years ago, when it was still in the experimental stage. The inevitable self-consciousness of being pioneers; that Sisterhoods were regarded with suspicion by most Church people, is well brought out. "S.D.N." is presumed to be one of Dr Neale's daughters. If this opinion is correct, then it is curious that she pictures a community in which the ritual and ceremonial are far less "advanced" than those of the Society of St Margaret during the 'sixties.

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[1] Margaret Mare and Alicia C. Percival, *Victorian Best-Seller* (1947), p. 203.

[2] Ibid., p. 218.

the light of divine and human love shines through a Roman, a Tractarian, or a Puritan lantern. The vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, expressed or implied, permanent or temporary are the same."[1]

As early as 1848 the Nursing Institution of St John's House (see p. 280) had proved that women's work in the Church of England could be organized on lines somewhat different from those of the stricter "Puseyite" Sisterhoods. In 1860 the Reverend William Pennefather, a devout Evangelical clergyman, Vicar of St Jude's, Mildmay Park, London, founded a training home for female missionaries, who became known as the "Mildmay Deaconesses". Their life was modelled on that of the Lutheran Deaconess Institutes of Kaiserwerth and Strasbourg, but they were not strictly deaconesses, for they were not ordained.

As has been explained, the bishops were wondering how it was possible to make use of the combined services of English Churchwomen, provided that they were willing to give their services "in the way that our Church approves". There was no doubt that the Sisterhoods were doing admirable work; nevertheless each community formed, as it were, an *ecclesiola in ecclesia*. Each Sister was under obedience to her Mother Superior and to her alone. Officially, as a body, the Church of England had not given any recognition to Sisterhoods. By 1860 they were still nothing more than free-lance troops, not under the command of, or necessarily at the service of the bishops and parochial clergy, but only of their Reverend Mothers. What was required, so it was felt, were groups of equally disciplined and devoted women, serving directly under the bishops and the incumbents of parishes.

Meanwhile several Anglican clergymen, notably Dean Howson, had been studying the history of deaconesses in the Early and Medieval Church. They discovered that there were women deacons in apostolic times, and that they existed as a definite Order for many centuries, although their functions were not uniform or clarified. But what was certain was that dedicated women then took a far greater part in church life than in the nineteenth century. By degrees deaconesses disappeared, possibly because of the growth of religious orders of women.

But even in the Western Church there was still at least one trace of the primitive deaconess in the few surviving convents of Carthusian nuns. The reception of a crown, ring, stole, and maniple at the profession of a Carthusian nun seems to be a relic of the primitive ordination of a deaconess, as is her reading of the Epistle at the conventual Mass. The ministry of deaconesses in the Early Church was a ministry of assistance,

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[1] F. Warre Cornish, *History of the English Church in the Nineteenth Century* (1910), vol. II, p. 81.

involving functions similar to, but not identical with, those of the male diaconate. It was the restoration of the primitive deaconesses which was advocated by Dean Howson, first in an article published in the *Christian Observer* of 1858, and afterwards in the *Quarterly Review*.[1]

In its own way Mr Pennefather's group of Deaconesses in North London was just as much outside the jurisdiction of the bishops as the Sisterhoods. So it came to pass that within little more than two years after the establishment of the Mildmay Deaconesses, Dr Tait, Bishop of London, formed the first group of Diocesan Deaconesses, whose story is related in this chapter.

1. COMMUNITY OF ST PETER

St Peter's Convent, Maybury Hill, Woking, Surrey (1861)

Here is a community whose origin was quite different from that of any other Sisterhood founded in the last century. In 1851 Rosamira Bellairs married Benjamin Lancaster, and from living a quiet country life in her father's parish of Bedworth in Warwickshire, became the wife of a wealthy City merchant. A great change for this girl, especially as her husband was proud of her beauty, and wished her to be presented at Court and go into society. It was the year of the Great Exhibition in Hyde Park, and London was very gay that summer. But Mrs Lancaster much preferred a quiet and retired life. She had always been eager to devote herself to the care of the sick and poor in her father's parish, and now that she was settled in London, with a large staff of servants to look after her house, she found she had time on her hands after she had fulfilled her duties as a wife and hostess. There were sick and poor in London much more than in the country, and she wanted to help them. Soon after their marriage, Mr Lancaster began to enter into his wife's schemes and eventually decided to devote a large portion of his wealth to forward them. A few years later she herself made friends with a Miss Susan Oldfield, and while they were staying at Torquay, the call came to Susan Oldfield to devote herself to God as a religious. Here was the chance for Mrs Lancaster to found and endow a Sisterhood. Her husband soon became equally enthusiastic.

But what sort of Sisterhood? Several had been founded already for rescue work, teaching, and visiting the poor. It was Mr Lancaster who discovered a work of charity where there was no competition. It so happened that he was a governor of St George's Hospital. Again and again he had noticed how many patients were discharged without the prospect of that convalescent treatment they needed, so what more useful work could be undertaken by the new Sisterhood he and his wife proposed to found than the care of a convalescent home? Meanwhile, having heard of this venture, the Reverend T. Chamberlain, the founder of the Community of St Thomas the Martyr, Oxford, had introduced a Miss Ella Jones to the Lancasters, being convinced that she was the right woman they were seeking for collaboration with Miss Oldfield. The next thing was to find a house. Various properties in London were examined and none found suitable. One night Mrs Lancaster had a vivid dream—the house she was looking for was at 27 Brompton Square. She went off to see the place: it was just as she had pictured it in her dream. Then she called on the Vicar of Holy Trinity, Brompton, who said he would gladly welcome a Sisterhood into his parish.

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[1] See also, Ludlow, J. M. "Deaconesses or Protestant Sisterhoods" (*Edinburgh Review*, 1848); and *Women's Work in the Church, Historical Notes on Deaconesses and Sisterhoods* (1865).

On 25 June 1861 Susan Oldfield and Ella Jones took up their residence in Brompton Square. The house was renamed St Peter's Home. Dr Tait, the Bishop of London, gave his blessing to the foundation, and accepted the office of Visitor. The purpose of the Sisterhood was stated to be the promotion of some of the works of mercy, more especially those of visiting, carrying out mission work, and nursing the sick. It was thus that the Community of St Peter came into being.

There were only twelve beds in St Peter's Home, but within a few days they were occupied. As the only other Anglican community in south-west London at that date was the mission house of the Clewer Sisters in the parish of St Barnabas', Pimlico, the new Sisterhood aroused much interest and visitors were frequent. Just around the corner, backing on to the parish church of Holy Trinity, was the barn-like temporary church of the Oratorians, who had moved here in 1854 from King William Street, off the Strand. This "Papal Aggression" must have been a sore trial to the vicar, especially as the popular week-night services in the oratory, with their lively hymns, attracted far greater congregations than he got in his church. Moreover, Fr Faber had founded a convent of the Sisters of the Divine Word, who were working under the Oratorians. No matter, the frequent visits of Mr Carter of Clewer, Mr Body, and other well-known Anglo-Catholic clergymen to the little community, which soon began to grow, helped to keep it in the Church of England. Meanwhile their spiritual life was strengthened and deepened, and their numbers and good works increased.

Miss Margaret Goodman, in her generally hostile book,[1] gives an account of the Community in its early days, as friendly as it is favourable: "... at present there are four Sisters in the house, divided into Choir Sisters and Serving Sisters. The institution has for its object the providing of a home for convalescents, discharged from St George's Hospital, until they are able to resume their occupations, and their stay varies from two to eight months. The Sisters also visit the hospital, and thus, besides the comfort they give the inmates, they are able to select for their own convalescent home the most pressing cases; they often take in poor homeless girls. The work calls for funds, it being a most expensive institution, because the patients require so vast an amount of nourishment to recruit their strength. A surgeon and physician give their attendance gratuitously. The Sisters also nurse in the parish, for which they receive a training at St George's Hospital of about three months; but its duration depends upon their proficiency, it being their rule to continue at the hospital until they are deemed as skilful as the ordinary hospital nurse.

"Having drawn up her statutes, the foundress, Miss Oldfield, sought an audience with the Bishop of London, and requested his lordship to give his sanction: the Bishop was addressed in the following words: 'I am myself', said the Mother Superior, 'very High Church, you may call me Puseyite, if you please, I have no wish to conceal my sentiments, but here are our statutes, and by them we will abide, if you can give them your sanction; but without your authority I do not feel myself justified in working in community; if I do not yield obedience to him whom God has placed over me, how can I ask obedience in my house?' The Bishop said he did not wish to be the shepherd of a mere party, but truly the Bishop of the diocese; he therefore examined the statutes, and suggested some verbal alterations, and also proposed that they should be looked over by a lawyer.

"Vows, the Bishop remarked, were not allowed by the Church of England; but the Sister makes her promise for one or five years, whichever she prefers; and at the end of that period they could be renewed, if she desires it. The promise is made in the presence of the Bishop, who afterwards, by imposition of hands, consecrates her for the work: the ceremony concludes with prayers, which the Bishop sometimes selects from the Liturgy; and at other times they are extempore. He is himself the chaplain of the house, and occasionally sees each Sister alone, that he may know if she is happy, or if there is anything she wishes to say to him: he had made one of his visits about a fortnight before I called. It seems impossible for abuses to creep in under such a system as that pursued by this Sisterhood.

"The dress of the Sisters is grey, and a small silver cross suspended by

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[1] *Sisterhoods in the Church of England* (London, 1863), pp. 258–61.

a blue ribbon is worn on the breast; their neat little cap is also tied with blue: altogether the dress is distinctive, but not singular. It may be judged that Miss Oldfield has a clear head, and a single eye; being wholly devoid of the two great banes so common to the members of Anglican Sisterhoods, pretentiousness and sentimentality. She says that they are anxious for more ladies to join them, but I fear that sentimentality and romance have greater charms than common sense and simple hard work.

"The Sisters are about to enlarge their dwelling, which is at present an airy house, plainly furnished, and scrupulously clean. The Mother Superior cannot alter the rules, but is amenable to them equally with the lowest Sister in the house; she also takes her share in the common lot: there is no especial grandeur for a 'Lady Abbess'."

By 1867 the house in Brompton Square had become far too congested, and a move elsewhere was imperative. An empty house, formerly a dissenting college, was discovered in Mortimer Place, Kilburn. Mr and Mrs Lancaster decided to buy this property, and after many alterations had been made it was ready for occupation. On 24 September the Sisters and their patients said good-bye to Brompton and moved to Kilburn. The new St Peter's Home was duly blessed, and the work resumed.

But the Sisters could not have arrived in this district of north-west London at a more unfortunate time. The congregation of St Mary's, Kilburn, had been split in two, owing to the appointment of a very Low Church incumbent. For some time the Sisters had to walk a long way to church, since they had no private chaplain to minister to them in their own chapel. Those were difficult times for Anglo-Catholics. Queen Victoria, mindful of her oath to defend the Protestant Reformed Religion established by law, felt that the time had come when it was "*absolutely* necessary to take some measures". She informed her Prime Minister that, considering "the dangers to which the Church of England is *now* exposed", she would "have to apply the pruning knife more severely".

Nevertheless, despite such trials without, the work at St Peter's Home went on peacefully; more novices were clothed and professed, and the large wards were filled with incurable cases and convalescents. It was a happy sight to see the children in their red frocks and white pinafores in the Good Shepherd Ward, or lying in their cots on the large balcony erected later on, whence they could gaze over London. With the opening of the temporary church of St Augustine's in 1871, the Sisters had a spiritual centre within easy reach. The vicar, the Reverend R. C. Kirkpatrick, was only too glad to have their help, as well as that of Miss Ackbowm's newly established "Sisters of the Church", in visiting the poor of the parish (see p. 440).

In 1875 the Sisters made their first foundation. St Michael's Home, Axbridge, was built and endowed by a wealthy benefactress.[1] It was erected on the slopes of the Mendips, with sunny wards and outdoor shelters for men and women in the earlier stages of tuberculosis. Here, as at Kilburn, the Community did the nursing themselves, with a staff of secular nurses under them.

There was great distress and much unemployment in the poorer districts of London in 1878, partly due to a winter of quite exceptional severity. Almost at the same time as General Booth transformed his "Christian Mission" into the Salvation Army, the Sisters opened the first of their mission houses in the parish of St Saviour's, Hoxton. This church, as well as St Columba's, Haggerston, where mission work was started soon after, was already one of the outposts of Anglo-Catholic teaching and worship in East London.[2] A few more Sisters were spared the following year for St Mary's Mission, Golden Lane, an out-of-the-way parish hidden away between Smithfield and Bunhill Row, not very far from St Michael's, Shoreditch, where for over ten years Fr Nihill's community of Sisters of the Poor had been devoting themselves to works of mercy. Later on mission work was undertaken in Limehouse and Stepney. Especially in the former parish there was a cosmopolitan crowd to deal with—Chinese and half-Chinese being the most numerous. The Mission Sisters of St Peter's knew and loved them all, and were loved by them. Even one of a gang of burglars, escaping over the roof of the little mission house in Limehouse with the police after them, said to his mother who visited him in prison: "And I'm afraid, Mum, we must have frightened the Sisters!"[3]

The scene changes from the sordid slums of Stepney and Limehouse to the pine-clad hills and heather commons of Surrey. In 1883, thanks to the generosity of Mrs Gibbs, the foundation stone of St Peter's Home, Woking, was laid by the Bishop of Winchester. About twenty acres of land had been bought on Maybury Hill about a mile east from the centre of the new town. When the spacious red-brick buildings were completed the convalescents and tubercular patients could lie in their beds in the upper wards, or recline in deck-chairs in the gardens, and enjoy the view of the blue line of hills in the distance above Guildford. For more than seventy years St Peter's has been a hive of activity. The sandy soil and pine-laden air made it an ideal spot for tubercular cases, and others needing rest and recuperation. Most of the patients have come from London. The Sisters in charge of the wards are now State Registered Nurses. Though the home has never been "taken over" by the Government, yet the Regional Hospital Board works in harmony with the Community, and no difficulties have arisen. Besides nursing, the Sisters work in the kitchens, and as a patient remarked recently: "You can tell there's someone as takes an interest in food!" About twenty girls at a time are trained here for domestic service. Most of them are sent by probation officers for a period of two years. For a time there was a "pre-hospital" training course for girls between sixteen and eighteen. The Sisters run a laundry, and also work in the large gardens and poultry farm—altogether a varied, interesting, and strenuous life, shared by all the Community—cooking, dispensing, nursing, and much else.

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[1] The architect was William Butterfield.

[2] See p. 348.

[3] Subsequently the Sisters undertook mission work for a time in the parish of St Mary's, Somers Town, and also at Edmonton and Caversham.

The year 1884, just before Dr Temple became Bishop of London, the Sisters opened a small holiday home at Littlehampton for delicate children from London. Some time later it was moved to St Leonards-on-Sea, where for many years groups of pale-faced little Cockneys went to enjoy the sea-breezes for a month, returning home rosy and brown with many a trophy of sea-weed and shells.

Then came the call to help with the Foreign Missions—Bishop Corfe, the Anglican Bishop in Korea, was in need of Sisters. In 1892 four members of St Peter's Community sailed for the Far East, finding themselves in a strange new world.[1] The Kilburn Sisters began with a hospital for native women, and then started teaching in schools. The work had to be given up at the time of the Japanese War. The Korean priests and the native Society of the Holy Cross, which had been formed in 1925 at Seoul by St Peter's Community, carried on all through the war. In 1946 Sister Mary Clare, at the urgent request of the bishop, returned to Korea to assist the infant community. She was one of the many missionaries who were captured during the war of 1950. The news of her death on 6 November 1950, during a "death march", was not received by the Community until March 1953.

To return to England: in 1897 a Home of Rest for ladies—St Peter's Grange—was opened at St Leonards-on-Sea. The house stands on high ground in a quiet garden, commanding a view over the Channel. It was due to the encouragement of the Reverend W. H. Cleaver, Rector of Christ Church, St Leonards, who had been Warden of the Community since its headquarters were moved to Kilburn in 1871, that this new centre of work was established. Here Mother Sarah Francis, the second Mother Superior of the Community, passed to her rest in 1904. This home has recently been closed.

St Peter's Ouvroir, Hendon, founded in 1904, was another type of home. It was intended to provide useful work for women and girls who were partial invalids or crippled. For nearly half a century employment has been found for this class of women, either in needlework or embroidery. The Sister-in-Charge received her training in Bruges; in itself enough to guarantee the high quality of the Church embroidery. Then a small printing-press was set up, which enabled the Community to do all its own printing as well as take on outside work. A laundry was yet another side-line of this busy establishment, secluded in a seven-acre garden, although latterly engulfed in the midst of houses. In 1957 this house was closed.

Another of the foundations made by the Community was the Smiles Homes for Invalid Ladies at Woking, due to a generous legacy from Mr Locke Smiles. The work of caring for old ladies had been started at Kilburn some years before, but thanks to Mr Smiles it was found possible to establish a permanent centre at Woking. An attractive group of red-brick buildings was erected within the pine woods surrounding the Convent. On 12 December 1923 a cortège, consisting of two ambulances and a number of cars, containing two Sisters, the nursing staff, and twenty-four old ladies, moved down from London to Woking. Before long the number had been increased to forty. Needless to say there is always a waiting list, for in this home the inmates can remain for the rest of their lives and have every care and comfort.

Two more houses must be mentioned, St Peter's-in-the-Pines, a guest house which adjoins the Convent, and to which the various works from St Peter's Ouvroir have been transferred, and St Peter's Priory, a Mission House at Portsmouth, from which the Sisters work in three parishes. On St Peter's Day, 1944, the mother house at Kilburn was caught by the blast from a flying-bomb, and was damaged beyond all immediate repair. Since then the convent at Woking has served as the mother house.

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Now it is time to refer to the spiritual life which has always been the foundation and inspiration of the works of charity and mercy described in the last few pages. The Rule is modern, but, like that of most Anglican communities, based on ancient Rules. Great stress is laid on the "balance" of prayer and work, so that each is the complement of the other. The postulancy lasts six months; the novitiate two and a half years, after which temporary vows are taken for three years, and, after that, life vows are taken. Each Sister reserves an hour daily for mental prayer, also special times for spiritual reading, intercession, and a monthly retreat. *The Day Hours of the Church of England* are recited in choir, and the office is also a private obligation for those absent from choir. The ideal set before the Sisters of St Peter is that of a whole sacrifice of self—body, soul, and spirit—with nothing held back from the Lord to whom they have vowed themselves for life.

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[1] It was a country into which the Catholic Faith had been introduced nearly two centuries before, and without the aid of any European missionaries. One of the first Koreans, who went to Peking to be baptized, took the name of Peter. In 1791 Paul Youun and Jacques Kouen were the first of many Koreans who laid down their lives for their religion. An Apostolic Vicariate of Korea was created by the Holy See in 1831. Four years before the establishment of the first convent of St Peter's Community at Seoul, the Sisters of St Paul of Chartres had opened an orphanage.

The chapel of the mother house at Woking is one of J. L. Pearson's most striking and dignified conventual churches. The choir is raised eight steps above the nave, and separated from it by a carved oak screen and hanging rood. The Sisters' stalls are of oak, with carved canopies. The high altar is alabaster, with deep-red marble pillars supporting an alabaster canopy, beneath which is a gilded throne for Exposition. Leading up to the altar are three marble steps—black, red, and white—the three steps of Dante—the purgative, illuminative, and the unitive ways. On the Gospel side of the altar is a carved alabaster figure of our Lady and the Holy Child. Below the sanctuary is the Lady Chapel. The walls and ceiling and columns of the small sanctuary are decorated with Italian mosaic work, with the Angels of the Advent antiphons in mosaic in the ceiling.

The tiny seed planted over a hundred years ago by Susan Oldfield and Ella Jones, with the help of Mr and Mrs Lancaster, has grown into a tall, wide-spreading, and many-branched tree, which has borne much fruit.

At the present time the Warden is the Reverend John Shand, S.S.J.E.; the Visitor is the Bishop of Guildford.

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One of the members of this community has written several admirable books and pamphlets, including:

Down the Ages (talks for young people on English Church History); *The Pathway to the Hills* (Church teaching explained); *Stepping Stones to the Catholic Faith*; *Jean, a Story of Vocation*; *Green Hills, The Village considers the Creed*; *All for All* (simple instructions on the Religious Life for those wishing to test their vocations); and *Monks and Nuns in Modern Days*.

2. DEACONESS COMMUNITY OF ST ANDREW

St Andrew's House, 12 Tavistock Crescent, London, W.11 (1861)

As is related in a brief history of this community, the foundress, Miss Elizabeth Ferard, visualized "a body of women dedicating their lives to the service of God through working officially with the clergy of their parishes. She recognized the tremendous value of pastoral work under the parochial system but was convinced that it was too great a burden to be borne by the clergy alone, especially where the women's and children's work was concerned. While she was keen that the women should work in close co-operation with the clergy, she felt that there was great benefit to be obtained through living the Christian life in community."

Before founding the community Miss Ferard worked in the large Lutheran Institute at Kaiserwerth and in the Community of All Hallows, Ditchingham (see p. 327). On St Andrew's Day, 1861, she and a few companions began to live a common life of prayer and service. In the following July, she was ordained deaconess by Dr Tait, Bishop of London, thus reviving the Order of Deaconesses in the English Church. The London Diocesan Deaconess Institution was to further womens' work for the church in the London Diocese. Within the Institution from the first was the smaller body—the St Andrew's Community of the London Diocesan Deaconess Institution, a name retained (though rarely entirely used) until the disappearance of the Institution in 1943, when the Community adopted its present name. From the earliest years members shared a common life and a common rule of prayer, but at first they did not take the three vows of religion. A promise of celibacy was made, and each member worked under the direction of the head sister. Right from the start the community ideal was strongly present. The life was one of great simplicity, and these women were always known as Sisters.

Other bishops followed Dr Tait's example, and within the next thirty years several Diocesan Deaconess Institutions were formed and the Deaconess movement spread to other parts of the English-speaking world. But it became very clear that there were two distinct ways of fulfilling the vocation of a deaconess in the Church of England. Today the greater number, after training, make their preparation at the Central Deaconess House, Hindhead, but work on their own in parishes. About ten per cent of the total number of Anglican deaconesses have become Sisters and live under a common rule in the Community.

The Rule and Constitution of the St Andrew's Community were drawn up slowly. They were evolved gradually as different needs were felt over a long period of time. They owe less to medieval traditions and customs than the Rules of most Sisterhoods founded about the same date. In 1917 the three vows were inserted into the Rule. The only fundamental difference between this community and other Anglican religious communities of women is that all its professed Sisters are also ordained deaconesses. The Sister is made a deaconess and takes her final vows on the same day. The Day Hours have been recited in its chapels since 1887. At the present time the Office Book used is *The Hours of Prayer*. The Bishop of London is the Visitor and the Bishop of Kensington the Warden.

The Sisters' main work has been undertaken in London parishes. They began in the parish and schools of St Luke's, Kings Cross, and in Somers Town, and then moved to Westbourne Park and took up work in other parts of London. In 1876 St Michael's Convalescent Home at Westgate-on-Sea was built and a training home for girls was attached to the mother house from 1882 to 1897. Educational work was undertaken in 1926 when St Gabriel's Residential Open-Air School was built next to St Michael's Home at Westgate. The former building has been leased to the Canterbury diocese since 1951 for use as the Diocesan Retreat and Conference House. Adult Religious Education has always been a main interest, the Sisters undergoing a theological training during the Novitiate. The care of St Etheldreda's Home (St Albans Diocesan Orphanage) was entrusted to the Community in 1934. There is a branch house at Graden St Andrew, 29 Hendon Avenue, Finchley, London, N.3, and there are mission houses at Westminster and Southwark.[1]

3. COMMUNITY OF THE MISSION SISTERS OF THE HOLY NAME OF JESUS

Convent of the Holy Name, Malvern Link, Worcestershire (1865)

The Church of St Peter, Vauxhall, was consecrated on 28 June 1864. Its architect, John L. Pearson, had sought inspiration in the Early Pointed Gothic of Central France and Northern Italy. The first vicar of this new parish in South London, the Reverend George Herbert, was determined that St Peter's should be run on catholic lines. Women workers to visit the poor and perform other parochial duties were an obvious necessity from the start. Within a few months Mr Herbert had secured the aid of a few devoted ladies. Before long he had formed them into a Sisterhood. On 30 June 1865 Bishop Terrot of Edinburgh, one of whose daughters had been among the original members of the Park Village Community in 1845, professed the first member of this new Community in St Peter's Church.

A small house was rented in Tyers Street. In this humble convent the first Sisters lived in real poverty, but they grew in numbers. By 1866 they had been obliged to move to larger quarters at 141 Kennington Lane. A permanent mission house was erected for them here in 1874. They were known as St Peter's Mission Sisterhood, for there was no idea that their work would extend beyond the parish. As was the case in many other Sisterhoods founded in the second phase of the Tractarian movement, it was the work to be done which was the reason for establishing a community, not a community looking for works of mercy to be undertaken. As a busy parish priest, Mr Herbert had few opportunities to study the principles on which the Religious Life must be based. The realization of the need of more spiritual training began to be felt by the Sisters. In 1875 they decided to send two of their number to St Margaret's Convent, East Grinstead, for this purpose. One of them was Sister Frances Mary, to whom was due all subsequent development of the Community. She may be called the real foundress of the Community of the Holy Name as it exists today. It was about 1875, or shortly after, that the Sisterhood adopted its present title, chosen by Sister Frances Mary, who was then elected Mother Superior.

Kennington Lane was not an ideal spot as the headquarters of the Community, even less for the training of novices, and in 1879 the Mother House was moved to Malvern Link. Here Mother Frances Mary died in 1888. Five years later the foundation stone of the convent chapel built in her memory was laid by the Duke of Newcastle.

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There is nothing particularly striking about the red-brick buildings which make up the Convent of the Holy Name. Hidden away at the end of a turning off the main road from Malvern to Worcester, their appearance would rather suggest that this is a school or other secular institution. There is no sign of a chapel. Hence the shock to discover that out of sight behind the main block of buildings is one of the most beautiful convent chapels in Britain. As is the case in most of Sir Ninian Comper's work, the plain red-brick exterior gives no warning of the glory that lies within. Here is a characteristic example of his "First Period" before he began to strive after "Beauty by Inclusion" of styles. It was designed almost at the same time as the decorations and furnishing of the Lady Chapel at Downside Abbey and those in the crypt-chapel at St Mary Magdalene's, Paddington. The all-white interior makes a perfect background for the rich colours in the stained-glass windows, the dark wood of the choir stalls, and the brilliantly decorated "English" altar, above which is a suspended pyx beneath an umbrella-shaped canopy. The Holy Name, from which the Community draws its inspiration, is strikingly symbolized in all the decorations of the chapel.

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[1] See *Deaconess Community of St Andrew, 1861–1961* (1961), and "The Deaconess Community of St Andrew" by Sister Joanna, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, October 1961.

This chapel of the mother house is the spiritual heart of the Community, The foundation of the Sisters' life has always been prayer and worship. from which alone follows any active work undertaken. This is clearly shown by the ideals of the Community, which have been summed up as: (1) to honour the Holy Name of Jesus by a dedicated life in obedience to His call, following Him in the narrow way of the evangelical counsels of poverty, chastity, and obedience; (2) to bear witness in their lives, their work, their prayer, and with their lips to the power of that most Holy Name; (3) to win souls to Jesus by intercessory prayer and by the active ministry of love, earnestly striving to bring them into personal union with Him. The postulancy lasts from three to six months; the novitiate from two to three years. Life vows are taken after three years in simple vows.

The Sisters' approach to Mission work has had to be adapted to meet the changing conditions of the world, and is no longer necessarily confined to the parish in which a Mission House may be situated. The Community now has Houses in Coventry, Brighton, Torquay, and Newcastle-upon-Tyne. These Houses are centres for the Sisters' life of prayer and worship, and from which contact may be made with individual souls over a wide area. The Community also has charge of the Retreat House, Chester, and Diocesan House, St Albans.

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In 1931, the Community, at the request of the American Order of the Holy Cross, sent Sisters to work in the hinterland of Liberia. (See p. 541.) The Fathers had already worked there for some years, but had been unable to make any headway with the women and girls. In 1962, the Community was obliged to withdraw from this work. This did not mean that the connection with Africa was severed. In 1959, the Bishop of Basutoland

had asked the Sisters to open a multi-racial House of the Community in his diocese, integrating with the small African Community of St Mary at the Cross, Leribe, which had been started by the South African Community of St Michael and All Angels in 1924. (See p. 579.) Three African Sisters were trained in the English Novitiate and returned to Leribe in 1962 with five English Sisters, the remaining ten African Sisters being then received as Novices. There is now a Novitiate in Leribe where aspirants can be trained and already some of them are coming forward.[1]

At the mother house private retreatants and guests are welcomed. An increasing proportion of these are of the student age group and from overseas. At the convent the Sisters are also engaged in such handicrafts as church needlework, book-binding, lettering, and printing. For over seventy years the Community has undertaken moral welfare work, and adjacent to the Convent is the Home of the Good Shepherd, a training home for girls aged 15–17 years. At West Malvern is a hostel for young unmarried mothers with their babies. Another work which has developed in latter years is that of helping in special missions in different parts of the country. At the present time the Chaplain General is the Reverend Alban E. Russell; the Visitor, the Bishop of St Albans.

4. BENEDICTINE COMMUNITY OF ST MARY AT THE CROSS (SISTERS OF THE POOR)

Convent of St Mary at the Cross, Edgware, Middlesex (1865)

Secluded among trees, at the end of a long drive leading off Hale Lane, Edgware, and within a short distance of Watford Way, will be found the red-brick buildings of the Convent of St Mary at the Cross. Passing a very modern block, obviously hospital wards, one comes to another block—Gothic Revival in style—which, to the student of nineteenth-century architecture, is easily identifiable as the work of the architect James Brooks (1825–1901), for it displays all his favourite mannerisms—such as are to be found in the various brick churches he erected in the 'seventies in East London. A long open cloister, intended to form one side of a quadrangle, but never completed, connects this block with the church; more correctly the Lady Chapel of a great church which got no further. It serves as a choir for the Community, and a temporary nave has been added. The elaborate carving of the pillars and capitals is reminiscent of similar work in Brooks's church of St John the Baptist, Holland Road. A stone altar, with a tabernacle set into the reredos, stands in the apsidal east end. This chapel is hardly large enough for the stalls. The presence of a crozier beside the first returned stall on the Epistle side indicates that the Community is ruled over by a lady abbess. A closely wrought-iron screen separates the choir from the nave. The number of graves in the cemetery proves that this must be a fairly ancient foundation. Although the Sisters did not wear the normal black Benedictine habit from the beginning—they do so now—yet there is something about the atmosphere of this convent quite enough to reveal that it keeps the Rule of St Benedict; what is more important, that it has absorbed its traditional spirit. Here are the main facts of their history which began nearly a hundred years ago.

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[1] A glimpse of the life of the Sisters in Liberia about the year 1935 is given in Graham Greene's book *Journey Without Maps*, which will also be quoted in connection with the Order of the Holy Cross: "It was Sunday in Bolahun, unmistakably Sunday. A herd drove out his goats among absurdly Biblical rocks, a bell went for early service, and I saw the five nuns going down in single file to the village through the banana plantations in veils and white sun-helmets carrying prayer-books. They were English; tea with them (a large fruit cake and home-made marmalade and chocolate biscuits wilting in the heat and delicious indigestible bread made with palm wine instead of yeast) was very like tea in an English cathedral town; it was an English corner one could feel pride in: it was gentle, devout, childlike and unselfish, it didn't even know that it was courageous. One couldn't help comparing the manner of these nuns living quite outside the limits of European protection with that of the English in Freetown who had electric light and refrigerators and frequent leave, who despised the natives and pitied themselves" (1948 ed., p. 76). Also Werner Junge's *Bolahun* 1952.

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The Reverend Henry Daniel Nihill, who was assistant curate at St Alban's, Cheetwood, Manchester, from 1861 to 1865, had hoped to found a Sisterhood there. He had already given a Rule to Miss Hannah Skinner and other ladies which they were observing privately as a preparation for community life. Having been inhibited by the bishop for taking part in a Sung Eucharist in St Alban's at which vestments were worn, he went to London and accepted a curacy at St Michael's, Shoreditch, under its first vicar, Fr Lyford. St Michael's—which, like St Saviour's, Hoxton; St Mary's, St Chad's, and St Columba's, Haggerston, had been designed by James Brooks—is a characteristic work of this architect: a simple, dignified structure of brown brick, evocative of early French Gothic churches. Like all Brooks's churches in East London, it was planned for ceremonial worship, and at its consecration in August 1865 Bishop Tait took exception to certain ornaments of the church and the vestments worn.[1]

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[1] St Michael's, Shoreditch, found its way into the pages of *Punch*. In its issue of 16 September 1865 there are sarcastic comments about the Bishop of London ordering the removal of "four handsome bouquets" on the altar, likewise a charcoal cartoon

[A. H. B. Anson

CONVENT OF THE HOLY NAME, MALVERN LINK (1898)
By Sir Ninian Comper

See p. 396

THE CHAPEL, SISTERS OF THE CHURCH, KILBURN (1888)
By Frederick New

See p. 440

No sooner had Fr Nihill arrived in London than he sent for some of those ladies who wished to form a Sisterhood, and with the help of Miss Skinner started the Community of St Mary at the Cross, otherwise known as the Sisters of the Poor. The following year, 1866, Miss Skinner was professed in St Michael's Church, as Sister Monica, and appointed Superior. Fr Lyford died in 1867, and Fr Nihill succeeded him as vicar of this parish.

The Church Association was founded three months after the consecration of St Michael's to counteract the efforts being made to "assimilate the services of the Church of England to those of the Church of Rome".[1] Mr Peabody, the American millionaire, had added another £100,000 to his previous gift for the relief of the poor of London.

And London needed help, especially the slums of the East End! The parish of St Michael's, Shoreditch, contained over ten thousand people, all herded together in an area covering a square mile. The vivid word-picture of East London painted by the French historian, Hippolyte Taine (1828–93), about this date could be applied to the particular district in which the Sisterhood began their work: "Here lived the poor—not merely the respectable artisans, but the countless broken outcasts of the industrial system. These were pallid and gin-sodden; their ragged reeking clothes, which had passed through many phases of society in their long declining history, were so vile that they left a stain wherever they rested: they stank. They herded together in bug-ridden lodging-houses and rotting tenements; they slept under railway arches. They were the 'submerged tenth', the skeleton at the rich Victorian feast, the squalid writings on the whitened wall."[2]

The first convent of the Sisters of the Poor was in one of those "bug-ridden lodging-houses" mentioned by Taine. We are told by Fr Nihill

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of the reredos depicting the Crucifixion and figures of our Lady and St John. "Ritualistic Theatricals in Shoreditch" is the title of another article in the issue of 21 September, describing solemn Evensong presided over by Bishop Gray of Cape Town, with "the altar handsomely lit up with no less than fifty wax candles, besides two large candelabra, in addition to two rows of tapers on the rood screen". Fr Ignatius was the "star turn". *Punch* helps one to understand the storm-tossed, nerve-racked ecclesiastical atmosphere in which the Sisterhood was founded.

[1] This Community grew up in those years marked by the fight against "Ritualism", which was censured in several episcopal charges in December 1866. Two Reports of the Ritualistic Commission appeared in 1867 and 1868. The Public Worship Regulation Act received royal assent on 7 August 1874. St. Michael's, Shoreditch, continued to be one of the chief strongholds of the ritualistic party. Other "notorious" churches were St Alban's, Holborn; St Saviour's, Hoxton; St Peter's, London Docks; St Alphege's, Southwark, and the four churches in Haggerston, mentioned on p. 348. (See also pp. 362, 429.)

[2] *London in the Sixties and Seventies*, p. 165.

that it was "dirty, the drainage atrocious, and the whole place verminous". By degrees the little community cleaned up their abode—there was no other place where they could live, so they had to make the best of it. Three years later ground was leased from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and Mr James Brooks was engaged as the architect of a convent and hospital. By this time there were nine Sisters—cooking, washing, scrubbing at home and, for the greater part of each day, caring for the sick and distressed, or teaching in the schools, and undertaking any kind of church work. Heart-breaking problems had to be solved, for there was no "dole" in those days, and nothing but the workhouse for those who were utterly destitute.[1]

Smallpox raged in most parts of London in 1870 and 1871 and thousands died. There had been a less-prolonged but equally alarming outbreak of cholera in the dry summer of 1866. The Sisters took their share in nursing the victims of both these epidemics; they were far too busy to think much of the horrors of the Franco-Prussian War. A temporary hospital was opened for smallpox patients, and another house outside London was rented for convalescents. Nearly four hundred men, women, and children were taken there that summer; usually about thirty-eight at a time. The dozen or so Sisters did all the work with their own hands, with not even a charwoman to help them. They became real friends, companions, and Sisters of the Poor. All types of humanity—with all religions or none, young and old—were to be found among the smallpox convalescents.

In Shoreditch there was always relief work of some sort to be done. The Sisters taught in the Day- and Sunday-schools, and ran a guild for girls. Meanwhile the first part of the hospital in Mark Street had been opened, with a dignified apsidal-ended chapel, large wards, and an open cloister. In spite of being in the heart of Shoreditch it was a centre of peace and quiet.[2] In 1880–81 four extra wards were added; designed by John Dando Sedding. They completed the triangular quadrangle facing St Leonard's Square.

In 1873 land was bought at Edgware, which at that date might have been hundreds of miles from London instead of eleven. The walls of the red-brick Gothic convent, designed by James Brooks, began to arise in the midst of a green field, with hardly a house in sight—nothing but trees, flowers, sheep, and cows—unspoilt nature. It was a complete contrast to Shoreditch. By 1877 the place was ready for occupation. The chapel, as stated already, was only the Lady Chapel of an abbey church which remained a dream and even it was not finished until 1890. The convent was dedicated to St Mary of Nazareth.

The subsequent history of this community is summed up in its motto: "*cum silentio operantes*". In silence and with little or no publicity or advertisement the Sisters have devoted their lives to caring for the poor. They have nursed sick children of the very poor for love; doing all the work themselves, and being dependent on voluntary contributions. By degrees the Community concentrated their work on incurable cases. They were ready to look after those who were sent to them for the rest of their lives if necessary. The outside world knew very little of the works of mercy and charity that were being done in the hospitals at Shoreditch and Edgware.

In 1926 Mother Raphael was elected Abbess. Within three years the Community was affiliated with the Benedictines of Nashdom Abbey. In 1931 it was decided to give up the convent and hospital in Shoreditch. Edgware had always been the mother house, and it was felt that both for financial reasons and in the interests of the Sisters and their patients it would be wiser to concentrate the work outside London. The name of the house was then changed from "St Mary of Nazareth" to "St Mary at the Cross", which had been that of the Shoreditch convent.

Then, to accommodate some of the patients from the London house, the Community began to improve on and enlarge the buildings at Edgware. St Raphael's—a new hospital block designed on modern lines—was opened in 1937, together with "The Little Flower Ward" downstairs (fifty beds in all), and the Isolation Unit and St Michael's Chapel above it. On the outbreak of war two years later, the Sisters and their patients were evacuated to Nashdom Abbey, placed at their disposal by the monks. Here they remained until 1945, when it was considered safe for them to return to Edgware. In 1947 a bungalow was bought at Lancing, near Worthing, Sussex, to enable the sick children to be taken to the seaside during the summer. This bungalow replaced a smaller house at Lancing, opened in 1926 as a memorial to Mother Eanfleda, who had been Superior of the Sisters of the Poor for more than twenty years. (This was closed in 1961, having fulfilled its purpose.) In 1952, the Community took over the Home for Mentally Defective Children at

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[1] Cf. H. D. Nihill, *The Sisters of the Poor and their Work* (1887).

[2] The chapel was the work of James Brooks—like the church—and is in a Franco-Italian version of First Pointed Gothic. (See T. F. Bumpus, *London Churches Ancient and Modern*, 2nd series, n.d., p. 283.) Sedding "adopted the Franco-Flemish of c. 1500 with straight gables, a saddle-back tower, flamboyant windows, and deeply recessed door. The whole is an eminently picturesque fantasy, and it is a great shame that it has fallen into such shocking neglect." (Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England—London, except the Cities of London and Westminster*. Penguin Books, 1952, p. 384.) The buildings have now been demolished.

Wingrave, near Aylesbury, which had been under the care of the Sisters of the Transfiguration.[1] The few remaining members of this small Community have now been affiliated to the Sisters of St Mary at the Cross.

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From the time of its foundation ninety-seven years ago the objects of the Community have been defined as: (1) prayer and the service of God, i.e. the recitation of the Divine Office in choir, which shall ever be the chief occupation and never be put aside for anything, for it is pre-eminently the Work of God for Religious; (2) manual labour—not to get the work done, but for the spiritual benefit of the worker; (3) and especially the care of the sick. The Sisters are bidden to care for the sick as if they are their own brothers and sisters, having constantly in their minds our Lord's words: "I was sick and ye visited Me". Almost every detail of the care of the sick is mentioned in the Rule.

The Sisters claim to be the first Anglican community which recited the Day Hours in Latin; the *Breviarium Monasticum* being used by them almost from the time of their foundation. Matins and Lauds were said in English; the Lessons at Matins having been specially translated and written out in a book which rested on the lectern in choir. However, in 1905, when the Reverend T. P. Massiah was appointed chaplain, he promised the Bishop of London that he would celebrate Mass in English, and abandon the *Missale Romanum* which had always been the altar book used in the convent chapels at Shoreditch and Edgware. The Sisters thought it would be better if they reverted to the vernacular for the office so as to conform to the Missal. But later on they decided to resume their Latin Day Hours. In 1926 they adopted the *Breviarium Monasticum* for the whole of the Divine Office, and it has been in use ever since. The *Missale Romanum* was reintroduced in 1929. Since then the whole of the corporate worship of this community has been in the Latin tongue.

Just as was the case at St Margaret's Convent, East Grinstead (see p. 345), the Sisters of the Poor have been familiar with the Roman rites of Exposition and Benediction from the time of their foundation. Until 1939 it was their custom to have Exposition in their chapel from Mass until after Vespers on Sundays, but now it is confined to the Holy Hour once a week, and on special days of prayer. The whole of the Liturgy is carried out in Holy Week. For more than twenty-five years, the Sisters watched, in turn, from 12 to 3 daily, with the intention for the Reunion of Christendom. Although they are still praying for this, more earnestly than ever, it has been found necessary to give up the actual "Long Watch", in order to devote more time to the Divine Office and the Liturgy, and because there are not enough Sisters to keep up the Watch. The Conventual Mass is sung on Sundays and greater festivals.

The Rule, right from the beginning, was founded on that of St Benedict, and again and again quotations or paraphrases of this Rule will be noticed in the one compiled by Fr Nihill—including "The Seventy-two Instruments of Good Works". He always hoped that one day it would be possible for his Sisters to adopt the whole Rule. This they were able to do on the feast of St Scholastica, 1935. The present Constitutions are strictly in accordance with the *Codex Juris Canonici*. The Visitor is Bishop N. W. Newnham Davis. The Chaplain-Director is Dom Godfrey Stokes of Nashdom Abbey. The Reverend J. G. Whitehead, who is an oblate of Nashdom, acts as resident chaplain. The final evolution of the Sisters of St Mary at the Cross into a Benedictine community has much in common with the story of the Sisters of the Holy Cross, Haywards Heath (see p. 363).

Today they keep "this least of Rules written for beginners" (as St Benedict described it), and no more perfect foundation and inspiration could be found for the works of charity which are carried on at the Convent of St Mary at the Cross. Here will be found a home for sick and incurable children, who are taken up to the age of eighteen, and then kept for life if they have no other home. At present the youngest is two years old, and the oldest is ninety-three! The Sisters, numbering about forty, do everything themselves—nursing, cooking, washing, cleaning, the administrative work, and the begging for funds. The postulancy lasts for six months; the novitiate at least one canonical year. Temporary vows are then taken for three years, followed by solemn profession. While, as must be the rule in any Benedictine community, the "Work of God", i.e. the choir office, comes first, it is at times necessary for individual Sisters to be absent from choir in order that the patients may have the necessary attention. The first Sisters in Shoreditch were never afraid of hard work, and it *does* mean plenty of work to carry out the full liturgical obligations, *and* to do all the other work as well. No outside helpers are employed. Just as St Benedict lays down in his Rule, the convent is so constituted that all things necessary are contained within its spacious grounds, so there is seldom an occasion when it is necessary for the Sisters to leave their enclosure. Here by patience they share in the sufferings of Christ, that they may deserve to be partakers of His kingdom.

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[1] See p. 514.

5. COMMUNITY OF ST WILFRID

St Wilfrid's Convent, 34 Bartholomew Street, Exeter (1866)

The founder of the Community of St Wilfrid was the Reverend John Gilberd Pearse, Vicar of All Hallows-on-the-walls, Exeter. The objects set before the Sisters were: (1) a life of prayer and worship; (2) the performance of bodily and spiritual works of mercy—visiting the sick and the poor, the education of children, and the care of orphans and the aged. A house was rented in Exeter, and the new Sisterhood came into being. At that date there was no other religious community in Exeter, either Anglican or Roman Catholic, so it was only to be expected that the Sisters had to endure much prejudice and opposition. But the devoted services they rendered as nurses during a cholera epidemic at Bovey Tracey won for them the love and affection of many people of Devonshire.

The works of mercy and charity of the Community multiplied as years went on. The Sisters worked in several Exeter parishes and in Bideford. An orphanage for girls was opened at Torquay, but moved to St David's Hill, Exeter, in 1904. At one time the Sisters ran a crèche at St Nicholas' Priory, Exeter. In 1910, after the death of their founder, the Community had reached a very low ebb as to numbers. The Mother Superior consulted Fr Maxwell, Superior-General of the Cowley Fathers, as to the future of the Sisterhood. He advised them to carry on under their own Rule and Constitution, and recommended them a chaplain, in the person of the Reverend W. F. Penruddocke, who devoted himself to the Community for seventeen years. It may be said that he re-founded it. Fr Andrew of the Society of the Divine Compassion became the Chaplain-General. More and more Sisters were clothed and professed, and when Fr Penruddocke died in 1927, the Community was able to feel secure as to the future. Nevertheless in all the eighty-five years of its existence the Community of St Wilfrid has never exceeded more than two dozen Sisters. The postulancy is for six months. After a two years' novitiate annual vows are taken for two or three years before solemn profession.

The Community can boast of no large or spacious buildings, of no beautiful grounds. Its spirit is one of humility and obscurity. The convent is situated in the heart of Exeter, with all its noise of traffic outside. However, at the back of the convent is the beautiful chapel, where outside noises do not disturb the regular recitation of *The Day Office of the Church*. Here is something of that atmosphere of peace which takes one back to Tractarian times. In 1928 the chapel was enlarged in memory of the late Mother and the chaplain, and two stained-glass windows were placed in it.

At the present time one or two Sisters work in Exeter parishes as visitors and Sunday-school teachers, etc. The orphanage buildings are now used for a senior girls' school. The large day-school has outgrown its existing buildings. Several of the Sisters teach in the school. Although this little community has never been able to undertake Foreign Mission work, it devotes a great deal of its time helping the Universities' Mission to Central Africa. Except for an annual conducted retreat of one day for the friends of the U.M.C.A., the Community has not been able to hold regular retreats for some years, but ladies are still welcomed to stay in the guest house for private retreats. Some make their permanent home here. The Chaplain-General is the Reverend D. Campbell, S.S.J.E.; the Visitor is the Bishop of Exeter.

6. SOCIETY OF THE SISTERS OF BETHANY

House of Bethany, Boscombe, Bournemouth (1866)

"Be hidden", "Efface yourself"—these were the two aims set before herself by the foundress of this society. They were the ideals she gave to her Sisters in religion. And her instructions have been well kept. Those who have wished to know anything about her work have had to gather a scrap here, or a scrap there, or talk to the few now left who once knew and loved her. There has never been a biography published of this great Victorian lady. When she died at the great age of eighty-eight, having ruled for over forty-five years over the Community she founded, no memorial sermon was preached except in the community chapel. The only notice of her death was a formal notification in *The Times*. She had no priest-founder, such as a Butler, a Carter, or a Neale, to stand by her side and relieve her of the responsibilities of forming and developing a new religious community.

Etheldreda Anna Benett, foundress of the Sisters of Bethany, was born in 1824, and was the youngest surviving daughter of William Benett of Pyt House, Tisbury. Her family could trace its origins back to the eleventh century, and few names in Wiltshire were older than theirs. From her childhood she showed an unusual force of character. When she grew up and began to go about in London Society her beauty and personal charm attracted attention in many a ballroom. At about the age of twenty-five she became acquainted with Dr Pusey and other Tractarian leaders. She started to attend the High Church services at Margaret

Chapel and among her fellow worshippers were Miss Harriet Brownlow Byron, the Hon. Georgiana Napier, and the Hon. Georgina Sophia Hoare. These young ladies used to visit the newly-founded Sisterhood at 17 Park Village West, and all of them, sooner or later, found their religious vocations. In Miss Benett's case the necessity of looking after her father postponed making a final decision for nearly twenty years. Mr Benett died in 1864 and at last his daughter was free to answer what she had long believed was a clear call from God.

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It is hard for us today to realize what was involved in the case of a mid-Victorian lady who, under the influence of Tractarian teaching, abandoned a sheltered home-life to devote herself to ministering to the poorest of the poor. For "the lives of girls in well-to-do families were often sheltered to an extent that cut them off from the roots of life. . . . They were taught to play the piano, draw, dance, make wax flowers and beadstands and to do decorative gilding and crochet work. That a man's womenfolk should be able to devote themselves to occupations so materially useless was a tacit tribute to the labour and self-sacrifice that had gone to the making of the wealth that sustained it. . . . Young ladies, artificially kept away from all knowledge of the seamy side or even the normal side of life, grew up in tight waists and voluminous skirts, like flies in amber. . . . In the end it deprived many women of the upper and middle class of the natural sources of vitality and strength, the instinctive feeling for wise and balanced living, which, as mothers, it should have been their lot to transmit to future generations".[1]

Etheldreda Benett, Harriet Brownlow Byron, Priscilla Lydia Sellon, and others of their contemporaries who became Anglican religious, had been brought up in homes where there were every comfort and luxury, with large staffs of servants to wait on them. These ladies had little or no conception of the meaning of the word poverty, and only a vague knowledge of how the poor lived, still less of sin and vice. One must always remember this; otherwise it is impossible to appreciate what was involved when they dispensed with the services of coachmen, butlers, footmen, parlour-maids, housemaids, and ladies' maids and, of their own free will, went to live in the slums, when slums were slums. It is often forgotten that the respectable young lady of the middle of the last century was seldom allowed out alone, at least except

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[1] Arthur Bryant, *English Saga*, pp. 132–3.

within the streets immediately surrounding her own home, and definitely not after dark.

Miss Benett seems to have formed a clear conception of the type of community she wished to establish. She had already visited the Continent to study the Rules and observances of religious communities, particularly in Belgium. In July, 1860, she went to one of the Visitation Convents in Ghent. There can be little doubt that the Rule of the Sisters of Bethany is modelled on that drawn up by St Francis de Sales. In the late summer of 1865 she entered the novitiate of the All Saints Community, founded by her friend Mother Harriet Brownlow Byron fifteen years before. At the age of forty it cannot have been easy for her to endure the rigours of those twelve months in Margaret Street. She was professed on 4 October 1866 and almost immediately took up her abode in a small house at 7 Lloyd Street, Clerkenwell, having heard that the Reverend Warwick R. Wroth, vicar of St Philip's Church, was in urgent need of dedicated women to work in his poor parish, situated in the heart of central London. A few months before this Fr Nihill had established his Sisters of St Mary of Nazareth (Sisters of the Poor) in Shoreditch for a like purpose. Fr Hollings, S.S.J.E., who knew Mother Etheldreda intimately, once said of her that "she might have had all Mayfair at her feet, instead of choosing as she did to hide herself away in Clerkenwell".

It was a very different London eighty years ago from what we know today. Hippolyte Taine compared the city to "a shaggy blackened Cyclops" for all the houses were half-hidden under soot. This French visitor noticed how many working-class faces were starved, with a thwarted look—hollow, blanched, and spent with fatigue. They reminded him of old cab-horses. Business was business: it was a hard world for the poor in the 'sixties. Taine writes: "Paris is mediocre compared to these squares, these crescents, these circles and rows of monumental buildings of massive stone, with sculptured fronts, these spacious streets."[1] He describes the new millionaire aristocracy of effort—living in great mansions of the West End. There was vast wealth, extravagance, and bad taste. By way of violent contrast there were miles and miles of mean, squalid streets: "the alleys which run into Oxford Street . . . the troops of pale children nestling on the muddy stairs; the seats on London Bridge where families, huddled together with drooping heads, shiver through the night", and the sordid garishness and vice in and around the Haymarket after dark. "This is not debauchery which flaunts itself but destitution—and such destitution."[2] In London, Taine found "the lowest human stratum" he had ever encountered: there was nothing to be compared to it in Paris. The "great social mill crashes and grinds" in London are his words.

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[1] *Notes on England*, 3rd edition (1872), p. 16.

[2] Op. cit., p. 36.

The Sisters of Bethany could not have chosen a better district than Clerkenwell in which to efface themselves and be hidden. In 1866 its slums were as bad as any in London. Squalor, disease, unemployment, and destitution abounded. It was not until 1878 that the first big slum-clearance was effected by the making of Clerkenwell Road. Another large area was opened up in 1892 by Rosebery Avenue. Until 1887 the gloomy-looking buildings of the Cold Baths House of Correction occupied the site of the General Post Office in Mount Pleasant. The services at St Philip's, Granville Square, where the Sisters worshipped, were conducted with a minimum of catholic ceremonial in the 'sixties. It was not until after the opening of the Church of the Holy Redeemer in 1888 that Anglo-Catholics began to find their way to Clerkenwell from other parts of London, once the Italian architecture of this church and the ultramontane atmosphere became attractions.

Such was the London in which the Sisters of Bethany were established, and which, in their own small way, they hoped to succour and relieve by their prayers and works of mercy. Right from the start, Mother Etheldreda insisted on her Sisters—who soon began to increase—regarding prayer as their most important occupation. Rules were drawn up for the recitation of the Divine Office, for meditation and intercessions. Then she began to prepare for holding retreats in that little house in Lloyd Street.

At that time there were no Anglican convents which made special provision for retreatants. Retreats were still something of a novelty, even for the clergy, although the first strict retreat for priests had been held at Chislehurst ten years before the Sisters of Bethany were founded.[1] It was not until the opening of the mission house at Cowley in 1868 that there was any special place where the priests or laymen could make retreats. The first retreat for women took place in the chapel at Lloyd Street during Lent that same year, and was conducted by the Reverend J. E. Vaux, then a curate at St Mary Magdalene, Munster Square, and an assistant-editor of the *Church Times*, which had been launched in 1862. Among those who conducted retreats in the earlier years were the Reverend A. H. Mackonochie, of St Alban's, Holborn, the Reverend T. T. Carter, of Clewer, and Fr Benson, of Cowley. The Cowley Fathers were in close touch with the Sisters of Bethany from the time of their foundation.

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[1] Cf. "Retreats"—essay by the Reverend T. T. Carter—in *The Church and the World*, edited by the Reverend Orby Shipley (London 1868), pp. 432–4.

"With these men grounded in the Tractarian tradition, scholars, directors and devoted parish priests, were discussed the difficulties . . . of those 'anti-Popery' times of the last century. The methods of retreat, the modern adaptation of the Religious Life, vexed questions for seculars —especially for women who lived without freedom of action in Protestant homes—about Fasting Communion or Sacramental Confession, were put under examination. Many outside people went to the Convent with their queries and their difficulties."[1]

The man who was behind all this work, directing and advising, was Dr Pusey, who had been Miss Benett's spiritual father and director long before she undertook the foundation of her community. "The plan to introduce into England the retreat method, with its call for at least some temporary retirement from the confusion of worldly business for the contemplation of God, and of God's purpose for the world and for the individual soul, was very near Dr Pusey's heart."[2]

Before very long it became necessary to add more accommodation for retreatants, and other houses were bought, so that eventually the Sisters acquired the whole site on which the original House of Retreat was built more than eighty years ago. This plain, severe building has nothing of the medieval glamour of most of the convents built for the earlier Anglican Sisterhoods. Its exterior of now smoke-mellowed brick expresses the aims of the foundress of the Society of the Sisters of Bethany —"Be hidden", "Efface yourself". There is nothing ecclesiastical about the architecture. The passer-by might take the building for a school or any secular institution.

Lloyd Square, too, is a quiet backwater which hides and effaces itself in the heart of central London. Not that it is actually remote, for King's Cross Station is only a few minutes' walk, yet it is definitely off the beaten track. The convent was designed by Ernest Newton, a pupil of Norman Shaw, and erected in 1881. A stately chapel, dating from about 1868, had been designed already by George E. Street. It was rebuilt by Ernest Newton in 1896, and a side chapel added later on. Permission for Reservation was then granted by the Bishop of London. The Sisters now feel that they could do more useful work if their efforts were more concentrated. They have therefore decided to build further accommodation in their grounds at Bournemouth, and at the beginning of 1963 they re-established the Mother House at the House of Bethany, Bournemouth. The School of Embroidery and Wafer Departments still remain at No. 4 Lloyd Street, where a number of Sisters will be working.

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[1] "Hidden in Religion"—article in the *Church Times*, 12 May 1933.

[2] Ibid.

Although the chief work of the Sisters of Bethany has always been the promotion of retreats, the Community began to extend their activities as their numbers increased. By 1873 the Society took over an orphanage at Boscombe, then an undeveloped suburb of Bournemouth. Two years later the children were housed in larger quarters, designed for them by Norman Shaw, close to St Clement's Church, where the Sisters were sure of finding every spiritual ministration they needed. A beautiful chapel, the work of William Newton, was added to the House of Bethany in 1929. The house received a direct hit from a bomb in October, 1940, and a large part of the orphanage was wrecked. The damaged portion was later put in order and again used for retreats.

At the mother house in London, a school of embroidery was started, and the making of altar breads was undertaken. Orders for vestments, frontals, and banners were carried out here, many from the designs of [Sir] Ninian Comper, whose fame as an ecclesiastical architect and artist was already increasing. Largely due to the orders he placed with the Sisters their work became famous and was in great demand, not only in England, but in other parts of the world. At Lloyd Square in later years was made a magnificent set of vestments for the Cathedral of Notre-Dame, Paris; others found a home at Downside Abbey, and in the Cathedral Church of St Mary Overie, Southwark. The aim of the Lloyd Square School of Embroidery has always been to follow as closely as possible the best traditions of medieval needle-craft.

For nine years—from 1889 to 1898—some of the Sisters worked among the Nestorians in Persia, with the Archbishop's Mission to the Assyrian Christians.[1] In 1892 St Barnabas' Home, Lloyd Square, was opened, where the Sisters, aided by paid nurses, cared for patients of limited means. Thirty years later it became a small hospital, worked by the Sisters themselves, for people unable to afford the fees of good

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[1] The Sisters of Bethany found themselves the only religious community in the country, for the monastic life had disappeared from the ancient Nestorian Church, mainly because of the long and bitter persecution it had endured by the Kurds earlier in the nineteenth century. In 1551 a large number of Christians of the Chaldean Rite were brought into union with the Holy See. Three centuries later Protestant missionaries started to try to convert the adherents of the smaller remnant of the Church, but without much success. In 1886 "The Archbishop of Canterbury's Mission to the Assyrian Christians" was established. The object was to educate, advise and help these descendants of the first Christian community in Chaldea and Mesopotamia, not to turn them into Anglicans. Schools were opened, and new editions of the liturgical books were printed in Syriac. Cf. Maclean and Browne, *The Katholicos of the East and His People* (1892); Adrian Fortescue, *The Lesser Eastern Churches* (1913); Hazell and Margoulioth, *Kurds and Christians* (1913); G. J. McGillivray, *Through the East to Rome* (1931).

nursing homes. During the Second World War the buildings served as a refuge for families whose homes had been laid low by enemy action. Today they are used by the London County Council for a day-nursery. In 1900 St Martin's Hospital, Ramsgate, was established for paying patients and chronic invalids. Mission work in several London parishes was started in the 'eighties of the last century; later on in Brighton, Reading, Bournemouth, Ramsgate, and Burton-on-Trent.

In 1918-19 the Sisters had a school for coloured children in Cape Town.

When the Mother Foundress died on 27 February 1913, after a long illness and much suffering, she had more than enough proof that the little seed she had planted in Clerkenwell nearly half a century before had sprung up and borne much fruit.

As has been stated already, the Sisters of Bethany have never sought publicity, and have always tried to keep themselves hidden from the world. For this reason, even those who stay in their convents to make retreats do not see very much of the life of the Community. Suffice it to say that it is based on the recitation of the Day Hours of Divine Office in choir; the book used being the Cowley Office Book *The Hours of Prayer*. In Advent and Lent, Matins is also recited in addition to the Day Hours. The special Office for the Unity of the Church is said after Mass every Thursday before the altar lights are extinguished. Prayer "for the visible unity of the Catholic Church" was from the very first incumbent on the Sisters and of daily practice. They always join in the Week of Prayer for Christian Unity, with daily intercessions, and keep a watch before the altar on one night during the octave. The postulancy is for at least three months. The novitiate lasts from two to three years, after which life vows are made.

Today the Society still regards the promotion of retreats for women, privately or with others, as its chief work, and this is maintained at the House of Bethany, Bournemouth. The School of Embroidery still functions at 4 Lloyd Street, W.C.1. St Gabriel's, Bournemouth, is a house for elderly ladies. The clergy of the Holy Redeemer, Clerkenwell; St Clement's, St Francis', and St Mary's, Bournemouth; and St Silas's, Pentonville, all look to the Sisters of Bethany for work in their parishes. Women at Holloway Prison are visited. The Bishop of Winchester has asked the Sisters to staff the new Diocesan Retreat and Conference House at Old Alresford, near Winchester, and this work will begin in 1964. The Sisters started work in South Africa in 1916 and ran a children's home at Plumstead, near Cape Town. This work came to an end in 1950, owing to changes in the educational system of the Province.

The Visitor is the Bishop of London, and the Chaplain-General is the Reverend T. L. Manson, S.S.J.E.

7. COMMUNITY OF ST ANDREW OF SCOTLAND

Edinburgh (1867)

By the 'fifties of last century the Oxford movement had made some impression on the Episcopal Church in Scotland. St Ninian's Cathedral, Perth, and the Collegiate Church of the Holy Spirit at Millport on the Island of Cumbrae had been established on thorough-going Tractarian lines, a few other churches were in the hands of High Churchmen, under English influence; attempts were being made to conduct schools of various kinds according to church principles, and in Alexander Penrose Forbes the Diocese of Brechin had as its bishop a devout and learned "extremist".[1] Even in Edinburgh the Episcopal Church was recovering from its torpor: the Reverend John Alexander, first at (Old) St Paul's from 1842 to 1846 and then at the new church of St Columba since the latter year, represented Tractarianism, albeit in a somewhat moderate form. In 1858 Mrs John Mackenzie, the wife of an Edinburgh actuary, opened in Gilmore Place a small penitentiary or rescue home for prostitutes, known as the House of Mercy. Mrs Mackenzie was supported by the Reverend Daniel Fox Sandford, then curate of St John's Church at the West End, which had scarcely been influenced by the Catholic Revival, its incumbent, Dean Ramsay, being a celebrated raconteur and public figure but a rather negative churchman.[2] The work of the House of Mercy was carried on at first by seculars, with a matron in charge. At this time the only Roman Catholic communities of women in Edinburgh were the Ursulines of Jesus at St Margaret's Convent, founded in 1834 and having teaching as its main external work, and the Sisters of Mercy, who opened a house in the city in 1858. Mrs Mackenzie's House of Mercy was found to meet a need and after a short time it was moved from Gilmore Place to larger premises—Meadowside House, Lauriston Lane, on a site now occupied by part of the Sick Children's Hospital. Miss Regina Mary Dalton Grant, who had been born in the Isle of Wight, the daughter of an Army captain, James Grant, became Lady Superintendent. She was about forty years of age and had been trained for penitentiary work, presumably in England. Under her rule the institution prospered still further and the chapel became something of a centre for keen church people of a catholic way of thinking. During the trial of Bishop Forbes in February 1860, for holding the catholic doctrine of the Eucharist, there was a celebration of the Holy Communion every morning in the little chapel where the bishop was to be seen with his theological adviser, John Keble, and other sympathizers—at this date a daily Mass had not yet been established in any Episcopal church in the city. Forbes wrote, "There we celebrated the divine mysteries and received that Lord for whose honour we were at that moment in unhappy antagonism with the other Bishops of the Church. Thus strengthened and refreshed we adjourned to the hall of judgment."

In May 1862 Meadowside House was acquired by the Sick Children's Hospital, and the House of Mercy was moved to Greenside House in Hillside Crescent, off London Road. In 1865 Miss Grant started mission work among the poor of the old town.[1] In 1867 she formed the ladies in charge of the institution into a sisterhood called the Community of St Andrew of Scotland with herself as Superior under the style of Sister (later Mother) Regina. They used *The Day Hours of the Church of England* as their office book. They adopted as their motto "*Crux Christi Clavis Coeli*". Mother Regina was the first Episcopalian religious to be professed in Scotland and the Community was the first indigenous one to be founded in the country; though the Society of St Margaret, East Grinstead, had opened a branch house in Aberdeen in 1863. From 1867 onwards the House of Mercy in Edinburgh was known as St Andrew's Home. In the early 'eighties the building of tenements of dwelling-houses in the district made Greenside House unsuitable for its purpose, and in 1884 the home was removed to The Grange, Joppa, then outside the boundaries of the city of Edinburgh. With it was moved the laundry which had been a feature of the home from early if not the earliest days. As in most penitentiaries the laundry was important both as a means of character-training for the "penitents" and as an indispensable source of income. For some years from 1900 onwards one of the Sisters was in charge of a temporary rescue home in Glasgow, St Mary's, Garnethill, from which girls were passed to St Andrew's Home and to similar institutions under Roman Catholic and Protestant auspices. The Community comprised both choir and lay sisters, but it was never a large one—it is doubtful if it ever had as many as six professed—and in 1919, on account of reduced numbers and the age of most of the survivors, they were obliged to give up St Andrew's Home. The Home was taken over by the Sisterhood of St Peter, Horbury (see p. 367), which was in charge of it until its closing in 1953.[1] The character of the work changed during the present century and the inmates of the home at Joppa were latterly girls in their middle and late 'teens, not the Magdalens of the old days. The Community of St Andrew of Scotland went from Joppa to live in the North College at Millport where they did sacristy and parish work. In 1927 they moved again to 6 Inverleith Terrace, Edinburgh, and finally in 1933 to St John's Home, Oxford (see p. 324), where they spent their last years in the loving care of the All Saints' Sisters. The last survivor, a lay sister, died in 1949. The Rule and Constitution of the Community are preserved in the College Library at Millport.

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[1] *Alexander Penrose Forbes*, by the late William Perry (1939), provides an agreeable sketch of the bishop's life, but suffers from the author's misguided attempts to depict his subject as a more moderate churchman than he in fact was.

[2] Mr Sandford became in 1872 incumbent of St John's, and then from 1883 until 1889 was Bishop of Tasmania.

[1] Three years later a disused surgical lecture theatre in the High School Yards was acquired as St Andrew's Home Mission Chapel. It developed rapidly into the most ultramontane place of worship in communion with the Scottish Episcopal Church. In the early years Miss Grant virtually ran the mission herself with a succession of priests under her, but the work was reconstituted on more usual lines in 1881 when the Reverend Thomas Isaac Ball (afterwards Provost of Cumbrae) became mission priest. Under him the mission was in 1882 re-styled St Michael's Church to avoid confusion with St Andrew's Church, in the South Back of the Canongate, and six years later it was transferred to a disused Free Church in Hill Square, not far away. Here it remains a lonely northern outpost of the most Tridentine variety of Anglo-Catholicism.

8. SISTERS OF CHARITY

Convent of the Sisters of Charity, Knowle, Bristol, 4 (1868)

It was in 1859 that the Reverend Arthur Hawkins Ward, the Founder of the Sisters of Charity, was appointed Chaplain to the Seamen's Orphanage and the adjacent church of St Raphael, Bristol. The city at that date had the reputation of being a stronghold of Protestantism. Most of the clergymen supported the Church Missionary Society and encouraged the Evangelical Alliance in their efforts to stamp out Popery and Puseyism. But Mr Ward belonged to another school of thought. He was a friend of Butler of Wantage, Neale of East Grinstead, and Carter of Clewer. He loved to spend his holidays abroad, studying details of ritual and ceremonial in continental churches. On one of these tours he had a private audience with Pope Pius IX. It was not long before Mr Ward started a daily celebration of the Holy Communion and a Choral Eucharist every Sunday.

Among those who became regular worshippers at St Raphael's were Mr Justice Lloyd and his family. He had been appointed a judge at Bristol in 1863. Four years later his second daughter, Elizabeth, who had worked among the poor at All Saints', Margaret Street, London, and afterwards had been trained by the Wantage Sisters, left her home and took up her abode with two other ladies in a couple of small houses close to St Raphael's. Miss Lloyd's quiet dignity of manner, wonderful power of attraction, intense sympathy, sound judgement, business capacity, not to mention her musical and artistic gifts had convinced Mr Ward that she was the woman he was seeking for the foundation of a Sisterhood in his parish. By the time that it was inaugurated she was thirty-three years of age. She was professed in 1869, and took the name of Sister Elizabeth of the Ascension. Two other ladies were admitted to the Community on the same day.[1]

The Sisters were given a simple Rule of Life, and wore black dresses and muslin caps in the house. They recited the Divine Office in common and visited the poor. As has been related already, there had been talk of establishing *Les Filles de la Charité* in the Church of England as early as 1829, but this was the first instance of a community being founded with the same name as that of the congregation which owes its origin to St Vincent de Paul and St Louise de Marillac. The subsequent Rule of the Anglican Sisters of Charity in Bristol was more or less a paraphrase of that drawn up by St Vincent de Paul in 1655. Later on they adopted almost the same habit, except for the large starched linen *cornette*, substituting for it a black veil out of doors, with a black cloak instead of a shawl. A plain iron cross takes the place of the Rosary, but the recitation of the Rosary is a matter of obligation. Every Anglican Sister of Charity always has her beads in her capacious pocket, and is buried with them in her hands.

The work at St Raphael's grew steadily, and the first foundation was an Infant Day Nursery on Redcliffe Hill, where one Sister went daily to look after the babies. Not long after, the nursery was moved to Bedminster, a suburb of Bristol, and when the Wantage Sisters gave up working there, two Sisters of Charity replaced them. By 1876 there were five professed Sisters besides the Mother Superior. The original convent was now far too small, and land was bought adjacent to the church. A new convent was erected and opened in 1879. Here the Sisters received girls and trained them for domestic service. The former convent was turned into a children's home, some of the inmates being orphans. This was the nucleus of St Agnes' and St Elizabeth's Homes. In 1880 the Community had increased to twelve professed Sisters. Two or three of them were sent to work in the parish of St Saviour's, Leeds. A Home of Rest was opened at Plympton, South Devon, followed in 1883 by a convalescent home at Walton, near Clevedon, for men and women. Mission work was undertaken at All Saints', Plymouth, about the same time. In 1887 Bishop Smythies of Zanzibar, who was a great friend of Mr Ward, asked if a few Sisters could be sent out to work with the Universities Mission to Central Africa in his diocese.

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[1] The fine chapel, designed by the late W. J. Walker Todd, was consecrated in 1927.

[1] This was not the first Anglican Sisterhood to work in Bristol. In 1851 Mother Lydia Sellon had opened two houses for her Third Order Sisters; the one at 14 Lower College Green, near the Cathedral; the other in Harford's Court, near the docks. These establishments did not function for more than a few years. (See T. J. Williams, *Priscilla Lydia Sellon* (1950), pp. 106–107, 120–121.)

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"So as the years went by the activities of the Community went on increasing. But it must not be supposed that the Warden and Miss Lloyd were simply founding a society of ladies to engage in philanthropic works. Nothing was further from their thoughts. One sometimes hears people speak of 'prayer life' as if it were a separate thing from an active life. The Warden would certainly have said that the whole life of a Sister of Charity must be a life of prayer. For what is prayer but the soul seeking after God, waiting upon God, and is He not to be found in the persons of the poor, the sick, the little children? Did not our Lord Himself say 'Inasmuch as ye have done it to one of the least of these ye have done it unto Me?' So the Sisters were taught that if calls to charitable work came, they must leave their prayer and in so doing would only leave God to find God."[1]

Time was provided in their Rule for periods of recollection. There was always a daily three-quarters of an hour for mental prayer: "Mass and Visit to the Blessed Sacrament whenever possible, Spiritual Reading —other time also for private prayer—five decades of the Rosary to be said daily and other special devotions, besides the recitation of the Divine Office, and one day in each month for a Retreat, and one great Retreat in each year. There were also times of silence fixed, and the Warden could be strict almost to severity on this point. Also in all that had to do with the service of the Altar *nothing*, he maintained, could be too much trouble, and woe betide the Sacristan who was careless or forgetful in her work. He had a deep and loving reverence for the Blessed Sacrament,

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[1] *MS. Life of A. H. Ward, Founder of the Sisters of Charity, Bristol*, p. 10.

which probably led him to plan in both the houses that were built for the community, a little Chapel for the Blessed Sacrament."[1]

We are told that Mr Ward took great pains with all that had to do with the care of the children. He loved to pay surprise visits to the refectory at meal-times, and would taste the soup or whatever he found there. He liked to see the children well dressed, "abhorring the ugly clothing the children had to wear in many Institutions. If a girl passed him in the house with any part of her dress untidy, he would say to the Sister who was over them: 'What has so and so been doing?' . . . In fact every person in the house was made to feel that she was his special care, from the youngest baby to the Mother Foundress herself. . . . Perhaps it was from the true and loving grasp he had of the Divine institution of the family, that he was enabled under God so unmistakably to impress upon the Community that same spirit of a sanctified family life which comes out of his interpretation of the principles of St Vincent de Paul, on which their Rule is based."[2]

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So the Community went on growing, and mission work was undertaken in the parishes of St Jude and St Simon, Bristol. The children were moved to a house with a garden near St Mary's, Walton, and so St Elizabeth's Home came into being. In 1890 the foundation stone of St Agnes' Home, Knowle, was laid, for which John D. Sedding prepared a design based on the house of Jacques Cœur at Bourges. This picturesque building is somewhat reminiscent of the same architect's Children's Hospital, adjacent to the Convent of St Mary at the Cross, Shoreditch.[3] In 1895 the Sisters were withdrawn from work with the U.M.C.A. and returned to England. The original House of Charity, next to St Raphael's, had become very noisy owing to a railway being laid behind it. Sleep was almost impossible at nights, by reason of the shunting of goods wagons, so eventually it was decided to move the mother house to Knowle. The first chapter was held there in 1898. By this time there were fifty children in the home, and two wings (St Vincent's and St Agnes') and a large chapel had to be built. The latter was designed by G. F. Bodley, and is dedicated to St Raphael. The babies were brought here from Clevedon, and Knowle Vicarage—too far from the church—was obtained as a home for them. Before long the Sisters of Charity had quite a colony on the top of Knowle Hill.

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[1] Ibid., p. 11.
[2] Ibid., p. 11.
[3] See p. 400.

The Warden died in 1908, aged seventy-six. "He had given the Community for their motto '*Deus est Caritas*', following in this St Vincent de Paul and the Sisters of Charity . . . his whole life was a continual giving out of that love of God to others."[1]

Since then the Community has gone on working for the poor in the same spirit of simplicity and hiddenness, without any advertisement or propaganda. The postulancy is for six months; the novitiate lasts three to five years, after which life vows are taken. In spite of their many active works of charity they find time to recite the Day Hours of the Breviary, from *The Monastic Diurnal*, Vespers and Compline being sung every day. Great care is taken that all the Sisters are present in Choir to fulfil their obligation, and that private prayer time and periods of recollection are safeguarded.

The Convent of the Sisters of Charity, Redcatch Road, Knowle, Bristol, is the mother house of the community. Also at Knowle are St Elizabeth's Home for Old Ladies; and St Vincent's Guest House. In 1958 St Agnes' Retreat House, Bristol 4, was opened to fulfil an expressed need in the diocese. A hostel for young working girls was added in 1963. There is a Convalescent Home and a Nursing Home for Old Ladies at Plympton, near Plymouth. The Sisters engage in Mission work at St Martin's, Knowle; St Jude's, Bristol; All Saints', Winterbourne Down; St Barnabas', Warmley; St Peter's, London Docks; and the Ascension, Victoria Docks, London, E.16. Sisters are also sent to help in parish missions. The Warden is Fr Pulley, S.S.J.E.; the Visitor, the Bishop of Bristol.

9. BENEDICTINE NUNS

Feltham and Llanthony, West Malling and Milford Haven (1868)

Thanks to the researches of the Reverend Thomas Jay Williams, much that was either unknown or forgotten about the establishment of the first Anglican community of Benedictine nuns has been brought to light.[2] As far back as 1849 Miss Emily Stewart, who became the first Anglican Benedictine abbess, had been in touch with the Society of the Most Holy Trinity at Devonport. She helped the Sisters to nurse the patients during the cholera epidemic of that year. Later on she seems to have joined the Society as an Associate, and is always mentioned as "Sister Ella". Fr Williams tells us that Mother Lydia Sellon had a special devotion to St Benedict, since her birthday fell on his feast. He thinks

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[1] *MS. Life of A. H. Ward*, p. 22.

[2] *Priscilla Lydia Sellon* (London, 1950), pp. 69, 85, 216, 217.

she may have wished to form her own community on Benedictine lines in the first instance, and points out that the Statutes of 1861 indicate an intimate knowledge of the Holy Rule. By that date she had begun to take a motherly interest in the Reverend Joseph Leycester Lyne, then a curate at St Peter's, Plymouth, and was encouraging what she believed to be his vocation to the Religious State (see p. 52). Three years later, after Br Ignatius had moved his small community of Benedictine Brothers from Claydon to Norwich, the Lady Superior of Devonport rented a house in that city which she handed over to a group of Benedictine oblate Sisters whom Ignatius hoped to transform into enclosed nuns if they showed proof of vocations. She kept a close watch over this community.

Meanwhile Sister Ella, who had been working with the Devonport community, decided to join the newly founded Sisterhood of St Margaret at East Grinstead. She was clothed as a novice on 4 September 1862, and professed on 8 September the following year. It is of interest that at this function Dr Littledale, vested in a cope, gave Benediction with the monstrance at its close.[1] After four years Sister Ella left East Grinstead and worked with the Society of the Most Holy Trinity in London. By that date Mother Lydia had taken over St Saviour's, Osnaburgh Street, from the Park Village Sisterhood (see p. 241). In 1868 Fr Ignatius felt that the moment had come to change the Benedictine oblates at Norwich, otherwise known as the Sisters of Mount Calvary, into enclosed nuns. He consulted Mother Lydia on the choice of a Superior, and she recommended Sister Ella, for she was already a professed religious and had acquired a knowledge of community life, both with the Devonport and the East Grinstead Sisterhoods. So Sister Ella was installed as prioress and took the name of Mother Hilda, O.S.B.[2]

In the year 1868 when Mother Hilda and a few other ladies retired to the old farmhouse at Feltham, Middlesex, which had been chosen as their priory, there were seven Roman Catholic Benedictine communities of women in England. There is no record that Mother Hilda or any of her companions had ever visited a Benedictine monastery either at home or abroad. Their knowledge seems to have been based on what they had read in books.

A Royal Commission had been set up the year before to investigate the growth of "Ritualism" in the Church of England, for as *Punch* stated on 6 November 1869: "There is now more Popery in the Established Church even than what Dr Pusey and the Ritualists professed. Every parson his own Pope seems to be the maxim of many clergymen in the Church of England."

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[1] Williams, op. cit., p. 217, fn.

[2] Ibid., pp. 216–17. See also, A. Calder-Marshall, *The Enthusiast* (1962) which gives much hitherto unrecorded information about Fr Ignatius's nuns.

Fr Ignatius had now moved his monks from Norwich to Laleham-on-Thames. The choice of Feltham as the location of the monastery of nuns was doubtless due to it being only five miles from Laleham. Two years before this he had undergone that startling "conversion" described on p. 60. Remembering this, it may be believed that the spiritual direction given by him to the novices must have been somewhat different from that found in any normal Benedictine community of women. He was only a deacon and could not hear their confessions, so the Sisters were dependent on the occasional visits of other clergymen for Mass and the Sacraments. In more senses than one the priory at Feltham must have been a "garden enclosed", and very much cut off from the ordinary life of the English Church. As has been explained in an earlier chapter, Fr Ignatius regarded himself as the divinely appointed and inspired apostle of Jesus Christ as well as the man chosen by God to restore the cloistered life for men and women in the Church of England. His word was law and not to be contradicted or questioned.

As time went on Mother Hilda and the majority of the Community began to doubt these claims. When Ignatius realized what was going on he delivered an ultimatum. The nuns would be allowed three weeks to reflect on the consequences of such disloyalty. If they refused to repent he would have to take drastic action. Having found there was no change of heart, he gave orders to the sister-sacristan to vest the altar in black. The prioress and her nuns were bidden to assemble in the chapel. From the altar steps their Deacon-Founder solemnly excommunicated them, while the bell tolled.

Only three Sisters remained faithful to Ignatius of Jesus. Within five days he had removed them to a house in the remote Devonshire village of Slapton. The "rebels" remained at Feltham. Their subsequent history will be related further on. In 1871 he had transferred his monks from Laleham to Llanthony, and by 1879, when the schism among the nuns took place, the new monastery was nearing completion. The following year occurred the alleged Apparition of our Lady, which Fr Ignatius regarded as a revelation of the catholicity of the Church of England, and a final proof of divine blessing on the monastic revival he had organized in her midst. He could now proclaim triumphantly that it was not only at Lourdes, La Salette, and Portmain that the Mother of God had deigned to manifest herself in the nineteenth century—he was convinced that she had appeared on the Black Mountains of South Wales as well as on the Pyrenees, on the Alps, and in Brittany. To each of the nuns at Slapton was sent a piece of the wild rhubarb plant which was said to have stood up dark against the dazzling garments of our Lady when she appeared at Llanthony. One of them, Dame Mary Cecilia, was convinced that the application of this leaf cured her of a lifelong abscess of the hip-joint and of a contracted knee.

When the lease of the house at Slapton had to be renewed in 1881, Fr Ignatius decided to move his nuns to Llanthony. A convent of corrugated iron and matchboard, with lancet windows—to give it a Gothic flavour—was erected hastily alongside the monastery. Henceforth it would be a double community, on the lines of the medieval Bridgettines and Gilbertines. But it is improbable that Fr Ignatius intended that the prioress should exercise jurisdiction over him in temporal affairs as did the Bridgettine abbesses over the monks; in fact it was very much the opposite. These nuns were completely under his authority.

One doubts if Fr Ignatius ever realized that the primitive Benedictine nuns, whose virtues he praised so constantly, were never "enclosed" in the sense in which his community was enclosed. Even on the journey from Slapton to Llanthony they were put under strict obedience to keep their long black veils down. Once they were installed in their new monastery he enforced on them a system of enclosure which seems to have been based on the Decrees of the Council of Trent and subsequent papal legislation for communities of women under solemn vows. These nuns had no contact with the outer world except from behind their grille.

So far as their limited numbers made it possible, the life lived by these nuns was much the same as that of the monks. For fresh air and exercise they were confined to the small space of their cloister garth. Their choir was in a tribune above the monks' stalls. A heavy wooden grille, with iron spikes and curtains, prevented them from being seen by the monks. The arrangement of this choir suggests that Fr Ignatius may have studied the Revelations of St Bridget of Sweden. When the Sisters received Communion they donned red veils over their black veils, and went down a steep flight of stairs on the Gospel side of the altar, where there was a small grating at which they knelt. As has been related in the previous section dealing with the monks of Llanthony, more often than not Communion was given from the tabernacle. It was very seldom that a priest came to say Mass. During the long absences of Fr Ignatius from his monastery the nuns were completely deprived of any spiritual ministrations. The rule and observances differed little from that kept by the monks. There were the same fantastic penances, such as sitting among cinders on Ash Wednesday.

It might be supposed that Fr Ignatius had read about the establishment of the work of Perpetual Adoration of the Blessed Sacrament by the Roman Catholic Benedictine nuns of St Scholastica's Abbey, Teignmouth, in 1875, or maybe of the same devotion started by the Benedictine nuns at Cannington Court, Somerset, in 1829 (now at Colwich), or their foundation at Atherstone, in 1859, which became another centre of Perpetual Adoration in England. Actually, it was as early as 1871 that he decided to transform his communities into an Anglican Order of Perpetual Adoration, and to institute days and nights of Exposition.[1] On these occasions the nuns donned long white veils over the scarlet ones worn at Mass, and took turns with the monks at watching before the high altar.[2] The Communities were renamed "Benedictines of Perpetual Adoration of the Blessed Sacrament".

From Christmas to the Epiphany there were devotions before a large image of the *bambino*, with prayers and processions. We are told that the Mother Prioress used to be vested in a white cope to represent our Lady. This may be an apocryphal legend, but it is quite in keeping with the Ignatian spirit. So too were the ceremonies which accompanied the clothings and professions of the nuns. When Sister Mary Ermenild of the Sacred Heart of Jesus "took the black veil" on the Sunday within the Octave of the Assumption, 1882, she was laid on a bier, in the midst of the newly completed choir, and covered with a black funeral pall. Ignatius, vested in a black chasuble and white mitre, surrounded by monks, nuns, little girls, and acolytes, incensed the bier, saying "Earth to earth, ashes to ashes". Dust was thrown over the prostrate novice. Outside the church, the great bell tolled as if for a burial service. Then the monks lifted up the bier and with slow steps, bore Mother Ermenild into her "living tomb". The altar lights were gradually extinguished in imitation of *Tenebrae*. The curtains were drawn across the gates leading into the choir. The congregation in the narthex were left to picture the fate of this young woman about to be "walled up" in the cloister. Above them, but invisible, "the quavering voices of the nuns began to chant for the Dead". One can easily imagine "the laboured breathing of the deeply affected congregation". It is strange that Fr Ignatius really believed that all this sort of thing was consistent with the dignity and sobriety of the Benedictine spirit. He took care that such functions were given the widest possible publicity in his sermons, stories, tracts, and in the newspapers.[1]

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[1] Cf. *Fr Ignatius, Leonard Morris, or the Benedictine Novice* (London, 1871).

[2] It is possible that Fr Ignatius got the idea of the long white veils from the Institute of Marie Réparatrice. These nuns wear them when engaged in adoration of the Blessed Sacrament. The red veils may have been inspired by the red scapulars which had been adopted by the Canonesses Regular of St Augustine at Newton Abbot when they started Perpetual Adoration between 1860 and 1870. It is quite likely that Fr Ignatius visited Newton Abbot when his own nuns were living in South Devon.

The Community seldom numbered more than half a dozen. Postulants arrived and departed. Can it be wondered that few stayed? The nuns had no external authority to whom they could appeal other than Fr Ignatius himself. He was their Founder, Chaplain, Warden, and Visitor all in one. Matters reached a crisis towards the end of the twelve months when he was in North America in 1891. During that period the nuns were deprived of all spiritual ministrations. They appealed to the Bishop of St David's to send them a chaplain, but to no purpose. Before Fr Ignatius had returned to Llanthony all had departed to make their submission to Rome. Eventually they joined other communities. "I cannot blame my poor people for what they have done," was Ignatius's comment. "Just think of it! Isolated as they are, they were denied the comforts of religion by the bigotry and narrow-mindedness of the ministers of the Established Church. I can see how they were literally driven into the Church of Rome. They could scarcely do otherwise."

About two and a half years later, Fr Ignatius made a second attempt to establish nuns at Llanthony. On the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, 14 September 1893, he clothed a novice who had formerly been a member of the Community of St Margaret, Aberdeen—a branch house of the East Grinstead Sisterhood. Two lay sisters—both widows—were her sole companions at first. A few more novices turned up later on. On the death of Fr Ignatius in 1908 there were two nuns left. Three years later there were still two aged Sisters dwelling in that shabby sham-Gothic corrugated-iron convent. They were as much enclosed as Poor

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[1] Sister Mary Agnes (Miss Povey) gives a detailed description of the daily life at Llanthony in the 'eighties in her book *Nunnery Life in the Church of England, or Seventeen Years with Fr Ignatius* (1890): The nuns rose at 1.45 a.m., and went in procession to the church, carrying lighted tapers. Matins and Lauds lasted about two hours. Then they rested until 5 a.m., but in Lent often had to recite the Lamentations of Jeremias, so were in church from 2 till 6 a.m. Prime was then recited, followed by Mass on the rare occasions that a priest was in residence. Meditation, Terce, and Sext took place before "Pittance" at 8.45 (a frugal breakfast of coffee and dry bread, "perhaps porridge or potatoes"). At 9 a.m. the nuns went to the sacristy, sang the *Veni Creator*, and did manual work for three hours. The Angelus was sung at midday, followed by another Meditation, and a Chapter of Faults, when each nun could accuse other Sisters of breaches of the Rule. If Fr Ignatius was at home, he presided over the chapter. Then work was resumed until 3 p.m., when Nones was sung. Dinner followed (consisting of fish or eggs, soup, and vegetables: meat was seldom eaten). Vespers and the Angelus were sung at 5 p.m. Tea, bread and butter, and jam were allowed at 6 p.m. After a half-hour reading from the Lives of the Saints, Compline started, and often lasted until nearly 9 p.m., owing to the endless prayers which came after. Then the weary nuns made their way in procession to the dormitory, chanting the Ave Maria.

Clares or Carmelites. It was only on the rare occasions on which a priest visited them that they had any spiritual ministrations. Eventually they departed, after the property passed to the Benedictine community of Caldey. Later on the convent was pulled down, and its furniture disposed of.

Such was the end of Fr Ignatius's heroic attempt to establish an enclosed community of Benedictine nuns in the Church of England. That he managed to keep together even a few women for such a long period is a proof of his magnetic personality rather than of the excellence of the manner of life he devised for them.[1]

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Mother Hilda and the nuns at Feltham managed to survive the effect of being excommunicated by Fr Ignatius.[2] After 1881 the little community was left in peace. There were no more disturbing visitations. Few changes seem to have been made in the outward observances. The Sisters kept to their enclosure, and the outside world left them alone. The farm-house priory, in the midst of what was then rural Middlesex, was almost a backwater. Many devout church people were unaware of the existence of this cloistered community of Benedictine nuns. Difficulties had to be faced, mostly financial. The Sisters were so poor that quite often they lacked the bare necessities of life. They had no means of support other than caring for a few orphans, and this was largely a work of charity. Moreover, there still existed among Anglicans a certain mistrust of Sisterhoods which did not justify their existence by "good works".

Towards the end of the 'eighties some loyal friends did what they could to help Mother Hilda. First there was the chaplain, the Reverend Arthur Dale—son of the Reverend Pelham Dale, who had been imprisoned for wearing vestments and persisting in other ceremonial then regarded as illegal in the Church of England. Two young and newly ordained curates of St Agnes', Kennington—the Reverend Reginald Camm and the Reverend Henry Worth—became frequent visitors. Both were to play an important part in the later history of the Community. In 1889 the lease of the farm-house at Feltham fell in. A new convent had to be found. The chaplain's father solved this problem by buying a house

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[1] For further details of Fr Ignatius and Llanthony, see pp. 61–72.

[2] The subsequent story of these nuns will be found in *The Benedictines of Talacre: Some Notes on their History* (Exeter, 3rd edition, 1945).

at Twickenham, which he rented to the nuns. They moved in on the feast of St Teresa, 15 October. Dom Aelred Carlyle, who was so closely associated with the Community from about 1893, thus records his first visit to the priory at Twickenham. He writes: "I was ushered into the parlour and sat down to talk to a nun behind a grille. It was actually my first experience of a convent of nuns. I remember the thrill as I went into the tiny chapel. The choir, surrounded by grilles, occupied the centre of the room. There were passages at the sides for seculars. The nuns wore red veils for Mass and Benediction—a custom derived from Fr Ignatius. They recited the Benedictine Office in English from MS copies made by hand. Abbess Hilda Stewart, a royal little figure with a great heart, became much interested in my scheme for Oblate Brothers. She did all she could for me personally with her wise advice and motherly help."[1]

Another and more influential friend was Miss Charlotte Boyd. When she first got to know the nuns she was in charge of an orphanage at Kilburn. In 1890 she rented the gate-house of the pre-Reformation abbey at West Malling, Kent, which had been founded for Benedictine nuns in 1100 and suppressed by Henry VIII. Here she took up residence. Not long after Mr Camm went to stay with her. Then came the news, which must have been a shock to Mother Hilda and her nuns, that he had made his submission to the Holy See of Rome. Perhaps the blow was softened when he wrote that he had been clothed as a Benedictine novice at the Abbey of Maredsous in Belgium.

In 1893, Miss Boyd became the owner of Malling Abbey. She vested the property in the hands of trustees, known as "The English Abbey Restoration Trust", and arranged that the nuns should move there from Twickenham. The conditions of tenancy were limited to stipulations of there being at least six subjects in the Community, and of Church of England services being held there. Mother Hilda took possession of her new home in April that same year. Soon after this Miss Boyd became convinced that she must enter into communion with that Church with which the pre-Reformation nuns of Malling had been united. Having made up her mind she did not look back. The chaplain, the Reverend Arthur Dale, also came to the same conclusion, and with his successor, the Reverend Morley Richards, also took the road to Rome. Having joined the Dominicans, the latter returned to Malling after his profession, and tried to convince Abbess Hilda that it was her duty to follow him. But his attempts at persuasion were ineffectual.

The Community did not increase very much. The abbess and her nuns still had to face many trials and difficulties. Not long after the Community had been established at Malling, Sister Mary Pauline of the All Saints' Sisterhood came on a visit. She was so impressed by the life that she longed to become a Benedictine. Abbess Hilda, who was already growing old and frail, invited Sister Mary Pauline to join her community and take over the duties of prioress. But her superiors would not consent, for she was one of their most capable subjects and could not be spared.

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[1] P. F. Anson, *The Benedictines of Caldey* (London, 1940), p. 7; and *Abbot Extraordinary* (1958), pp. 27, 31, 105.

So the years passed by, and with them came the dawn of a new century. By 1905 the abbess was blind and paralysed; a confirmed invalid, realizing that she was fit no longer to carry on her responsibilities. She consulted Abbot Aelred Carlyle, who had been in close touch with her for nearly fourteen years. He had great confidence in the character and capabilities of Sister Mary Pauline, and it was he who took the decisive step of asking her to agree to be the next Abbess of Malling, provided that she was elected by the nuns.

Mother Hilda Stewart died on Holy Innocents' Day, 1907. The election took place, and Sister Mary Pauline received the votes of the Community. Her own superiors agreed to release her. On April 26 her blessing was performed by the Abbot of Caldey, with the permission of the Bishop of Rochester, in whose diocese Malling was located. She took the religious name of Scholastica.

On that April morning of 1907 began what might be described as the "second spring" in the history of this community. Under the rule of Abbess Scholastica it took on a new lease of life. Very quietly and without fuss she started to make such changes as seemed necessary to bring the spirituality, ceremonial, and general observances into line with normal Benedictine traditions. Postulants began to arrive, and for the first few years, the abbess acted as her own novice mistress; her teaching being based entirely on the standard works found in any Roman Catholic Benedictine novitiate. She called upon that old friend of the community, Mr Henry Worth, to advise her on liturgy and ceremonial. This former Anglican curate was now a lay oblate of Erdington Abbey, and a member of the Vatican Commission on plain-chant set up by Pius X. Within four months Abbess Scholastica had substituted for the adaptation of the Benedictine Office in English, which the Community had used since its foundation, the *Breviarium Monasticum* in Latin. The Solesmes *Graduale* and *Antiphonale* replaced Anglican editions of plain-chant for the Mass and offices.

So rapid was the growth of the Community, that within three years Malling became too small to house the professed nuns and novices. The abbess by this time had begun to wonder if a completely catholic form of Benedictine life were possible outside communion with the See of Peter. Next came the increasing conviction that if she and her nuns were to be true to their ideals they must eventually submit to that Church from whose Benedictine monasteries had been taken practically all their spirituality and liturgical observances.

By February 1910 the nuns had been affiliated to the "Anglican Congregation of the Primitive Observance", and were under the jurisdiction of the Abbot of Caldey. They adopted the white habit worn by the monks, and practically the same observance of the Holy Rule. The abbess pointed out to Dom Aelred that in the event of a change of ecclesiastical allegiance the Anglican trustees would have the legal right to turn the Community out of Malling. So, as the future seemed uncertain, and as a new home was urgently needed, there were good reasons for leaving. Eventually Castle Hall, on the shores of Milford Haven, was rented. The choice of this property was influenced by the practical reason of being within easy distance of Caldey Island.

It was a happy choice. No more appropriate background could have been selected for the Community at that stage of its history. The architecture of the stately but now shabby late-eighteenth-century mansion expressed the religious outlook of Abbess Scholastica and her nuns. The house was alien to both the landscape and the climate. Those tall Doric columns on the imposing façade were homesick for the sunshine of Italy, just as the nuns were now looking nostalgically towards the seven hills of Rome. Maybe Sir William Hamilton, for whom the architect had designed Castle Hall, wanted to create the illusion of being back in his beloved Naples, where he had spent so many years as British ambassador? But the result was little more than a make-believe. Three lofty campaniles of a mixture of classic styles arose round the peeling stucco sides of the house. There were terraces with broken urns, immense stables, and overgrown gardens, sloping down to a tidal creek. Trees and shrubs grew in almost sub-tropical luxuriance in the soft relaxing climate. The whole place was radically different from Malling Abbey with its combination of twelfth-century Norman and late medieval Gothic.

Extensive alterations were made to transform this rambling mansion into as convenient a convent as possible. A large wooden chapel was built, planned on purely functional lines; dignified and satisfying in its austere simplicity. For reasons of enforced economy, rather than from any deliberate purpose, the nuns found themselves with a place of worship which expressed to perfection what that great liturgist, the late Edmund Bishop, maintained was the genius of the native Roman Rite—"soberness and sense".

On 11 April 1911, Abbess Scholastica and her large family migrated from Malling to Milford Haven. Within a few weeks they had resumed their regular observance. In the big, bare chapel, the daily celebration of the Roman Mass and the Benedictine Office was resumed. By this time the abbess was fairly sure that it was her duty to pilot her nuns into what she now regarded as the only safe haven for souls. Her vision of the future was much clearer than that of Abbot Aelred Carlyle. In January 1912 she discussed the question of an immediate submission to Rome with the Community. It was decided that the moment had not come for taking this step. For the next twelve months the nuns went on praying for guidance, and the abbess insisted that they devoted as much time as possible to studying the doctrines of the Roman Church. Again and again she wondered if the Caldey monks would have the courage to leave the comparative security of the Church of England, for they showed signs of wavering.

Meanwhile matters had reached a crisis. On 18 February 1913 Abbess Scholastica summoned a chapter. She placed before the professed nuns the alternative lines of action, but making clear that she herself had decided to make an individual submission to the Holy See. "Will those who wish to follow me stand?" she said. All but four of those present rose to their feet. Two of the dissidents changed their minds soon after. It is possible that when a telegram with this news reached Caldey, it may have influenced the abbot and most of his monks to come to the same decision the following afternoon. On 7 March the abbess, kneeling before the grille in the church, read the Profession of Faith on behalf of the twenty-five nuns who were around her. In the sanctuary were Mgr Mostyn, Bishop of Menevia, the Abbots of Downside and Caermaria, and Dom Bede Camm, who had been a devoted friend of the Community nearly twenty years before.[1]

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[1] The community adopted the observances of the Benedictine nuns of Stanbrook Abbey, and in 1920 they moved to Talacre, Prestatyn, North Wales. The following year they were admitted into the English Congregation. Abbess Scholastica died in 1927.

Two nuns who remained in the Church of England were received into the Society of the Most Holy Trinity, Ascot Priory, where they spent the remainder of their earthly life. Two other nuns, who had left the community before Sister Mary Pauline was elected abbess, obtained possession of Malling Abbey, where they lived from 1913 to about 1915, under the style of the *Benedictines of SS. Mary and Scholastica.* Then they moved to Platt and later to Plaxtol in Kent, where they were ministered to by Archbishop Bernard Mary Williams (Old Roman Catholic Church, Pro-Uniate Rite). The tiny community ended up at Kettlebaston, near Ipswich, about 1930.

10. COMMUNITY OF REPARATION TO JESUS IN THE BLESSED SACRAMENT (MISSION SISTERS OF ST ALPHEGE)

The Convent of Reparation, Rushworth Street, Southwark, S.E.1 (1869)

In the midst of that badly blitzed area of mean streets, now being replaced by blocks of modern flats, lying between Blackfriars Road and the long viaduct of the former London, Chatham, and Dover Railway, stands a characteristic mid-nineteenth-century Gothic Revival church, recently restored, and redecorated. Eighty years ago St Alphege, Southwark, was one of the very few Anglo-Catholic strongholds in London. For the lads there was a Guild of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, and the Sunday within the octave of this feast was observed with special devotions. St Alphege's attracted other worshippers from outside the parish, and in the 'sixties and 'seventies Fr Ignatius of Llanthony was sometimes invited to preach. His sermons were very popular with the people, for they supplied a strong emotional appeal. Altogether the services in this hidden-away church were even more "ritualistic" than those at St Alban's, Holborn. But nobody cared much in Blackfriars even if the clergy did "play at Popish priests"; what meant far more was that they were devoted to their flock. Maybe Protestant agitators felt it safer to give the parish a wide berth, for they would have been treated roughly by the men and lads, who were fully prepared to defend the clergy with their fists! But all this is past history, and today the streets are silent and deserted. Round the corner of the church in Rushworth Street, within hearing of the sound of the trains rumbling over the viaduct, to or from Blackfriars station, will be noticed a large building, standing up above the other houses. From 1911 until after the Battle of Britain it was the headquarters of the "Community of Reparation to Jesus in the Blessed Sacrament", otherwise known as the "Mission Sisters of St Alphege". The Community, who were for some years at Woking, have now returned to Rushworth Street.

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By the late 'sixties the belief in the need for making reparation to the Blessed Sacrament had taken a strong hold on the more advanced Anglo-Catholics. This was the inevitable outcome of the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament, founded in 1862, of which Mr Carter of Clewer was the first president. After a meeting held at All Saints', Margaret Street, on 30 July 1869, the Reverend A. B. Goulden resolved to establish a group of Tertiaries whose object would be "to repair as far as lay in their power the dishonour done to Jesus in the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar; (1) by continual intercession for those who do not know Him under the sacramental veils of Bread and Wine; (2) by active missionary work in our large towns."[1] It is possible that some of the clergy had read about or actually visited the Institute of Marie Réparatrice, founded at Paris in 1854 by Emilie d'Oultrement (Mère Marie de Jésus). The first Marie Réparatrice convent was established in London in 1863. The objects of this Community had been defined as Reparation to our Lord for outrages offered to Him in the Blessed Sacrament and reparation for the evils done to souls in sin. Maybe Fr Goulden knew of the Institute of Adoration Réparatrice, founded by Théolinde Dubouché (Mère Thérèse du Coeur de Jésus), at Paris in 1848, with almost the same objects as those of Marie Réparatrice, although it was not until 1898 that it found its way to England. Again, direct inspiration could have come from the Augustinian Canonesses at Newton Abbot, South Devon, who in 1861 gave up their school and adopted Perpetual Adoration of the Blessed Sacrament as their chief work. As is related on p. 422, Fr Ignatius turned his two small communities of Benedictine monks and nuns into an Order of Perpetual Adoration in 1871. No matter, what is of interest is that Fr Goulden was the pioneer among Anglicans in encouraging specifically a form of devotion to the Holy Eucharist which was not envisaged by the early Tractarians.

It was not long before some of the Tertiaries felt called to dedicate themselves entirely to the work of Reparation. Fr Goulden arranged for four of them to make a novitiate with the Community of St John the Baptist, Clewer. In February 1871 he was appointed to the mission district of St Alphege, Southwark, and took 39 Nelson Square, off Blackfriars Road, for the novices on their return from Clewer. On 18 March 1872 Sister Agnes was professed and died six days later, and next year Sister Catherine and Sister Agatha were professed. Before long others joined them, and the new Community increased in numbers.[2]

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[1] *An Office of Reparation to the Blessed Sacrament* "for those who recite the Canonical Hours", was published by John Masters, London, about this date. It was specially recommended for the use of members of the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament.

[2] This was not the first Anglican community of women to be established in South London. Some time after his appointment to All Saints', Lambeth, in 1867, the Reverend F. G. Lee opened an orphanage and placed it under a community of Sisters of Mercy. This church, now pulled down, rivalled St Alphege's as a stronghold of ritualism, but after the formation of the Order of Corporate Reunion in 1877, it faded into the background. During the 'seventies about the only other churches in South London where extreme ceremonial could be found were St Paul's, Lorrimore Square, and St John's, Walworth. It was not until the 'eighties that the new churches of All Hallows', Southwark, and St Agnes', Kennington, began to be centres of Anglo-Catholic worship.

Until it was closed about 1883 Fr Goulden acted as Superior of a quasi-brotherhood composed of young men who hoped to take holy orders. The headquarters were at 167 Blackfriars Road. In some respects this establishment must have resembled St Austin's Priory, New Kent Road (see pp. 100, 101.)

There was more than enough missionary work for the Sisters in the squalid slums of the parish of St Alphege, and an even greater need for their prayers. Their little chapel was furnished with an altar and tabernacle, with perpetual reservation; a practice still very rare even in the private chapels of Anglican communities (see p. 337). For the benefit of the Tertiaries a Manual of Devotions was compiled. It contained the Office of Benediction, the Litanies of the Blessed Sacrament and of our Lady, and most of the best-known Catholic hymns to our Lady. This convent chapel, like that of the East Grinstead Sisters in Queen Square, Bloomsbury (see p. 352), and also St Austin's Priory, Walworth (see pp. 99, 101), attracted outsiders who felt the need of eucharistic devotions which could not easily be found in parish churches during the 'seventies and 'eighties. Mother Catherine acted as Superior for twenty-seven years. Owing to failing health she resigned in 1902 and was succeeded by Sister Teresa, who was installed by Dr Talbot, Bishop of Rochester.

In 1883 the Community moved to 167 Blackfriars Road, originally planned as a theological college, which remained its headquarters for over forty years. In 1900 the Sisters took over an orphanage and St Agnes's Home for girls, which had been established in the parish of St Alphege. Eleven years later the present community house in Rushworth Street was built.[1] It possesses a stately chapel in the Renaissance style of architecture, with a marble altar. The Office Book used in choir is the *Sarum Diurnal*. The active work of the Community was extended by the opening of a branch house in Upton Park, and a Home of Rest at Pirbright, near Woking, Surrey. Both these have been closed but there is now a Mission House at Holy Cross, Greenford. The Warden is the Reverend G. Gater, S.S.J.E.; the Visitor, the Bishop of Southwark.

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[1] It was designed by the late Sir Walter Tapper.

CHAPTER V

Communities founded between 1870 and 1900

By 1870 a quarter of a century had elapsed since the foundation of the first community of women in the Church of England. How firmly most of the communities had taken root and spread themselves within twenty-five years, is shown by the following quotations taken from an essay entitled "Sisterhood Life", published in *The Church and the World*.[1] It would have been to this book that any young woman of the 'seventies would have turned for guidance if she had been thinking of joining a Sisterhood. The extracts from the essay here quoted may be presumed to give a fairly true picture of the spirit and observances of the average Anglican community of women until about 1890, when, for various reasons, some of them began to develop on new lines.

"Now, to look at the daily routine of Sisterhood Life. You desire to become acquainted with it? Very well. Will you turn to that quiet cluster of houses, where church bells ring sweetly down from above, and the thunder of two great London thoroughfares is hardly deadened by distance.[2] Or, near the banks of the Thames, will you visit that Conventual pile, with its lovely and religious chapel, which harbours so many penitent souls, cared for by Religious women.[3] Or, threading lanes and alleys reeking with misery and crime, will you join the patient labourers in Wapping?[4] Or, under towering elms, and through the quaint Sussex village, will you take your way and seek the nook so dear to him who, in a three-fold manner, wove a three-fold cord, and parting to his rest, set the roots of his Sisterhood in the earth, and lifted its head to Paradise.[5]

"Well: Take your choice. Whichever House you choose, you will

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[1] Edited by the Reverend Orby Shipley (London, 1867), pp. 184–7

[2] All Saints Community, Margaret Street.

[3] Convent of St John Baptist, Clewer.

[4] Community of the Holy Cross, St Peter's, London Docks.

[5] St Margaret's Convent, East Grinstead.

find yourself in a new world as soon as you enter. A lay Sister, or an orphan, or in some cases the senior Sister then at home, opens the door, and the dress strikes you immediately. You have no objection to distinctive dress, or you would scarcely have come so far; and you will soon see plainly enough for yourself how absolutely needful it is. Then, although there is a good thick door-mat, you see no vestige of carpet; the nearest approach to which is cocoa-nut matting, and there is not a great deal of that. The furniture and fittings are mostly of stained deal; so are the floors, unless they are left unstained, with no other adornment than frequent scrubbing. You must not speak on the stairs or in the passages; therefore follow, if you please, in silence, while you are led to your own room. It is small, you see, but large enough to turn about in, particularly as during your stay you will wear no crinoline. You have an iron bedstead, a mattress, and plenty of blankets, conveniences for washing, a press for clothes, a chair, and perhaps a table, and a piece of matting on the floor. On the walls are prints of religious subjects; possibly, also, illuminations, and some text painted as a cornice round the room. You will, if you please, wear a little net or muslin cap while you visit at this house, and if your dress is black or grey, so much the better.

"The Assistant-Superior will, after you have had time to rest, give you a time-table of your daily occupations; meanwhile you will sit in the visitors' room, or if an Associate of the House, in the Sisters' Community Room. Here you will find books and musical instruments; and conversation, except during the times of silence, which, recurring daily at stated hours, will soon cease to seem unnatural to you. . . .

"You will now wish to become acquainted with the Chapel Services. Where Daily Prayers are said in the parish church, they are attended by the household, at least by such members of it as are not prevented by some sufficient cause from being present; but the Canonical Hours of Prayer are regularly observed in the chapel belonging to the House. The depth and beauty of these Offices will repay the pains and study which their complexity requires. The Psalter, repeated weekly, forms the basis on which is raised the structure of Antiphon, Hymn, Chapter, and Response, varying with the seasons of the Church, and bringing out the deep things of Holy Scripture in an incomparable manner. The Use is partly that of Sarum, and partly Reformed Roman, with some necessary alterations; but to dwell on this subject as it deserves, would need a separate Essay.

"Here is an easy time-table for your guidance:

6 a.m. Rise
6.50 ,, Office of Prime

7 a.m.	Celebration of Holy Eucharist
8 ,,	Breakfast
8.30 ,,	Make bed and dust room
9 ,,	Office of Terce
10–12	School
12 noon	Office of Sext, and Meditation in the Oratory
1 p.m.	Dinner
1.30–2.30	Recreation Hour
2.30–3.10	Meditation in Oratory and Office of Nones
3.10–5	Needlework or Study
5 ,,	Office of Vespers
5.30 ,,	Tea
6–8.45 ,,	Needlework, or Night School, etc., followed by
7.15 ,,	Office of Compline and
8.45 ,,	Supper
9.15 ,,	Office of Anticipated Matins
11 ,,	In bed.

"This time-table gives a fair idea of an ordinary day's work. The occupations set down in it are school-teaching and needlework. . . . The Oratory Services, recurring at such frequent intervals, are brief, with the exception of the Celebration, Vespers, and Matins, each of which occupies half an hour, more or less; but the hour from noon to one o'clock is set apart for private prayer and meditation in the Oratory, and forms a welcome breathing space in the midst of the day. Half an hour is set apart at another time for a like purpose. Meals, in some Houses, are taken in silence; in some, conversation is allowed and encouraged; in others, a book is read aloud during dinner time. In Recreation time, the Sisters are expected to assemble together, and the Mother, or, in her absence, the Assistant-Superior joins the party. And, as at certain times silence is held to be necessary and profitable, so now it is to be remembered that cheerfulness and liveliness are the duties of every Sister. Entering from the world into this company, you can hardly fail to perceive a peculiar atmosphere of placidity and simplicity; not at all produced by inanity, but rather by the cheerful conscience of children in their FATHER'S HOME. In like manner you will probably be struck by the sunny faces and open demeanour of the children in the Orphanage, as contrasted with the appearance of those of the same class in ordinary institutions and under secular government."

In the course of this essay the whole organization of Anglican Sisterhoods ninety-six years ago is dealt with in minute detail. The above quotations will suffice to convey the atmosphere of most of them, granted that each community had its own individual character. One can picture the young lady (who might have stepped from the pages of one of Charlotte Yonge's novels) arriving at the convent, and being admitted by a lay sister or orphan girl. One can visualize the stained deal furniture and fittings, or the much-scrubbed boards. Varnished or stained pitch-pine was regarded as almost sacramental in the 'seventies, and no convent would have been quite right without it. "Cocoa-nut matting" too was closely bound up with holy poverty. One cannot help smiling at the young lady removing her circular-hooped underskirt and hanging it up in the press for clothes. The reference to "prints of religious subjects . . . illuminations, and some text painted as a cornice round the room" will conjure up memories of many an old-fashioned country rectory to those who can recall the Victorian era. It should be noted that there is no indication of the presence of a crucifix or any statues of saints—these would have been taboo in most Anglican convents of the 'seventies; at least they were not encouraged in the older communities of Tractarian foundation.

Roman Catholics, who are familiar with their own convents, will probably be surprised at the markedly liturgical nature of the devotional life. At the date when this essay was written it is almost certain that there was no Roman Catholic community of women in England where the hours of the Divine Office were broken up in the manner indicated by the time-table which has been quoted. Most active communities would have been reciting the Little Office of our Lady. Their members seldom attempted the full Breviary Offices, unless they belonged to the older orders, such as the Benedictine, Dominican, or Franciscan (Third Order). Note the use of the words "Celebration of the Holy Eucharist"—the day had to come when Anglican Sisters would refer to it as Mass, except privately among themselves. Few, if any, in the 'seventies had introduced the public invocation of our Lady and the Saints. A tabernacle could be found on the altar of perhaps half a dozen convent chapels in England, but continuous Reservation was very rare indeed. Among the older Sisterhoods it was only in the Society of St Margaret, East Grinstead, that the Roman rites of Exposition and Benediction were taken as a matter of course; although it is stated that both Fr Lowder and Fr Nihill allowed these same extra-liturgical devotions in the private oratories of the Sisterhoods they founded. The Llanthony Benedictine nuns hardly come into the picture, for even in the 'seventies they were quite outside the main stream of the Catholic Revival. The same applies to the group of Benedictine nuns at Feltham who had rebelled against the autocratic jurisdiction of Fr Ignatius. The Society of the Most Holy Trinity, still ruled over by Abbess Lydia Sellon, was another Sisterhood which went its own way, and drifted into an almost-forgotten backwater.

The essay in *The Church and the World* ends with brief accounts of the Sisterhoods of St John the Baptist, Clewer; All Saints', Margaret Street; and St Margaret, East Grinstead. There are also references to the observances of the Society of the Most Holy Trinity, and other smaller Sisterhoods. The tone adopted by the writer is very different from that of Prebendary Gresley, ten years before (see p. 377). It conveys the impression that by 1870 the Religious Life for women was accepted as a normal part of Anglicanism.[1]

During that same year Bishop Forbes of Brechin was laying the foundations of the first Anglican community of women to be established by a bishop—the Community of SS. Mary and Modwenna, Dundee. Fourteen years later Bishop Wilkinson of Truro founded the Community of the Epiphany. Other episcopal foundations were made in South Africa by Bishop Webb of Bloemfontein—the Community of St Michael and All Angels (1874) and the Community of the Resurrection (1884).

By degrees the canonical status of communities became less nebulous, although even as late as 1895 Archbishop Benson went so far as to describe a certain large Sisterhood as "a dissenting community owning no Bishop or authority of any kind". He added: "there are no worse mines under the Church than such bodies" and described the Mother-General as "the most comically audacious Mother in the Universe".[2] Like Bishop Tait, when he ruled over the diocese of London, Archbishop Benson believed that he had no powers to dispense Sisters who left their communities. He felt that there should be a definite provision in the statutes to enable any Sister to leave whenever she felt called to do so. He took the line that a Mother Superior ought to have the right to remove Sisters, quite apart from her power to expel, i.e. for health or other good cause. On 17 March 1891 he wrote: "I am not going to sanction the innovation by dispensing from vows which I neither impose nor approve as *they* take them. I see no impropriety in vows after a certain age and above-board. That is another matter."[3]

In some dioceses the relations between bishops and female communities badly needed regularizing. In 1890 Dr Benson wrote: "the Bishop of the Diocese has no relation to [Sisterhoods], only the Bishop whom they elect Visitor and he only as Visitor. . . . The old monastic bodies would have lasted till now if they had not been exempt from diocesan jurisdiction so that they had no friends when the covetousness arose. But as regards themselves they were at least under discipline to the Pope: the [Anglican Sisters] are under no one but their own chaplains, and if the Bishops pressed them hard there would not be much hesitation in adhering to the Church of Rome. I believe this secret practice to savour much of Rome."[1]

Dr Mandell Creighton, who was Bishop of London from 1897 to 1901, seems to have had more friendly and paternal relations with the many Sisterhoods which existed in his diocese. Nevertheless he shared the views of Dr Benson in the matter of the office of Visitor. Being an erudite historian he felt that it "ought to be in accordance with ancient precedent". Concerning the constitution of a certain new community he wrote: "This is the bad point about Sisterhoods. They want to be absolutely independent, obedient only to their own will. Such a claim is entirely unworthy. We must all work in obedience, and cannot afford to do without it. . . . The office of Visitor is merely that of guardian and interpreter of the statutes. . . . The proposal to depose him if you do not like him is subversive to all rule. He is your judge chosen by yourselves. He must be for life, and must be independent of your will. . . . You must not use him and then throw him away when you are thwarted." Still, Bishop Creighton admitted that generally he "found it easy to settle matters by accurate reference to the rule of communities". He wrote: "Superiors frequently consult me about all sorts of matters."[2]

By the close of the nineteenth century, in spite of occasional difficulties, such as the above, the majority of Sisterhoods were working on a friendly basis with their diocesans, who tried no longer to suppress practices of piety which they might not agree with. Taken all round there was a greater spirit of tolerance in the Church of England than existed fifty years previously. The three Vows of Religion were accepted by degrees. Private confession was recognized as the established rule of the normal spiritual life in religious communities of women.

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There was a reason, not always realized, why Anglican religious communities of women gradually ceased to be regarded as dangerous novelties and were taken for granted by the "man in the street". Between 1870 and

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[1] Although the greater part of the *Report of the Select Committee on Conventual and Monastic Institutions* (1871) is devoted to Roman Catholic communities, this Government Blue Book also supplies interesting information about a few Anglican Sisterhoods, including All Saints and Clewer. Several pages are given up to verbatim evidence of visitors to Fr Ignatius' monastery at Llanthony, then in course of erection.

[2] A. C. Benson, *Life of Archbishop Benson*, vol. I (1899), p. 273.

[3] Ibid., vol. I, p. 397.

[1] A. C. Benson, op. cit., vol. I, p. 306.

[2] *Life and Letters of Mandell Creighton*, by his widow (1904), vol. II pp. 271–2.

1900 almost every Protestant sect of any size had recognized sisterhoods as an essential part of its religious and social organization.

"Now, there are Sisterhoods without number," Charles Booth wrote towards the close of the century, "the members of which, under whatever title, however trained and organized, and with or without vows, consecrate their lives to the service they enter. All wear distinguishing dresses; some of which are black and nun-like, others smart uniforms of various shades of grey and lavender, with cuffs, collars and bonnet strings in white, veils thrown back, and long flapping cloaks. Everywhere the Sisters may be seen going independently about their work, and they find the dress a great protection. Many are quite young women. Nurses when on duty wear a uniform of a similar kind, whether they belong to a Sisterhood or not. It suits their work, and most of them are proud to wear it at any time; so that women thus distinctively dressed are now frequent in our streets, and add to the picturesque interest of the scene."[1]

By 1900 there were no less than thirteen regular Anglican Sisterhoods working in London. In addition to these there were six Institutions of Deaconesses.[2] One forms the impression that Mr Booth and his staff of social investigators were more favourably disposed to Deaconesses than to Sisterhoods, mainly because "the note of helpful subordination to the parish clergy is constantly sounded". Nevertheless he admits that in some districts the Sisters are "quite as parochial and subordinate" as are the Deaconesses.[3]

He seldom fails to praise the absolute devotion of the High Church Sisters, but he sounds a note of warning when he says: "it is in their charitable work that the Sisterhoods lay themselves most open to criticism. The wise administration of relief, at best a very difficult task, becomes hopeless when the principles on which it must rest are undermined by propagandist motives, and as a general rule the Sisters' action appears to be lacking both in religious tolerance and in social insight.

"The spirit of the proselytiser has its genesis in the strong religious convictions of the Sisters, which lead them to be keenly alive to the dangers of false doctrine, and horrified at the neglected and heathen lives of the people among whom they work. The temptation to win souls by whatever means then becomes very great; and the unscrupulous spirit which is evinced obtains the more licence from the fact that the Sisters feel themselves to be working not for their own community, but for the Church; not for themselves, but for God."[1]

It is quite probable that the same temptation to proselytize was felt by the Baptist, Primitive Methodist, and United Methodist Free Church Sisters, for all had just as "strong religious convictions" as the Anglican Sisters. By 1900 the Wesleyan Sisters of the People were a numerous body, with many institutions throughout London. Mrs Hugh Price Hughes was their "Mother Superior". Even if these women did not take the three vows of religion, they lived in the spirit of poverty, chastity, and obedience so long as they were engaged in religious and social work among the poor. Lastly there were the female "soldiers" of the Salvation Army, who certainly deserve to be classed as a religious community, even more "ritualistic" (in its own way) than any Anglican Sisterhood! Their "Goodwill Centres" were a species of convent in which they lived under strict discipline.

It may perhaps to some extent have been due to the increase of quasi-communities of women in most of the larger Nonconformist bodies that the average Englishman ceased to be alarmed at Anglican Sisterhoods by the end of the last century.

1. COMMUNITY OF THE SISTERS OF THE CHURCH

St Michael's Convent, Ham Common, Richmond, Surrey (1870)

Since its foundation over ninety years ago, this community has been prolific in the number of good works it has launched both at home and abroad. It can trace its origin to the Church Extension Association, established in 1863 by Miss Emily Ayckbowm, daughter of the Rector of Holy Trinity, Chester, who wanted to help the poor of her father's parish. Friends gathered round Miss Ayckbowm, and the Association came into being. The following year she moved to London, where she threw herself into parochial work—"Ragged Sunday-schools" were started (with hot tea and buns for the poor children). Next came catechism classes, and then an embroidery room for helping foreign missions. Not content with these good works, Miss Ayckbowm began to compile leaflets, catechisms, and hymn-books for Sunday-schools. A depot for their sale and distribution was opened.

All this apostolic activity was being carried on at Kilburn, where, in 1867, the bulk of the congregation of St Mary's had been driven from

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[1] *Life and Labour of the People in London.* Third Series: Religious Influences (1902), Vol. VII, p. 349.

[2] Rochester Diocesan Deaconesses' Institution; Women Workers for God in South London (Grey Ladies); Women Workers of the Church Pastoral-Aid Society (Blue Ladies); All Saints' East London Diocesan Deaconesses; St Andrew's Deaconess Community; and the Mildmay Deaconesses.

[3] Ibid., p. 352.

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[1] Charles Booth, op. cit., pp. 352–3.

their church by a new incumbent, who was an aggressive Low Churchman. After no small stir had been aroused, the Bishop of London, Dr Tait, decided that the best way to restore peace was to give permission for the parish to be divided. A temporary church, dedicated to St Augustine, was opened in 1871 and placed in the charge of the Reverend R. C. Kirkpatrick. Nine years later John Loughborough Pearson's magnificent church—inspired by thirteenth-century French Gothic—was dedicated. It was round St Augustine's, Kilburn, that the multiform works of the Sisters of the Church originally grew up. It was Mr Kirkpatrick, later its vicar, who clothed Miss Emily Ayckbowm as the first novice of the new community in 1870. At first she lived alone in a little house in Belgrave Road, Kilburn, which became the headquarters of the Church Extension Association. Before very long she was joined by other ladies, who in turn were clothed and professed. When this house proved too small for their number, they migrated to 27 Kilburn Park Road, and then to Randolph Gardens, where their first convent was erected. Dr Jackson, who in 1869 succeeded Dr Tait as Bishop of London, took a fatherly interest in the new Sisterhood, and formally nominated Mr Kirkpatrick as its chaplain.[1] In 1888 a stately chapel was added to the convent, designed by Frederick New.

No other Anglican religious community has expanded so rapidly as did the Sisters of the Church, but few, if any, have had such a dynamic Foundress. She was in close touch with the spirit of her age. During the 'seventies and 'eighties women were taking more and more part in public life. Three years after the foundation of the Sisters of the Church the first two women were elected to the Metropolitan School Board. In 1876 the Medical Practitioners Act allowed the registration of women doctors. Two years later the University of London voted in favour of the granting of degrees to female students. The University of Oxford decided to admit women for honours examinations in 1884; two years after the first big meeting for female suffrage had been held in London. Mother Emily understood and sympathized with young women who were eager to devote their lives in the service of the poor and the down-trodden; had she herself not defied public opinion when she founded the Church Extension Association? So vocations multiplied, and it became possible for the Foundress to extend her activities beyond London. She opened the first of many orphanages at Kilburn in 1875.[2] The Lady Gomm Dispensary in Rotherhithe, London, S.E., opened in 1884 was the pioneer effort to minister to the sick. It was followed by several large Convalescent, Holiday, and Rest Homes in various parts of England.[1] Nor must the educational work be forgotten. The Sisters of the Church were the first Anglican community to obtain the Government certificate for teachers. In course of time four large schools were opened for the benefit of children in north-west London.[2]

Having gained experience of mission work in the parish of St. Augustine's, Kilburn, the Sisters agreed to undertake similar work at St Michael's, Shoreditch. By the close of the century they were engaged in all kinds of parochial activities at Christ Church, Lisson Grove, N.W.; St Cyprian's, Marylebone; St Mary's, Cable Street, E.; St John's, Commercial Road, E.; All Hallows', Poplar, E.; St Michael's, Bromley; St Mary's, Willesden, and St Mark's, Hamilton Terrace, N.W. Outside London a few Sisters devoted themselves to parish work at St Paul's, Ramsgate. In 1904 another group took over the direction of a Dockers' Lodging House at Hull.

Twenty years after the foundation of the Community its sphere and activities were extended overseas. In 1891 a group of Sisters crossed the Atlantic and began work in Toronto. A Canadian novitiate was opened in 1923, though Canadian novices normally make part of their novitiate at the mother house in England. Another group of Sisters was sent to India in 1892, to open a house in Madras. Seven others sailed for Australia the same year. From Hobart, foundations were made in Perth, Melbourne, Sydney, and Adelaide. Two more houses were established in India—at Rangoon and Ootacamund. All this foreign missionary development in four years, with yet more foundations being made at home in the same period! And still it went on. By 1896 the Sisters of the Church had taken root in Dunedin, New Zealand. In point of fact they were the first Anglican Sisterhood to be established in Australasia. To tell the story of their expansion in the Southern hemisphere would require a book to itself. Neither is there space to record their later foundations in Upper Burma and South Africa. Wherever they went the Sisters opened schools of all types and undertook any work for which there was need.

It was in August 1889 that Dr Benson, then Archbishop of Canterbury,

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[1] Since 1867 the Community of St Peter had also been established in Kilburn. Its orphanage was removed to Mortimer Place from Brompton in that year (see p. 388).

[2] Subsequent orphanages founded were at Eastcombe, Gloucestershire (1884); Broadstairs, Kent (1887); Clevedon, Somerset (1891). Homes for boys were opened in two houses at Kilburn. St Mary's Home, Broadstairs, was moved in 1957.

[1] Broadstairs, Kent (1887); St Anne's-on-Sea, Lancashire (1890); Skegness, Lincolnshire (1902); Broadstairs, Kent—for older orphans—(1908); Ramsgate, Kent (1914); Towyn, North Wales (1914).

[2] The Gordon Memorial School at Kilburn was opened in 1885. Later on the Wilberforce and Keble Memorial Schools were built, and after these came the Princess Frederica School. All were planned for the benefit of children in north-west London. Another development of the Church Extension Association was the opening of a book-room in Paternoster Row, London, in 1881.

paid his first visit to the Sisters. He wrote to a friend: "went on to St Augustine's Sisterhood at Kilburn. Here all was dignity, gravity, silence, beauty—most eager work for six hundred orphans—two great chapels building—went to the embroidery room, where many hundreds of chasubles, etc., complete suits of vestments, Roman colours, are annually made and sent out to priests over the whole world. I told the Sister in Charge to communicate to the Mother Superior, who was at Broadstairs, my opinion that 'they are a very *formidable* body'—which amused her. The idea of 'putting down Ritualism' which a large number of these magnificent bodies are sedulously propagating with every advantage worldly and spiritual with their own saintly lives first and foremost! 'Agree with thine adversary quickly' is rather the course that seems now practicable."[1]

The Mother Foundress died in 1900, worn out by her thirty years' labours in directing the Community she had started by herself. Her name is revered in many parts of the English-speaking world by the thousands who have been educated in the schools conducted by the Sisters of the Church, or in the charitable institutions under their care.[2] Mother Emily was a most remarkable woman. She firmly believed that God wanted her to start a community of women who would give up their whole lives to the service of God and to the spread of the Christian Church, especially by the teaching and training of children in the then world-wide British Empire. Today there are nearly five thousand girls and boys in England, Canada, and Australia who are being taught and trained by the Sisters. Moreover she had very definite ideas about education as on almost everything else—nothing but a *complete* education was sufficient for the girls and boys—a training and preparation for life in its highest and widest sense.

The Sisters of the Church wear a black habit and veil with a crucifix attached to the girdle, with a square white linen collar. The postulancy lasts from four to six months; the novitiate at least three years. Simple vows are then taken for seven years, followed by solemn profession. The spiritual life centres round the recitation of the Divine Office, as found in *The Monastic Diurnal* (1952). The Sisters rise at 5.40 a.m. and go to bed before 10.10 p.m. Lauds begins at 6.20 a.m. and is followed by Prime, Mass, breakfast, conference, and a half-hour meditation. Terce is recited at 8.45, and the rest of the morning is devoted to teaching and other active work. Sext, dinner, and None fill up the time between 12.25 and 1.45 p.m., after which there is a further period of about three hours for active work. Vespers is sung at 6, and is followed by at least half an hour of prayer and spiritual reading, and supper. Before Compline, which is recited at 8.40 p.m., there is a period for recreation, lasting half an hour. On one evening a week the Devotion of the Holy Hour is held, concluding with Benediction. Members of the Benedictine Community of Nashdom visit the mother house regularly to hear confessions and to give spiritual direction. The Greater Silence is strictly kept, and a Lesser Silence for much of the day. In some parts of the world the Community is often called "The Children's Sisters"—a good name because its work has always been concentrated among children in schools and also homes. The special characteristic of our Lord's life which the Sisters of the Church strive to honour is His Obedience. Another branch of influence which should be mentioned is St Michael's Guild for Teachers which was started by the Community. The motto of the Sisters of the Church is "*Pro Ecclesia Dei*"; St Michael is their patron. The legal title of the Community is "The Church Extension Association (Incorporated)". This extremely efficient organization includes among its first seven Patronesses one princess, one marchioness, two countesses, and three lesser lights of the nobility. The Visitor of the Community at the present time is the Right Reverend Kenneth Mackenzie, sometime Bishop of Brechin; the Chaplain-General is the Abbot of Nashdom.

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[1] A. C. Benson, *Life of Edward White Benson* (1899), vol. II, p. 273. Ever since the foundation of the Sisters of the Church in 1870, the Evangelical Anglican clergy and the Nonconformist ministers in north-west London had been united in opposition to the Community. Charles Booth, in his *Life and Labour of the People in London*, writing about 1900, says: "This Kilburn Sisterhood has here its *pendant* in an aggressive Gospel agency started on purpose to 'combat the rising tide of Romanism'. . . . In addition to attacking Romanism and preaching the Gospel according to their lights, they enter boldly into competition with the Sisters of the Church Extension in supplying food and firing to the poor, and point with pride to the thousands of free meals and hundreds of tons of coal dispensed, together with soup apparently *ad libitum*" (Third Series: *Religious Influences*, 1902, vol. I, p. 209). Mr Booth, who was never very well disposed to Anglican Sisterhoods, adds that the Kilburn Sisters' "enthusiasm and zeal have sometimes taken them beyond the bounds of prudence and perhaps of principle also. . . . They have spread all over the world, showing astonishing force and vigour, but even their friends admit, have 'blundered in all kinds of ways' . . . and have refused to submit to the higher powers of the Church whose extension was their avowed object." (Ibid., p. 209.) But Mother Emily Ayckbowm was never afraid of making mistakes Had her daughters not "blundered" sometimes, it is doubtful if they would "have spread all over the world."

In this respect this valiant Victorian lady resembled her contemporary, General Booth. It is interesting to note that she moved her Church Extension Association to north-west London the year before the East London Christian Mission, which was the forerunner of the Salvation Army, launched its aggressive soul-saving campaign. Both these nineteenth-century religious leaders believed that the Christian life is a warfare, even if they held different conceptions of the nature of the Church.

[2] The foundation of the Sisters of the Church took place in the same year as the passing of the Education Act which set up compulsory local School Boards. It was laid down that all religious instruction in Board schools was to be non-sectarian.

The militant spirit of the Sisters of the Church is well expressed in the representation of St Michael the Archangel on the cover of their lively bi-monthly magazine *Our Work*. This paper was first published in 1878 and has never since failed to appear, even in the midst of wars and air raids. Turning over the pages of any of the numerous volumes of the chronical of "The Church Extension Association Incorporated", one forms a vivid picture of its activities in orphanages, convalescent homes, schools, and in mission work at home and abroad. "You are the light of the world . . . a lamp is not lighted to be put away under a bushel measure; it is put on the lamp-stand, to give light to all the people of the house; and your light must shine so brightly before men that they can see your good works, and glorify your Father who is in heaven." Emily Ayckbowm did not believe that the Community she founded should be hidden or efface itself: she believed firmly in publicity and in spreading a knowledge of religion by any legitimate means. She was definitely a belligerent Churchwoman, whose unquenchable zeal and enthusiasm were far ahead of those of most of her contemporaries.

But Mother Emily was not only a "belligerent" Churchwoman; in fact her militancy and enthusiasm came from her deep spirituality and devoted love of our Lord. Perhaps the most wonderful part of her life was that in the midst of all the active work she began, which before her death in June 1900 had spread all round the world, she was yet able to find time and inspiration to write and bequeath to her Community a library of books on which the spiritual life of the Sisters is still founded and built up. She compiled, after careful study of the rules of ancient and modern orders from St Benedict onwards, a detailed Rule for the Sisters of the Church, which was much in advance of its time in the English Church, and except for a few details has never been altered. She also drew up under legal advice a careful Constitution for the Community, putting all its affairs on a sound and lasting basis. In addition to this she wrote and compiled about ten volumes of Instructions for the Sisters, enlarging on the Rule, the meaning of the Vows, Silence, Prayer, Mortification, the duties of Superiors, and of Sisters engaged in educational work and other work among children.

Reading these volumes one is struck by by her extensive knowledge of ancient, medieval and modern writers on the Religious Life. Her books never seem out of date but are based on the unchanging principles of the spiritual and religious life, and yet are full of common sense and extraordinarily accurate in psychological insight. Much of this writing was done in the later years of her life, when she had very bad health, and also when the first rapid growth and popularity of the Community had some serious setbacks. Perhaps the Sisters of the Church owe as much to these last years of sorrow and suffering as to the earlier energy and dynamic zeal. Over and over again in her writings she reminds those coming after her that work in itself is of no avail unless upheld by prayer and suffering and love, and unless the Sisters can see in those whom they teach and help the person of Christ Himself.

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The Sisters now number about one hundred and fifty. The Kilburn mother house was destroyed by enemy action in 1940. Today the general mother house, novitiate, and church embroidery work are housed at St Michael's Convent, Ham Common, Surrey, a late seventeenth-century mansion. The buildings have been enlarged, and in 1956 a new chapel, designed by Graham Crump, was opened. The Community have their own cemetery plot. There is an Australian novitiate at Perth, and Canadian girls can test their vocations in Toronto.

Their branch houses in England are as follows: The Old Palace School, Croydon (direct-grant grammar school); St Margaret's School, Micklegate, York (day-school for girls); St Gabriel's House, Princes Park, Liverpool, 8 (home for girls); St Hilda's School, Sefton Park, Liverpool, 17 (an aided selective high school for girls); The Ormerod Home, St Anne's-on-Sea, Lancs. (convalescent home for boys and girls); St Mary's Home (convalescent home for boys and girls), North Foreland Road, Broadstairs, Kent; St Edith's Home, Clevedon, Somerset (home for girls and boys). Two aided junior mixed schools are conducted in London (Princess Frederica, Kensal Rise; Keble Memorial, Harlesden). Sunday Schools and visiting are carried on in several London parishes, and Sisters help in parish missions.

Overseas there are houses at 134 Ulster Street, Toronto, Canada (convent, novitiate, bookshop, etc.); St Mary's House, 500–4 Euclid Avenue, Toronto (residence for business women); St Mildred's College, 36 Walmer Road, Toronto (boarding- and day-school); Perth College, Mount Lawley, Perth, West Australia (boarding and day-school and novitiate); St Peter's School, Stoneyfell, South Australia (boarding- and day-school); St Michael's, Marlton Crescent, St Kilda, Melbourne, Victoria (boarding- and day-school); St Mary's, Wandin Yallock, Victoria (rest home and mission work); St Gabriel's, Birrell Street, Waverley, Sydney, N.S.W. (boarding- and day-school); St Michael's Collegiate School, Macquarie Street, Hobart, Tasmania (boarding- and day-school).

2. SCOTTISH SOCIETY OF REPARATION (COMMUNITY OF ST MARY AND ST JOHN)

The House of Bethany, Hardgate, Aberdeen (1870)

Hardgate, Aberdeen, is a long winding street in the central part of the city, but not much used by traffic. At its lower end, on the south-east side, a high wall prevents the passer-by from looking over a big garden. Double gates give access to a short drive, at the end of which is a small but solid-looking mansion of grey granite, with many gables and a characteristic Scottish pepper-box turret. Ring the bell, and it will be answered by a nun, dressed in a black habit, veil, and scapular; starched linen wimple, with an ebony cross on a red cord round her neck. Beneath the scapular is a crimson cord girdle. She belongs to the Scottish Society of Reparation. For the past seventy-five years its headquarters has been this granite mansion in Aberdeen, known as "The House of Bethany".

If you ask to see the chapel, the nun will conduct you up steep winding stairs. A peep into the sacristy is enough to show that this is no recent foundation. There is a pleasant, homely, old-fashioned air about the well-worn furniture, including a screen which serves as a confessional. The chapel itself is mostly occupied by the Sisters' choir, with sufficient space for a small congregation outside the open wooden screen. There is stained glass which made the chapel rather dark but redecoration has brightened it. There used to be wood-carving behind the stalls and high altar, reminiscent of what would be found in almost any chapel of a religious community in Belgium or France, erected in the 'sixties or 'seventies. There are the inevitable gradines with a small tabernacle in the middle; six candlesticks, and a large painted crucifix, with statues of our Lady and St John. On the Gospel side an archway leads into a recess, which serves as a Chapel of the Blessed Sacrament.

On the small altar is another tabernacle, backed by a crucifix and figures. When it was opened in 1876, this convent chapel, with its crucifixes and figures on the altars evidently imported from Bavaria, had a foreign and exotic look which may have surprised some of the older worshippers who were accustomed to the bare little Episcopalian kirks of the Buchan district of Aberdeenshire. Downstairs, with its door outside in the garden, is a small chapel, dedicated to St Anne, with a predominant colour scheme of bright blue. This is used by the children, who make up the happy family cared for by the Sisters.

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It was in 1865 that Elizabeth Ann Macdowall White became a widow on the death of her husband, the Reverend John Alexander White, Rector of St James' Episcopal Church, Leith. He had been a disciple of the Tractarians. In 1862 he persuaded Mr Gladstone, who was a devoted supporter of the Episcopal Church, to lay the foundation stone of the present Gothic Revival building in Constitution Street. Later Mrs White decided to found a small orphanage in memory of her husband. Soon afterwards she moved the children to Perth, where she was sure of the help and support of the Very Reverend E. B. K. Fortescue,[1] Provost of St Ninian's Cathedral, designed by William Butterfield and consecrated by Bishop Forbes of Brechin in 1850. Here, as perhaps nowhere else in Scotland at that date, Mrs White found the fullest expression of the Oxford movement in liturgy and ceremonial.

Two ladies joined Mrs White at the orphanage. As often happened in such cases they resolved to form themselves into a religious community. Mrs White left the children under the care of her companions, went to London, and made her novitiate with the All Saints' Sisterhood in Margaret Street under Mother-Foundress Harriet Brownlow Byron. On her return to Perth she was installed as first Superior of the Scottish Society of Reparation on 18 June 1870.

Its objects were laid down as the offering of Reparative Adoration to our Lord in the Blessed Sacrament on the Altar; together with the care of homeless children, the work of Christian education, and the assistance to the parochial clergy in any way possible. When one recalls that Bishop Forbes of Brechin had been tried for heresy by his fellow bishops in Scotland for the most guarded exposition of the catholic doctrine of the Holy Eucharist only ten years before this community was founded at Perth, it shows how great was the advance of the catholic movement when Reparative Adoration of the Blessed Sacrament could be made the main purpose of an Episcopalian Sisterhood.

It would be interesting to discover if the foundress, during her novitiate in London, had been in contact with the Reverend A. B. Goulden, who that same year had established a small community in the parish of St Alphege, Southwark, "to repair as far as lay in its power the dishonour done to Jesus in the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar, by continual intercession for those who do not know Him under the Sacramental species of Bread and Wine" (see p. 430).[2]

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[1] Father of Adrian Fortescue, the liturgist and historian of the Eastern Churches.

[2] Provost Fortescue spent his holidays on the mainland of Europe and may quite well have come across one or other of the French communities dedicated to Reparative Adoration. Henry Humble, the Precentor, was also a very advanced churchman. To the student of church history the interesting fact is that it was not until 1884 that

Provost Fortescue left St Ninian's Cathedral in 1871, and shortly afterwards joined the Roman Church. After his departure the Society of Reparation must have found their position in Perth somewhat difficult. Two years later Bishop Suther, who had known Mrs White and her husband when he was an incumbent in Edinburgh, invited them to Aberdeen. As no suitable house could be found in the city the orphanage was moved to Cove, five miles south of Aberdeen (situated in the diocese of Brechin), where a mission had been opened in 1864. Here the Sisters worked among the fisher-folk under the direction of the Reverend Thomas Isaac Ball.[1]

Eventually a house known as "Arthur's Seat" was rented in Aberdeen. It soon proved too small, and a more spacious property in Hardgate was bought and renamed "The House of Bethany". The Mother Foundress was her own architect for the additions made to the original building. She must have had a fairly good knowledge of Scottish domestic architecture, for the result is quite pleasing. The new work included the chapel, which was blessed on the Octave Day of the Epiphany, 1876.

Since then the Community has lived an almost hidden life in Hardgate. The Mother Foundress ruled over the Society until her death in 1893. For some years there was a branch house at Ellon, Aberdeenshire, for delicate children. There was also at one time a boarding-school (St Mary's) for the daughters of the clergy and others, carried on originally in Edinburgh and afterwards in Aberdeen. The Sisters have taught in the Sunday-schools of the city, looked after the sacristies of several churches, and engaged in district visiting. For many years they had a guest house for ladies, but this had to be closed during the Second World War. During the past seven years the Sisters have had a holiday home for the children, overlooking the sea at Catterline, Kincardineshire. *The Day Office of the Church* is used for the recitation of the hours of prayer. There is a Third Order for persons living in the world, who bind themselves to help the Sisters. The House of Bethany has recently been given a "new look" and has lost most of its former Victorian atmosphere. At the time of writing the Warden is the Reverend Denis Gilbert Smith, Vicar of Owston, Doncaster; the Visitor is the Bishop of Aberdeen and Orkney.

Marcia, Baroness Herries, invited the Benedictines of the Perpetual Adoration at Arras to make a foundation in Scotland, erecting for them a stately convent at Dumfries, to make reparation for all the sacrileges committed in this country at the time of the Reformation. It was only in 1904 that the white-habited Sisters of Marie Réparatrice opened their convent in Edinburgh. So the Episcopalians have the credit of founding the first community of Reparation in Scotland.

[1] It was the Reverend T. I. Ball, in collaboration with the Reverend H. A. Walker, who compiled *The Day Office of the Church*. The first edition was published by John Masters, London, in 1871. Mr Ball must have worked on this translation of the Day Hours of the Roman Breviary when he was in charge of the Mission at Cove Bay. To the Kalendar he added the names of the saints inserted in the Scottish Prayer Book of 1637, and which also found place in Bishop Torry's Prayer Book (1849). We read in the Preface that this was done "to render his book of additional value to Scottish Catholics". *The Day Office of the Church* was adopted by the Community, and is still used by the Sisters in choir. It would appear to be the first Anglican Diurnal which included the Feast of the Sacred Heart, inserted an Octave for the Feast of the Assumption, and in the appendices printed an Order for Communicating the Sick from the Reserved Sacrament. There is also a form for the Benediction of a Tabernacle.

3. COMMUNITY OF ST MARY THE VIRGIN AND ST MODWENNA

King Street, Dundee (1871)

Bishop Forbes of Brechin dreamed of establishing a Sisterhood in Scotland almost from the date of his consecration in 1847. There is reason to believe that he was connected with the Sisterhood of the Holy Cross and the Devonport Society (see p. 279), and Miss Mary Bruce, one of the original members of the former community, worked among the poor of Dundee for some time in the 'fifties, though it is not clear whether she was still regarded as a religious. The Bishop did not, however, find it possible to form a community in his diocese until the spring of 1870 when Frances Elizabeth Barnard Bolland, the widow of a clergyman, and another lady, Margaret Neish, offered to establish a Sisterhood in Dundee. A house was provided by Mrs Bolland at 10 King Street, Dundee, and arrangements were made for a chapel. On 18 August 1870 the bishop laid the foundation stone of the chapel, which was the first place of worship to be built for an Episcopalian religious community. It was designed by George Edmund Street, and in certain details of its decorated Gothic, especially the rose window and reredos, it is reminiscent of this same architect's much larger chapel at St Margaret's Convent at East Grinstead (see p. 336).

Mrs Bolland and Miss Neish made their novitiate with the All Saints' Community, which then had its mother house in Margaret Street, London (see p. 320), and returned to Dundee for the consecration of the chapel by the bishop on the feast of St Bartholomew, 24 August 1871. After the consecration the bishop proceeded with the celebration of the Holy Eucharist and installed Mrs Bolland as Superior of the Community. The Community was originally named "The Sisters of the Poor of St Mary the Virgin". Their objects were the visiting and nursing of the poor and sick, the relief of their spiritual and temporal needs, providing for the reverent and due administration of the sacraments, the burial of the dead, and other works of mercy.

The Community was affiliated to All Saints' Sisterhood. The Statutes and Rules, which were based on those of All Saints' with certain modifications to meet Scottish conditions, appear to have been drawn up under the direction of Bishop Forbes though they were not formally adopted until 1877, two years after his death.

Mrs Bolland set up a trust to provide a chaplain for the Sisterhood and "to ensure a daily Celebration of the Holy Communion according to the Office for the use of the Church of Scotland commonly called 'The Scottish Communion Office'", a copy of which was signed as relative to the Statutes. It was provided that Reservation of the Blessed Sacrament should be allowed according to the usage of the Scottish Church. An interesting feature of the chapel is the "Sacrament House", in the late medieval Scottish manner, which is situated high up in the wall on the Gospel side of the sanctuary. The Sacrament House is no longer used for Reservation, a tabernacle on the altar having been added in recent times. The curious wooden steps specially designed to enable the priest to reach the aumbry are still preserved in the sacristy, as is the pyx for Reservation in both kinds designed by Bishop Forbes himself.

Bishop Forbes provided that as the Statutes allowed the Reservation of the Blessed Sacrament according to the use of the Scottish Church, that is, for the communion of the sick and dying, every clergyman in Dundee might apply for admission to the chapel and might take away a portion of the consecrated elements. He directed that the chaplain before celebrating should reverently consume what had been consecrated the day before.

The little Sisterhood was the first Anglican community to be founded by a bishop, but it never had more than a handful of members, and by the end of the nineteenth century it was almost extinct. In 1900 the foundress died, and in the following year Bishop Jermyn arranged that the Society of St Margaret, East Grinstead (see p. 354), should take over the convent and hospital. St Mary's is now run as a branch house of the Community of St Margaret of Scotland, Aberdeen (see p. 350), and the Sisters maintain a home for the aged with a summerhouse at Carnoustie. Some parish work is done in Dundee.

4. ORDER OF HOLY CHARITY (SOCIETAS SANCTAE CARITATIS)

Edinburgh (1872)

This community was founded on the feast of St Benedict (21 March) 1872 as a parochial Sisterhood in connection with St Columba's Church, Edinburgh. The founders were the Reverend Charles Edward Bowden, then newly instituted as incumbent of St Columba's, and Miss Isabella Leaf, who had worked with him previously at Redcar. The Community was the outcome of a design formed in 1869 which could not at that time be carried out. The 1869 intention was this:

> "The want which is felt around us of that spirit which characterized the early followers of our Blessed Lord has induced one of the Laity to endeavour to form a Society which shall be united in a special bond of prayer for the 'most excellent gift' and a daily effort to cultivate a spirit of love, and to express the same in certain *definite acts*, that so the fruits of this bond may be seen in ever-increasing devotion to God and in a perpetual stream of loving-kindness towards man."

With Miss Leaf as Mother Superior and with their House of Charity at 7 Johnston Terrace as headquarters, the Community, who were known as Sisters of Charity and collectively by the initials "S.S.C." of their Latin title, undertook a variety of external works. They worked among the poor in the district (St Columba's is on the south side of the Castle Hill), visiting and relieving the sick, holding classes, and so on. As a result of their labours, many of the poorer residents were brought into the Church. The Sisters also ran a home for the old, infirm, and destitute and a home for little children. About 1887 the Community undertook work in Carlisle, and about 1888 they extended their activities to Durham, Burnley, and Newcastle, the house at Newcastle becoming their headquarters. About 1889 they withdrew from Edinburgh altogether, leaving behind, however, two Sisters who continued to work at St Columba's for many years. The subsequent history of the Community in the north of England has not been traced: it was probably disbanded some time in the 'nineties. It is more important that one of its professed members during the Edinburgh period, Miss Jessie Park Moncrieff, established at Edmonton in 1891 the Community of the Holy Comforter which developed into the community of Benedictine nuns now at West Malling (see p. 465).

Miss Moncrieff had with her at Edmonton a novice from the Order of Holy Charity and it is reasonable to see in the Benedictine development, for which she was responsible, the fulfilment of the intention behind the original foundation on the feast of St Benedict in 1872.

5. COMMUNITY OF ST LAURENCE

The Convent, Belper, Derbyshire (1874)

This community was founded in 1874 in the parish of St Laurence, Norwich, by the rector, the Reverend E. A. Hillyard. Two years later the founder and the original sisterhood moved to the parish of Christ Church, Belper. In the Derbyshire market town, with its cotton mills and hosiery factories, there was plenty of work for them to do. Dr G. A. Selwyn, Bishop of Lichfield, in whose diocese Belper was then situated, agreed to become Visitor and assisted in drawing up a Rule and Constitution. These first Sisters chose as their community motto: "*Christo in pauperibus*" (with Christ among the poor).

The first purpose of the life of the Sisters is in the praise and worship of Almighty God, in the daily offering of the Holy Sacrifice and in the recitation of *The Hours of Prayer*. Secondly the Sisters seek to serve wherever help is most needed, most especially among those whom their patron, St Laurence, counted as "the treasures of the Church" and among the aged, the sick and suffering, dying and afflicted, and children. From 1886 to 1941 they had a House of Rest for priests at Scarborough.

At the mother house cheerful and homely wards are maintained for the care of over twenty chronic invalids. There are conducted and private retreats and quiet days. Guests are received. The community helps in Christ Church parish and is also responsible for mission work at St Faith's, Lane End, Belper, where a great deal of work is done among children. Mission work is frequently undertaken by the Sisters in parishes all over England, the demand being greater than they can supply. The Sisters also engage in many useful crafts, including pottery. Kelham House is run as a guest house for the Society of the Sacred Mission and St Luke's House, Chesterfield, is for the aged.

The Warden is the Reverend Peter Clark, S.S.M., and the Visitor is the Right Reverend Geoffrey Allen, Bishop of Derby.

6. COMMUNITY OF ST DENYS

St Denys Convent, Warminster, Wiltshire (1879)

This Community was founded by the Reverend Sir James Erasmus Philipps, Vicar of Warminster, who was deeply concerned with the missionary work of the Church. He founded St Boniface College in 1869, and a training college for women missionaries in Warminster in 1864, which has sent missionaries into all parts of the world. The response to the call to missionary work developed in some of the candidates a desire for a greater self-oblation in the life of the Counsels; but the then Bishop of Salisbury would not admit the Sisters to Profession under life vows until 1879.

The Patron Saint of the Community is Dionysius the Areopagite, bishop and martyr, who was drawn by St Paul to seek fellowship with Christ in his sufferings and to share in the power of his resurrection.

The circumstances of its foundation made it natural for this Community to place foreign missionary service and the training of mission workers in the forefront of its activities. The Sisters have themselves worked in India and are now in the Diocese of St John's, S. Africa, where they are engaged in hospital work and also in evangelistic work in and around All Saints Mission. In England they do Parish Work in Chiswick and Warminster. At Warminster, too, the Community has St Monica School and a church embroidery workroom. In the grounds of the Convent is Ivy House, where guests are welcome for retreat or rest. From time to time Sisters are sent to help in parochial missions.

The life of the Community is first to glorify God and serve his Church through the offering of its life and worship. The *Hours of Prayer* are said in all its houses, and the Eucharist is daily offered for the needs of the world. So the Chapel of the Convent is the centre of the life of the Community, where the guidance of the Holy Spirit is sought, and the needs of the Church are remembered.

The varied works of the Community offer an opportunity for testing their vocation to aspirants of different abilities and training. The postulancy is from three to six months. Life vows are taken after a novitiate of at least two years. The Warden is the Reverend G. Gater, S.S.J.E., the Visitor, the Bishop of Salisbury.

7. COMMUNITY OF THE SERVANTS OF THE CROSS

Convent of the Holy Rood, Findon, Worthing (1877)

Having heard such good reports of the rescue work for girls undertaken by the Community of St Mary the Virgin, Wantage, in Cornwall and elsewhere, Dr Jackson, Bishop of London, asked the Sisters if they could take on similar work in his diocese. In 1875 a group of them settled in Fulham, where about two years later St James' Home, Fulham Palace Road, was opened, after the Community had lived in a house near by for some time. The development of the rescue work resulted in the formation of a small daughter community. Holy Cross House was dedicated, and the first professions made, in 1882. The Mother Superior, Assistant Superior, and the Novice Mistress were provided by the mother-community at Wantage. This continued until 1952 when the Assistant Superior and the Novice Mistress were appointed from members of the Community of the Servants of the Cross. The vocation of its members was to be a Life of Reparation, so the Sisterhood was given the title of the Servants of the Cross. The chief work of the members has long since developed into the care of aged and infirm women, though at one time the nursing of invalid children was included, also the care of a small guest-house at Brighton.

In 1893 the Community left Fulham for Worthing, where their house was known as the Home of the Holy Rood. About forty years later it was decided to move into the country. A new convent was built on the Sussex Downs at Findon and opened in 1934.[1] Here were provided wards and private rooms for sixty patients apart from the convent, with a beautiful chapel between the two blocks. For three or four years a few Sisters helped in the work of the Jane Furse Memorial Hospital, South Africa, but, as the numbers of the Community did not allow of a continuous supply, they were withdrawn in 1950. In response to a request from the Reverend Mother of the Society of St Margaret, the Community, in June 1959, took over the East Grinstead Sisters St Margaret's House, Lindfield, Sussex—a Guest House where these Sisters had for many years had the care of elderly, but fairly able-bodied women. This has proved a very happy venture. As is the case in all communities founded by Wantage, no matter how varied are the activities, a considerable part of the day is given up to the recitation of *The Day Hours of the Church* and private prayer. After a novitiate lasting from three to four years, First Vows are taken for a minimum period of three years before Life Vows are permitted. The Sisters also do most of the hospital work themselves with secular assistance. So the life of reparation started by the Servants of the Cross over seventy years ago in London still goes on at the Convent of the Holy Rood, Findon, and at St Margaret's House, Lindfield, in close touch with the mother community at Wantage. The Warden is the Reverend H. E. W. Slade, S.S.J.E.

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[1] The architects were the Hon. John Seeley (later Lord Mottistone) and Paul Paget.

8. COMMUNITY OF ST KATHARINE OF EGYPT

St Katharine's Convent, Parmoor, Henley-on-Thames, Oxfordshire (1879)

The 'seventies of the last century witnessed the birth of about half a dozen communities of women, none of which, with the exception of the Sisters of the Church, became very numerous, and whose history is mainly confined to works of mercy and charity carried on without much publicity. Among this group of Sisterhoods is the Community of St Katharine of Alexandria, which came into being on 16 December 1879, when Miss Paulina Mary Granville, already well past middle age, was clothed as a novice in the Chapel of St Mary's Home, Wantage. She had no intention of joining the Community of St Mary the Virgin, but planned to found a community of her own. After working for several years as superintendent of a work for the relief of the sick poor in their own homes, which had its headquarters in Warwick Road, Earl's Court, London, she had gradually realized that she must test her vocation to the Religious Life. It was on the advice of the chaplain of the Wantage Sisters at St James' Home, Fulham, that Miss Granville made her novitiate at their mother house in Berkshire. A year later she was professed at a service in St Clement's Church, Bournemouth. Two ladies joined her at the house in Earl's Court, where she was installed as first Mother Superior by Dr Temple, Bishop of London.

An orphanage was started, and the Sisters and the children moved to larger quarters at River Court, Hammersmith. In 1884 the chaplain of Clerkenwell Prison asked Mother Pauline Mary to provide a home for girls of good character who had been convicted for first offences. Thus started the work for the reclamation of girls which remained the chief apostolate of the Community for the next sixty years. The orphans were handed over to the charge of the Sisters of Bethany at Bournemouth. In June 1887 Normand House, Fulham, was blessed by Bishop Temple. It became the mother house of the Community, and the centre from which various works were established, e.g. a mission house in Earl's Court, Homes of Rest at Tunbridge Wells (moved to Bexhill-on-Sea) and

Padstow, Cornwall. For some years the Sisters worked in the parish of St Alban's, Fulham. In 1899 a permanent chapel, designed by Sir Arthur Blomfield, was added to Normand House. The Mother Foundress retired in 1911 and died in 1923—over a hundred years old.

The first Warden of the Community was the Reverend William Purton, curate of St Clement's, Bournemouth, under whose direction a Rule, based on that of St Augustine, was drawn up. He was followed by the Reverend Frederick Ponsonby and the Reverend Alfred Gurney, then by the Reverend the Hon. Alfred Hanbury-Tracy, successively Vicars of St Barnabas', Pimlico. The last-named acted as Warden for nearly thirty years.

The work for girls went on in the usual way until about 1930 when the number of applications for admission to Normand House began to dwindle, mainly because of the many Approved Schools which had been started. To supplement the funds of the Community ladies were received as paying guests. In 1937 a hostel for girls on probation was opened. Then came the Second World War. On 18 June 1944 the convent in Fulham was damaged by enemy action. A fortnight later, when it had been made habitable again, another "flying-bomb" achieved far worse damage to the buildings. The Sisters had to seek refuge where they could and were separated in all directions, some with friends, others with the All Saints' Community at London Colney, the Communities of the Holy and Undivided Trinity and of St Elizabeth of Hungary, and at the Convent of the Epiphany, Truro. Eventually they were able to reassemble at Bournemouth in a house lent to them by one of their Associates. It was not until April 1945 that the Community had its own convent again, when the Bishop of Guildford, assisted by Dom Martin Collet, Abbot of Nashdom, blessed a house at Haslemere, Surrey. The first Mass celebrated here was a never-to-be-forgotten occasion after ten months wandering from one place to another.

Lady boarders were taken, and it was not long before the convent became too small, so house-hunting had to begin again. On 11 February 1947 Parmoor House, about six miles north of Henley-on-Thames, was secured, and in September that same year the Community moved to their new home, which has large grounds. It is situated in rural surroundings on the Chiltern Hills. There is accommodation for about twenty ladies of reduced circumstances. Looking after these ladies is now the main work of the Sisters, but two of them are engaged in parish work at Skirmett, the nearest village. There is always a waiting-list of ladies who want to stay at the convent. Since the Community has been established at Parmoor its numbers have begun to increase, and several Sisters have been professed. The Office Book used in choir is *The Monastic Diurnal.*

The three to six months' postulancy is followed by a novitiate which may be extended to eighteen months. Temporary vows are taken for three years, after which life vows are made. The present Warden is the Abbot of Nashdom. The Community (which consists of one Order only) is now under the spiritual direction of the monks of this abbey. The Visitor is the Bishop of Oxford.

9. COMMUNITY OF THE EPIPHANY

Convent of the Epiphany, Truro, Cornwall (1883)

The mother house of this Community stands on the slope of one of the hills by which Truro is surrounded. By a drive which winds upwards between green banks chequered by shadow of branches, one approaches a stone building formerly known as "Alverton", the front door of which is set in an angle between the chapel and the west wing, beneath a little turret from which the clock chimes and the bell rings for Divine Office. Extensions have been made to the house at many different times, but, though irregular in pattern, it still gives an impression of harmony with its slate roofs and gables, its narrow rectangular windows, and the yellow-grey stone which here and there looks as if it had been brushed with a faint emerald dust.

The present chapel is one of the later additions. It was designed by Mr Edmund Sedding, and dedicated in 1910, on the eve of the feast of the Transfiguration, so that the first service to be held in it after the dedication was the Eucharist of what is the Community's great summer festival. At the time of its building the western towers of Truro Cathedral were in construction, and the stones for the chapel cut in the cathedral yard. In style, it is a calm Early English, with low-pitched, stone-groined roof, lancet windows, and apsidal east end. The altar, a memorial to Bishop Wilkinson, stands on wide steps of white marble, and is of veined alabaster, with a curved border of vine leaves and fruit, and a circular inset in high relief representing the Virgin and Child and groups of kneeling angels at the sides. The five lancet windows behind it represent the glorified Saviour adored by the Church Triumphant, and in front hang seven Venetian sanctuary lamps; while above, the ribs of the vault are gathered into a boss on which is carved the Adoration of the Magi. A recess to the north side of the sanctuary contains a life-size wooden crucifix from Oberammergau. Above the antechapel is a gallery, and adjoining it is the tiny white-walled chapel for the use of invalid Sisters.

When the chapel was built, a beautiful oak had to be sacrificed; but other trees are still a feature of the garden, for a former owner of the estate had taken a special interest in them. Though all appear perfectly at home in their setting, some are of unusual kinds, including a tulip-tree, a split beech, a camphor-tree, and others. At all times of the year the different colours of the leaves make an attractive contrast, while in autumn, opposite the wall of the refectory hung with crimson creeper, the golden poplar glows its brightest, and the steep slope between them has that intense greenness which makes the wet weather of the west country seem well worth while. Above the convent buildings one can pass, by a lavender-fringed path, through the walled garden, with its flowers, apple-trees, and glasshouses, and the little bee garden on the left, to the "terrace"—a grassy slope planted with firs and other trees, whence are visible the spires of the cathedral, with which the history and work of this Community are so closely linked.[1]

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"May my sister be to you what Madame de Chantal was to the saintly Bishop of Geneva, St Francis de Sales." These words, written by the sister of the Mother Foundress in the year which saw the birth of the Community of the Epiphany, suggest something of the human means through which the Holy Spirit worked to bring it into being. For its foundation was the fruit of a friendship truly reminiscent of that between St Francis de Sales and St Jeanne de Chantal, out of which came the Order of the Visitation.

George Howard Wilkinson, the founder of the Community, was born in 1833. He passed through Oxford, taking his degree with honours in 1855. He was a man whose spiritual influence was felt by all with whom he came into contact: with the Durham miners, with the outcasts of a London slum, with the conventional society of St Peter's, Eaton Square, with the Cornish of the Diocese of Truro, and with the northern people among whom he ended his life as Bishop of St Andrews and Primus of the Scottish Episcopal Church. Canon Scott Holland, in a memoir written at the time of his death, notes his "amazing power to make others aware of a Spirit not his own", and "the remarkable combination in him of the mystical and practical temper. . . . He lived in direct and intimate touch with the invisible world, but inseparable from the inner light was his shrewd practical judgment, his passion for method and punctuality, and his keen insight into character." He had vision to perceive, at a time when it was still widely unappreciated by his fellow churchmen, the value of lives dedicated to prayer and to the entire service of God, and he was quick to recognize the person destined to co-operate with him in the founding of a religious order which should answer this need and prove to be a centre of rest in a troubled world. The firm and gentle hand which put this design into execution was that of Miss Julian Warrender, daughter of Sir John Warrender, Baronet, of Lochend, and Lady Julian Maitland, youngest daughter of the 8th Earl of Lauderdale. Born in 1827, she spent her youth mainly in her native Scotland. After her father's death in 1867 she lived for some years in London, in Chester Square, and there she came into close touch with George Howard Wilkinson, helping in his mission work at Great Windmill Street and later in his better-known work at St Peter's, Eaton Square. She was brought into contact with people of all classes, whom she never failed to love and influence, as was later the case with the smaller and more intimate group who joined the Sisterhood.

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[1] From notes supplied by the Mother Superior of the Community of the Epiphany.

At the appointed time these two souls, each chosen by God for a definite share in the founding of the Community of the Epiphany, were drawn together. The record of the wonderful years at St Peter's is faithfully told in the *Memoir of George Howard Wilkinson* by A. J. Mason (2 vols. 1909), and as the work progressed, and the need for a band of consecrated women to help him by prayer and service increased, it was to Julian Warrender that he turned. He found her spiritually prepared, as the thought of the Religious Life had been in her mind for many years.

In 1880 she left her home in Chester Square and, with two or three companions, took up her residence at Hobart Place, where they all lived for some time, but feeling the need for more quiet preparation than was possible there, the friends moved to Boyne Hill, Maidenhead, in 1881. There the Vicar of St Peter's would visit them periodically to give them instruction and spiritual ministrations. The Rule and Constitutions were drawn up, and the novitiate duly inaugurated. On the appointment of Dr Wilkinson to the See of Truro in 1883 he at once invited the Sisters to live and work in his diocese, and with very little delay they moved to Cornwall and took up their residence in a house at Truro, called "Alverton", which became the mother house of the Community. On All Saints' Day of that year the first Sisters were professed and Mother Julian was installed as Superior. The feast has always been kept as the foundation date of the Community.

The special interest of the Community of the Epiphany lies in the fact that it was the first community in the Church of England to be taken under the wing of a bishop from its foundation, and to be brought into his diocese immediately after his consecration.[1] It shows what a high opinion Bishop Wilkinson had of Mother Julian and her companions, and how sure he was of their loyalty and devotion. On his part he took a keen interest in every detail of their life, observance, and work, insisting that adequate time should be set apart for prayer and study. He devised the habit they adopted; he regularized their status in the diocese; he pondered over every word of their Rule; he even drew up a scheme of Day Hours for the Sisters which was used for some years though it was later given up. *The Hours of Prayer* are now used.

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[1] The Community of SS. Mary and Modwenna had been founded in the Scottish Episcopal Church by Bishop Forbes of Brechin twelve years earlier.

The kind of community which it was in the minds of the founder and Mother Foundress to create, was akin to that of the Order of the Visitation, founded by St Francis de Sales in 1610. Bishop Wilkinson explained the objects and principles of the Sisterhood at his first Diocesan Conference—"The plan . . . is very simple. The Bible as interpreted by the Prayer Book in its obvious meaning is their standard. Loyal submission to their Bishop is their guiding principle. . . . At present they are working in schools, visiting the sick, and helping so far as they are able, all who need their assistance. The special object, however, which I wish to accomplish by their instrumentality is the developing and deepening of women's work in the diocese."[1] The founder also hoped that the Sisters might "be invited to stay for two or three weeks at a time in our towns and villages, to strengthen the hands of the Church, and to render any help which they are able to the clergy of the parish". It was his wish that women should be sent to the Community for training in various branches of parochial and mission work.

The dedication of the Community is to the great mystery of the Epiphany. The ideal set before each Sister is that, by her character and her deeds, she should diffuse some rays of the light of Christ in the Church and in the world. The central thought of light and glory is embodied in the Community badge—"*Deus est Lux*"—and in the Associates' motto—"*Luce magistra*". The feast of the Transfiguration, as well as that of the Epiphany, is kept as a special festival by the Community. The postulancy may last six months, and is followed by a novitiate of not less than two years. At First Profession vows are taken for a period of three years. Life Profession follows. In regard to the daily life, almost equal time is given to prayer and service. The Holy Eucharist is celebrated daily in the chapel; the full Day Office is recited in choir, and provision made for mental prayer, Bible study, and devotional reading, together with sufficient secular reading to enable the Sisters to keep in touch with modern life and its special needs. A prominent work of the Community is that of intercession, and definite time is set apart for its corporate as well

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[1] A. J. Mason, op. cit., vol. II, pp. 153 and 154.

as for its private fulfilment. Since 1933 the Blessed Sacrament had been reserved in the Cloister Chapel. In 1950 permission was granted for its reservation in the Convent Chapel.

Attached to the Community are Companions—women living a dedicated life in the world—and a larger body of Associates, priests, and laity, men and women, whose link with the Community is that of mutual prayer and interest. The Warden is the Very Reverend Eric Abbott, Dean of Westminster; the Visitor, the Bishop of Truro.

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The work undertaken by the Sisters is varied, and has developed broadly on the lines laid down by the founder, changing from time to time, though not in principle, to meet varying needs and circumstances.

At the mother house in Truro retreats for Associates and other women are held periodically throughout the year, with Quiet Days for young people and children of school age. Private retreats are held for those desiring them. Although there is no separate guest house, a limited number of visitors who desire the opportunity of quiet rest, study, or prayer can be received at the mother house. Altar breads are made and sent to many churches at home and overseas. The department for church embroidery has existed almost from the beginning and has done much to help poor parishes at home and in the Mission Field. There is now a department for church art in which skilled work is done.

In the convent grounds are two houses, one of which, St Michael's House, was for a period of sixty-four years (1884–1948) a centre for moral welfare work, from which hundreds of girls have been sent out into the world, with renewed hope and strength, to meet the difficulties of their lives. Owing to changed conditions this work has now been given up and the house is used for retreats, conferences, etc. In 1899 the Community took over the direction of a Boarding Home for school children in a house on their Alverton property built in 1893. In 1956 the house was reconditioned as a Rest Home for infirm and elderly women, with a limited number of convalescents.

At St Agnes, on the north coast of Cornwall, there has been since 1899 a convalescent home for men. In 1955 the work was extended. More elderly patients of both sexes as well as convalescents were received. In 1937 a new chapel was erected, and further enlargements made to the buildings to meet the growing demand for accommodation. Parochial work is done from the mother house and from the mission house situated at Penzance. Similar work has been done elsewhere in the past, at Perth (1905–23), Walthamstow (1951–8), Newquay (1932–51), and at St Ives

(1910–17). Regular visits are paid to many parishes in the Diocese of Truro, and the help of Sisters to work in missions and conventions is increasingly sought. Sunday-school teaching is done in outlying parishes as well as in Truro itself.

The idea of helping Foreign Missionary work had been in the minds of the founders from the early days. In 1906 women candidates were sent to the Sisters by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel for training. A limited number were received for about fifteen years. This work came to an end when the S.P.G. opened its own missionary training college at Selly Oak.

It was not until after the First World War that the Community was able to send Sisters to Japan, though the first suggestion of so doing had been made nearly a quarter of a century before. In 1919 The Epiphany Mission House, 360 Sanko Cho, Shirokane, Minato-ku, Tokyo, was opened. Two years later the Sisters took over the adjoining embroidery school and orphanage. Another house was found in Kobe in 1927. The work among Japanese women and girls came to an end on the outbreak of the Second World War. One of the chief things accomplished during these years was the foundation of the Nazareth Community for Japanese women, in which the Sisters were assisted by the Japanese Fathers of the Society of St John the Evangelist (see p. 592). The Epiphany Sisters were able to return to Japan in 1947. They left in 1963.

In 1916 the Community of the Epiphany took over from the All Saints' Sisters St Saviour's Hospital, Osnaburgh Street, London (see p. 240). The work was continued for about thirty years. In 1947 the hospital was transferred to the Nursing Community of the Presentation (see p. 519). But it was not a complete break, for the Superior was a member of the Community of the Epiphany. The Nursing Community of the Presentation (see p. 519) was formed by the Community of the Epiphany; the first novices having been trained at Truro.

10. BENEDICTINE NUNS

St Mary's Abbey, West Malling, Kent (1891)

Within a short distance of the main street of the sleepy little town of West Malling in Kent, five miles west of Maidstone, are the extensive ruins of a Benedictine nunnery founded there about the year 1090 by Gundulph, Bishop of Rochester. This pre-Reformation foundation is now occupied by religious who observe the same Rule as those who dwelt there in the past. It is a convent of enclosed and contemplative nuns. Prayer is their occupation, and above all prayer for the Reunion of Christendom *"ut omnes unum sint"*.

"The gray stone walls and broken tower of Malling Abbey, set among the fair orchards and fields of Kent, surrounded by places of the utmost historic interest, bear our thoughts back over the centuries to the days when Normandy held all that was wisest and most strenuous in Christendom. As we look at the lower courses of the ruined tower of the Abbey Church, and remember under whose direction they were laid, we think not only of the coming of the Normans to England, and the revival of Church life which followed, but of the ancient Abbey overseas from which this House of Benedictine nuns, itself ancient, may claim descent."[1]

Gundulph had been a monk of the famous Abbey of Bec before he was made Bishop of Rochester. He established a community of Benedictine nuns on the property at Malling and "founded there a church in honour of the blessed Mary ever virgin; he provided them with such revenue as he was able", and his fellow monk, Anselm, gave the convent the manor of East Malling. So much was Gundulph the active father of the new community that not until just before his death in 1108 did he constitute the prioress, Avicia, as the first abbess. In token of her submission to the successors of Gundulph in the see of Rochester the abbess sent annually one wild boar from the oak woods that surrounded the convent and ten pounds of wax as tithe for the vineyards he had given them. No startling events disturbed the comparatively peaceful existence of the Community for the next four hundred and fifty years. In 1537, when Cromwell was seeking to arrange the surrender of the abbey, Abbess Elizabeth Rede resigned and Margaret Vernon, the Prioress of Little Marlow, was made abbess. On 29 October 1538 she surrendered the abbey and with eleven of the nuns received a pension. The property was granted to Archbishop Cranmer after the Community had been dispersed. Until 1892, when it was bought by Miss Charlotte Boyd, it changed hands many times. She made it over to Anglican Trustees, and from 1893 to 1911 the abbey was tenanted by the Benedictine nuns founded in 1868 by Fr Ignatius and Mother Hilda Stewart (see p. 425).

Access to the grounds is through a striking fourteenth-century gate-house, with a massive wooden door. On the inner side of the gate-house is a small chapel of the decorated Gothic period. Facing it is the ruined West Tower of the church, whose slender turrets and pilasters resemble those of the west front of Rochester Cathedral. Of Gundulph's original church there remains the south transept, now used as the chapel, and the lower part of the south wall of the nave with characteristic stretches of Norman herring-bone masonry. The west wall of the chapter house has been preserved and a blocked Norman arch marks the processional entrance to the east cloister. The south cloister has also survived, and its trefoil-headed arches supported on slender columns with stiff foliage capitals, a most beautiful specimen of early-thirteenth-century work, are built into the wall of the eighteenth-century mansion. This, together with the medieval stonework out of which the building is chiefly constructed, gives the whole an appearance of age. In 1935 a block of greystone and red-tiled buildings was erected from the designs of the late Sir Charles Nicholson. In 1963 the western range of the cloister was rebuilt and the remaining walks completed to a simple design, with a central lawn and fountain. The community are now undertaking the re-building of the abbey church, though on a smaller scale.

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[1] E. Hermitage Day, 'Malling Abbey' article in *Pax* (June, 1907), p. 190.

At a short distance from the abbey, across the lovely garden, is a magnificent medieval tithe barn, which is used by the nuns for their times of private prayer and spiritual reading. Between the gate-house and the abbey, standing amid green lawns and trees, is the guest house, a fifteenth-century building, to which a modern wing has been added. The guest house, which is quite separate from the abbey, is under the care of oblates of the Community. Here the traditions of Benedictine hospitality—"let all guests be received like Christ Himself"—are maintained in the reception of a constant stream of visitors who come for spiritual refreshment, instruction in the Faith, or to make retreats.

Malling Abbey is best described as "a haunt of ancient peace". It is difficult to convey the sense of its restful calm. The world of today, with its noise and rush, seems very far away. But at the same time one is acutely conscious of the life of prayer which goes on within these walls. The life may be hidden, but it is assuredly not one of indifference or isolation, for into the convent flow ceaseless requests for prayer. The window of the cloistered life may seem small, but it looks out on a very wide world. Robert Hugh Benson's story, entitled "In the Convent Chapel", which was inspired by the Abbey about sixty years ago, might have been written today.[1] After a few hours at Malling one goes away and recalls that "the silence was deep" and that "currents of need and grace went to and fro".

But these nuns have not always been enclosed and contemplatives: they evolved out of the Community of the Holy Comforter, founded

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[1] *The Light Invisible* (1903), p. 109.

at Edmonton, a northern suburb of London, by Miss Jessie Park Moncrieff in 1891. She had already been a member of a small Sisterhood in Edinburgh—The Order of Holy Charity—founded in 1872, from which she and a novice had withdrawn about 1889 (see p. 451)[1]. At Edmonton the Sisters of the Holy Comforter worked in St Mary's Parish. By degrees they felt drawn to a more prayerful form of the Religious Life, and having come under the influence of Abbot Aelred Carlyle, decided to adopt the Rule of St Benedict and the Latin Monastic Breviary. They gave up their active works of mercy and charity, and in 1906 moved to a house in Baltonsborough—a remote and secluded village in Somerset, about four miles south-east of Glastonbury. The Abbot of Caldey acted as their Visitor, but the nuns were never formally admitted into the Congregation of the Primitive Observance as was the Malling Community, which moved to Milford Haven in 1911. Mainly because of the influence of their Chaplain, the Reverend F. P. Vasey, the Baltonsborough nuns were unaffected by the increasingly papalist opinions of the Caldey and Milford Haven communities. So when the final crisis occurred in the spring of 1913 they remained loyal to the Church of England.

So it was that this community of twenty women found itself for a time the only Benedictine House in the Anglican Communion. For the next three years it was faced with many trials, and made very conscious of its spiritual isolation. The Bishop of Bath and Wells, in whose diocese Baltonsborough was situated, was not exactly sympathetic, and even Anglo-Catholics were afraid that this community might follow the example of the monks of Caldey and the nuns of Milford Haven and "go over to Rome". Finally, in 1916, at the invitation of some leading Cowley Fathers, who were trustees of the English Abbey Restoration Fund, the Community moved into the then vacant buildings at Malling.

There is little to relate about the subsequent history. They have never sought publicity, and for the past forty-two years their life has been hidden from the outside world, except during the Second World War, when, for the sake of continuing their night office, the nuns vacated the abbey and moved to Herefordshire. As in all enclosed and contemplative Benedictine communities, their chief work is the celebration of the Divine Office in choir. The Latin *Breviarium Monasticum* is used. Matins is recited at 4 a.m.; the only other Benedictine community of women in

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[1] It is not without interest that the Order of Holy Charity—to which the Benedictine nuns of Malling can trace their remote origin—should have been founded on the feast of St Benedict (21 March) 1872.

England which says matins at night being the Roman Catholic nuns of St Scholastica's Abbey, Teignmouth. The conventual Mass is sung daily from the *Missale Romanum* and the Office, which is in Latin, is sung from Prime to Compline. Lauds is sung on great feasts. There are no lay sisters: the nuns do all their own work and look after their garden which includes fruit and vegetables. Printing, weaving, and script are among their handicrafts and they make their own altar breads. At the present time the Visitor is the Right Reverend Kenneth Mackenzie, sometime Bishop of Brechin. The Spiritual Director is the Reverend David Hemming, S.S.J.E.

There is little that differentiates the observances of this community, now numbering about forty, from those of others in Western Europe which follow the same Rule, bearing in mind that every Benedictine community is a family, and that there is no rigid uniformity in the interpretation of a common Rule. The postulancy lasts for six months and the novitiate from two to three years. Solemn vows are taken after three to six years in simple vows. Until quite recently Malling Abbey was the only enclosed and contemplative Anglican Benedictine community, although several other communities of women have adopted the Rule of St Benedict during the past thirty or forty years. The foundress of the Sisters of Bethany (see p. 405) set two aims before her Society: "Be hidden—efface yourself". They apply equally to the spirit of the Benedictine nuns of Malling. In more senses than one, St Mary's Abbey is "a garden enclosed".

11. COMMUNITY OF THE COMPASSION OF JESUS

The Home of Compassion, Thames Ditton, Surrey (1892)

The mother house of this now long established, but comparatively little known community is a dignified red-brick Georgian mansion hidden away in spacious grounds on the river bank at Thames Ditton. Although this one-time village has been almost merged into the populous London suburbs of Surbiton and Molesey, it still retains its rural character, even if the main Portsmouth Road passes through it. The old stables have been converted into quarters for the Sisters, and a stately chapel was erected in 1925 from the designs of Christopher Wright. The plain red-brick exterior is a contrast to the richly decorated sanctuary, raised above the level of the choir. A lofty carved and painted reredos fills up the wall above the high altar. Six tall candlesticks stand on a gradine, with the crucifix on the tabernacle. Two massive standard candlesticks complete the furnishings.

The Community originated at Deptford, where the Foundress, Mother Mary Margaret, was working among the poor and degraded people of the parish of St Paul's. Sixty years ago there were few districts of South East London with so much poverty and distress. Here she lived in one room, but after three years her health broke down under the strain, and she was obliged to take a long rest. Then she moved into a house in Warrington Crescent, Maida Vale, and resumed her work among the poor, this time in North West London. Other ladies joined her, and formed themselves into a Sisterhood. The house was large enough to accommodate ten sick poor women besides the Community, and it was always full. The Sisters tried to teach these women the elements of religion as well as looking after their bodily needs. So the work went on for eight years, until it became clear that a new home must be found, further away from this already congested part of London. Eventually Mother Mary Margaret decided to acquire the riverside property of Boyle Farm House, facing the Home Park of Hampton Court Palace.

In 1905 the Home of Compassion was dedicated by the Bishop of Winchester in the presence of the Duchess of Albany. Ever since the Sisters have continued to look after persons, often friendless and with little or no means of their own. Most of them are cases which have been turned away from hospitals or other institutions, but require constant nursing and attention. At one time the Community undertook the reclamation of girls, and the training of them for domestic service.

The training of young probationer nurses was also undertaken for some years. By 1935 the Sisters felt it impossible to ignore the constant appeals being made to them to help poor and often homeless children. The present Mother Superior then opened a separate house for this work—St Agnes' Home, Newlands, Weston Green Road, Thames Ditton. Here there is accommodation for about thirty children, whose ages range from one week to sixteen years. In 1940 another Home of Compassion was founded at Lyncourt, Middle Lincombe Road, Torquay, for the care of chronic cases, but it has had to be closed for lack of financial support. The Community maintains a rest house at St Veronica's, Bembridge, Isle of Wight.

In 1901 the Community adopted the Rule of St Benedict, and since then their life, has been devoted to works of mercy and charity. The Office Book used in choir is *The Hours of Prayer*. The habit is grey with a black veil for outdoor wear and a white veil for indoors. The spirit of the Sisters of the Compassion of Jesus might be summed up in the words of our Lord: "Believe me, when you did it to one of the least of my brethren here, you did it to me."

The Visitor is the Bishop of Guildford.

12. SOCIETY OF THE INCARNATION OF THE ETERNAL SON

The Convent, 652, Alum Rock Road, Birmingham, 8 (1894)

This Community has a special interest because it was the first Anglican Sisterhood inspired by the spirit and Rule of St Francis of Assisi. Its foundress, Gertrude Bromby, was the daughter of the Reverend C. H. Bromby, who was appointed Bishop of Tasmania in 1864. One of her brothers was the Reverend H. B. Bromby, in after years vicar of All Saints', Clifton, always a stronghold of Anglo-Catholicism in the west of England. In 1885 he was nominated vicar of St John's, Bethnal Green, London, and his sister came to keep house for him. Three years later the Reverend the Honourable James G. Adderley, who at that time was head of Oxford House, took up his quarters at the vicarage. Miss Bromby, like Fr Adderley, became a keen member of the Christian Social Union, which was founded in 1889. Her religion was simple, but firmly held; of that kind which is more interested in "practical Christianity" than controversial points of dogma. As an intimate friend wrote after her death: "she never became what is known as 'advanced'; she knew little about ritual. She was a Liberal Catholic". It needed courage for a lady to proclaim herself a Socialist in the 'eighties, but Miss Bromby did so, just as long after, when Mother Superior of her Community, she became a keen supporter of the Labour Party.

She longed to devote her life to work among the poor, but it was not until after Fr Adderley had left Oxford House and accepted the living of St Philip's, Plaistow, in 1893, that Miss Bromby finally decided that she had a call to the Religious State. That same year she moved to Plaistow where she lived in a cottage at 7 Meredith Street; visiting the poor, nursing the sick, and running a club for boys. In January 1894 Fr Adderley founded the Society of the Divine Compassion (see p. 153), and by the autumn of that year Miss Bromby had been joined by another lady who was admitted as the first postulant of a Sisterhood, whose spirit and objects were to be similar to those of the Society of the Divine Compassion. Miss Bromby herself received the habit on Holy Cross Day, 1895. Other women followed, three being clothed as novices in 1896. Miss Bromby was professed by Bishop Creighton on the feast of the Epiphany, 1898.

The little community lived in the utmost poverty and simplicity, often uncertain how they were going to pay for the next meal. Mother Alice, who became second Superior of the Society in 1930, recalls how she "first met Sister Gertrude, as she was then, in a brown cloak very full of gathers and a bonnet from which her beautiful wavy almost white hair persisted to come. . . . Any night at this time Sister Gertrude could be found in the old iron room, surrounded by thirty to forty big lads, working and whistling to the ding-dong of the wrought-iron forges and the hammering of brass and leather work, the light of the forge fire throwing a mysterious glow over the whole scene. After early Mass, meditation, and breakfast the tiny front room of our first cottage home was crowded with people who came for relief, for in those days the Church had to be very busy in such matters, there being no dole. We cannot forget these early days of our Community: our instructions and meditations on the Religious Life from Fr Adderley, days of holy joy and worship and hard work."[1]

After Fr Adderley had ceased, in 1897, to be a member of the S.D.C. Mother Gertrude and the Sisters followed him to the West End of London, where they first lived over a stable in mews off Bruton Street, not far from Berkeley Chapel, of which their co-founder had been placed in charge. In 1900, after Fr Adderley had accepted the living of St Mark's, Marylebone, they migrated to two houses in Albany Street, Regent's Park. Here the Boys' Home, which had been started in Mayfair, was re-established, and its work extended. A branch house was opened nearer St Mark's, Marylebone, where the Sisters worked in the parish.

In 1905 Bishop Gore, who was then Bishop of Birmingham, and who had been in touch with the Society for some years, wrote to Mother Gertrude in these words: "Birmingham needs you", and Fr Adderley, who by then had become Vicar of Saltley, urged the removal of the Society to Birmingham. Here was a great opportunity to work in the slums and also to make a protest against the organized sweating which went on in the factories and workshops of the city. The Christian Social Union was compiling "white lists" of approved traders, and denouncing cases of overwork and bad wages, and examining the conditions in dangerous trades. Nobody was more zealous in this social propaganda than Bishop Gore. Altogether Birmingham must have been a far more congenial world to Mother Gertrude than either Mayfair or Marylebone. For one thing, Fr Adderley's large vicarage was a rendezvous for all sorts of social reformers; some wise and some cranks. Here would foregather such men as George Lansbury, Gilbert and Cecil Chesterton, and Philip Snowden. Within two years of the arrival of the Franciscan Sisters there was a Franciscan friar as one of the band of curates, in the person of Fr Jerome Hawes, who went about the parish in his grey-brown habit, occasionally going off on preaching tours in the Black Country. Fr Hawes had been placed in charge of a newly erected mission church, dedicated to St Francis of Assisi; two slum cottages being turned into his "friary". So it will be realized that Saltley had become quite a Franciscan stronghold.[1]

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[1] The surroundings in which the Community grew up are described in the section dealing with the S.D.C., pp. 155, 156.

As soon as the mother house had been put in order, the foundress began to make plans for opening an orphanage in which young boys from the workhouses could have a chance to grow up in a Christian atmosphere and receive an education to fit them to become good citizens. It was hard work at first to make the civil authorities see the necessity of providing other ways of life for the children under their care, but by degrees boys were taken away from many workhouses and the Homes of the Incarnation were established. They have provided hundreds of boys with home-life and opportunities. Mother Gertrude had a unique influence over boys and young men, and worked for them all her life. She dreamed of founding hostels for lads in every town and city to save them from uncongenial lodgings. She was a real "mother" to them all, and she kept in touch with every member of her family long after they had ceased to be under her direct care. St Michael's, Bussage, was a Guest House, until 1963 when it was given up.

In 1910 the Society moved to a larger house, then known as the Moat House, and the following year a beautiful chapel was built from the designs of Cecil Hare, a pupil of George Frederick Bodley, who was Mother Gertrude's uncle. The chapel was dedicated by Bishop Russell Wakefield in 1912 "for the greater glory of God and in honour of St Francis and St Clare." It was to some extent a memorial to Bishop Bromby of Tasmania and deceased members of his family.

The work of retreats began in 1915 as the result of the National Mission, and fortnightly retreats for working people were held during the summer months. They have continued ever since with the exception of five years of the Second World War, when the convent was badly damaged by the blitz and the Society was obliged to leave. Mother Gertrude Clare—she had adopted the second name after the Society moved to Birmingham—was spared these trials. She died on Easter Monday, 1930, leaving behind her (in the words of Fr Adderley) "a band of faithful women who have caught her indomitable spirit; two homes at work, proving what can be done with friendless orphan boys if more women will volunteer to help them; a family of lads who have gone out into the world as faithful Catholics, and who still preserve the sense of a new relationship, and look to her with the memory of sons". It is doubtful if there was any other Mother Superior of her generation in England who shared all her many and varied interests—housing, education, and every type of social problem entered into her religion. She once remarked to a member of her Third Order: "To pray sincerely one should know something about the object or cause prayed for; therefore social conditions must be studied."

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The aim of the Society of the Incarnation of the Eternal Son is "to unite its members in a common life of poverty, chastity, and obedience for the glory of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and the benefit of His Holy Catholic Church; to worship Him, to work for Him, and all mankind, especially those in spiritual and material need, in imitation of the Master and in obedience to His Law". In the further objective: "to show by word and deed that it believes our Lord to be the answer to all social questions, and the keeping of His law the way out of all social difficulties", one detects the influence of the Christian Social Union on the Sisterhood in its early days, for the purpose of the Union was "to claim to the Christian law the ultimate authority to rule social practice; to study in common law how to apply the moral truths and principles of Christianity to the social and economic difficulties of the present time; and to present Christ in practical life as the Living Master and King, the enemy of wrong and selfishness, the power of righteousness and love".

As might be expected, there is no social distinction in the Community, whose members are drawn from all classes of society, and there is no division into choir and lay Sisters. Their aim is to live the life, so far as possible, of the poor among whom they dwell. The postulancy lasts three months; the novitiate two years, then a year in simple vows, after which life vows are taken. The Office Book used in choir is *The Sarum Diurnal*, supplemented for some offices by *The Hours of Prayer*. There is a Third Order in connection with the Society, having a simple Rule which aims at keeping alive the spirit of the early Franciscans. In

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[1] As there were no Roman Catholic Franciscan nuns in Birmingham, the Poor Clares at Baddesley Clinton being the nearest, the Society of the Incarnation could claim to be the first religious community in the city inspired by the spirit of St Francis.

fact the whole object of the Society of the Incarnation of the Eternal Son is to carry out in the daily life of its members the teaching of the "word made flesh, who came to dwell among us" in the spirit of the Little Poor Man of Assisi. Its growth and development were contemporary with the revival of interest in Franciscanism which started with the publication of Sabatier's *Life of St Francis of Assisi* in 1894, followed by the translation and appearance of most of the early Franciscan spiritual treatises, such as *The Mirror of Perfection, The Legend of the Three Companions*, and new editions of the *Fioretti*. The Society of the Incarnation of the Eternal Son has been a practical contribution to this rediscovery of St Francis. It has proved that the ideals proclaimed in Italy seven hundred years ago are equally suitable for twentieth-century England—even for the slums of Birmingham. The Warden is the Reverend Paul Burrough; the Chaplain, the Reverend Basil Thomas, C.R.; and the Visitor, the Bishop of Birmingham.

13. COMMUNITY OF ST MICHAEL AND ALL ANGELS

Hammersmith, London (1895)

Dr Frederick Temple, when Bishop of London, took a fatherly interest in all the religious communities in his diocese. The Community of St Michael and All Angels was one of several new Sisterhoods which received his blessing, and whose Rule and Constitutions he approved. Four women, three of whom had belonged to other communities, started doing parish work at St Peter's, Hammersmith, in July 1895. With the encouragement of the vicar, the Reverend A. Tidcomb, they resolved to form themselves into a new Sisterhood, under the leadership of Mother Ellen. Their chief work was teaching in the schools; having certificates and diplomas they were recognized by the Board of Education. The first home of the Community was at River Court, Upper Mall, Hammersmith, but after the death of Mother Ellen in 1905 it was moved to 60 Upper Mall. Here were to be found a home for training girls for domestic service, an orphanage, and a boarding- and day-school for girls. A House of Rest for little children was opened at St Michael's, Dunmow, Essex. It also served as a holiday home for teachers. Another house at Bury St Edmunds was established, with a boarding-school attached. St Veronica's Home of Rest, Brixton, cared for orphans. Some of the Sisters at Hammersmith engaged in parish work at Holy Trinity, Hoxton, at one time; those at Bury St Edmunds also helped in parochial activities. From the first each convent was independent and trained its own novices. The Community was reorganized in 1916, when the Bury St Edmunds house became autonomous. About that date another branch house was opened at New Beckenham. In 1922 the mother house of the Community of St Michael was transferred to Leigh-on-Sea, Essex. The Sisters conducted boarding- and day-schools there and at Southend-on-Sea, and had a branch house at Brixham, Devonshire. But their numbers gradually declined, and in 1946 the surviving members were affiliated to the Order of the Holy Paraclete (see p. 512).

14. SERVANTS OF CHRIST

The House of Prayer, Burnham, Buckinghamshire (1897)

The establishment of this community was no hasty decision, for the foundress, Mother Elizabeth, had taken a vow of chastity in 1892, resolving to give her life to the service of God. She received some training at Warminster College for Women Missionaries, and in 1897, at the advice of her Director and of other priests, she and three companions commenced living together in Community life, and opened a Missionary Training College in Upton Park, East London. The training lasted four years, and in 1901 the first batch of missionaries was sent out to Mashonaland. However, difficulties arose, and Mother Elizabeth herself went out for a short time in 1903 to put things right. She returned realizing more than ever the need in the Church for trained missionaries. The Community began to grow, and developed spiritually under the wise direction of Fr Congreve, S.S.J.E., who was the first Warden. The Sisters continued to train mission workers and also helped in St Stephen's parish.

Upton Park was hardly the ideal place for rest, quiet, or prayer. Realizing this, Mother Elizabeth bought a small house in the village of Pleshey, in the heart of the country about five miles north of Chelmsford. Here she began to send Sisters, two or three at a time, so that they could lead a more contemplative life. It became more and more clear that this was the life to which the whole Community was being called. By 1908 the foundress, with the help of her architect brother, had prepared the plans and elevations of a convent to be erected immediately behind the house already in use, but joined to it by a cloister. Work on these new buildings was started. Beyond the moat, which partly surrounded the garden, was a field, the site of a priory of secular Canons, founded by the Duke of Gloucester, towards the close of the fourteenth century. The new convent, which in its own way was perfect of its kind and a witness to the versatile gifts of Mother Elizabeth, was given the name of the "House of Prayer"; testifying to the change in the nature of the Community in the twelve years since its foundation.

The convent at Upton Park was given up, and in 1909 the Servants of Christ were established in their new home at Pleshey. The missionary training work ceased soon after, and henceforth the spirit of the Community was one of enclosure, silence, and prayer. In 1910 the Sisters changed their original grey habits to white ones. As the Community developed, so also the Rule developed towards a fuller life of prayer, silence, and manual labour. Their only contact with the world was through visitors who came to stay at the guest house for private retreats. The presence of these white-habited nuns in the heart of rural Essex aroused curiosity. The only other religious community in the same district was that of the Canonesses of the Holy Sepulchre about five miles away at New Hall, which had been their home since they escaped to England from Liége at the time of the French Revolution.

There followed ten years of quiet growth as the Community life deepened. In the summer of 1918 it became necessary to move, and the Community took a temporary home at Potters Bar, Middlesex. Mother Elizabeth meanwhile looked round for a permanent home, and in 1921 found and leased Britwell Court near a village of Burnham in Buckinghamshire. This house, although it lacked the simple monastic character of the house in Pleshey, was surrounded by parkland and meadowland, which gave the Sisters a spacious enclosure and provided ample scope for outdoor work. By an arrangement with the Bishop of Chelmsford the House at Pleshey was rented to the diocese for a period of four years, and was finally bought as the Chelmsford Diocesan Retreat House. The first Conventual mass was sung at the House of Prayer in Burnham on St Gregory's Day, 1921; and on 8 September 1922 the House was solemnly blessed by the Bishop of Oxford and the enclosure sealed. Five years before the arrival of the Servants of Christ the buildings of the medieval convent at Burnham Abbey had been taken over by the Society of the Precious Blood, so there were now two contemplative Anglican Communities within less than two miles of each other.

At first a large room was used as a chapel, but in 1933 Mother Elizabeth asked Mr [later Sir] Ninian Comper to design a permanent chapel, which was consecrated on 8 October 1935. This building is one of the most perfect examples of the architect's "Second Period", in which he has striven to obtain beauty by the inclusion of many styles. Here one finds a mingling of very simple Gothic and Greek. The high altar stands beneath a classic ciborium—reminiscent of those in St Philip's, Cosham, and St Andrew's

Cathedral, Aberdeen. The altar is visible to the public from the west end of the chapel and to the Community from the south transept. Behind it is a curtained grille, screening off the Oratory where is the Blessed Sacrament altar. There is an austere restful beauty about this place of worship: it is definitely a "House of Prayer". Every detail was supervised by Mother Elizabeth, and more than once Mr Comper acceded to her requests for small alterations. She took the same care over the details of the liturgy, of which she had a wide knowledge.

After her death on Christmas Day, 1949, one of her intimate friends wrote: "No one who had the joy of knowing her can ever forget that tall, thin, dignified figure in its simple white habit, nor that strange but dignified sense of 'Otherness' which, in her, did not seem the least incongruous with her keen sense of humour. Through her immense correspondence, and the many guests who enjoyed the disciplined yet free life of the Guest House, she influenced hundreds of souls. She took a creative, wide, loving interest in all who sought her help and was deeply affectionate in her own strong unsentimental way. She was as courageous as she was firm, and was delightfully apt to say or do the unexpected thing. Great natural gifts of head and heart, and a complete dedication brought her great opportunities which bore great fruits. But outside her Community few knew much about her life. She and her Community have created something truly holy, a temple not made with hands. . . . Mother Elizabeth was its Foundress and guide and inspiration for over fifty years. A long life, grandly lived."

Publicity or advertisement of any sort is the last thing that an enclosed community seeks for, especially a community like the Servants of Christ, whose basic ideal is that of the Cistercians—silence, solitude, and prayer. But there are a few facts which may be given.[1]

In all essentials the observances of the Servants of Christ conform to those of other communities which follow the Rule of St Benedict with the Cistercian Constitutions, though it has also a note of the gentleness of St François de Sales, but normal health is required. The chief work is the celebration of the Divine Office in choir. An English translation of the

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[1] The first monastery of Cistercian nuns was founded at Notre-Dame de Tart, near Dijon, about the middle of the twelfth century, mainly through the efforts of St Stephen Harding. Before the Reformation there were about thirty Cistercian convents in England. The Order has produced several canonized saints, among whom are the famous mystics, Gertrude and Mechtilde, and Hedwig, patroness of Poland. The first and only Roman Catholic community of Cistercian nuns founded in this country in post-Reformation times is at Stapehill Abbey, Dorset. These Trappistine religious nuns settled there in 1802 after wandering about Europe for several years after the suppression of their monastery in Paris at the French Revolution.

Breviarium Monasticum is used, based on *the Monastic Diurnal*. Matins is recited at 2 a.m. Our Lady's Anthem is sung after the Night Office and after Compline. The *horarium* includes two hours daily for private prayer and intercession, which is of primary obligation; time for spiritual reading, and about five hours for manual work. There is a corporate recreation on certain days. There are no lay sisters; all share in the work of the house and gardens. Solemn vows are taken after seven years spent in the novitiate and in simple vows. Several oblate Sisters undertake the duties of Portress, care of the guest house, and other duties that bring them contact with the world. Their habit is grey. The guest house is for ladies who desire a few days private retreat and solitude. The Warden is the Right Reverend Robert Milton Hay, sometime Bishop of Buckingham; the Visitor, the Bishop of Oxford. "The Characteristics of this life of prayer and oblation are, Humility, Peace and Joy in the Holy Ghost; Silence, Fasting, Prayer and Labour in the life; and above all things to hold good the more excellent way, which is Charity. (St Bernard of Citeaux)."

15. COMMUNITY OF THE HOLY FAMILY

Holmhurst St Mary, Baldslow, St Leonards-on-Sea (1898)

Mother Agnes Mason, the foundress of the Community of the Holy Family, came of a family of distinguished churchmen. She died in 1941 at the age of ninety-two. In the sermon preached by the Bishop of Chichester at her Requiem Mass, he pointed out that "in a special way she stood for the Church of England temper at its best, venerated the Church of England worship, and followed the Church of England way as she had learnt it from Lancelot Andrewes and other masters of Anglican theology. . . . That her single-minded service to the Church as a scholar and a founder, was recognized by those who had the best claims to judge of the Church's needs is seen by the confidence placed in her insight and achievement by such great bishops as Frederick Temple, Archbishop of Canterbury, Charles Gore, Bishop of Oxford, and Walter Frere, Bishop of Truro. And we may be quite sure that whatever the future may reveal, the Community has made a place of its own in the life, and an offering of its own to the genius, of the Church of England."

Having taken the Moral Sciences Tripos at Newnham College, Cambridge, in 1886, Miss Mason spent six years working among students in London, giving courses of lectures on logic, ethics, and the teaching of religion to children. She also lectured on Moral Science at Bedford College, and in 1887 became Secretary of the Guild of the Epiphany for teachers. She obtained the Lambeth Diploma in Theology by thesis. Gradually the call came to her to found a religious community for teachers, with a Rule allowing the Sisters a large liberty in the spirit and the practice of their work. In a leaflet issued after her death we learn how this Community came into being. "The primary work of the Community was to be the higher education of girls at home and abroad. Mother Agnes has described how in the several years of preparation for the foundation, spent by herself and by those who desired to join her, in prayer and thought and study, she 'studied Rules and Constitutions and learned much from a variety of Communities and ecclesiastics'. With the help of Baron Von Hügel, the Abbé Portal, Mgr Duchesne, and others, she spent two months in the guest house of the Sisters of the Assumption day-school in Paris . . . visiting some of the best schools, including Saint Denis. Thence she went to Nancy and lived for some weeks in the Mother House of a Congregation of Teaching Dominicanesses. Lastly, by the kindness of the Mother Superior, she was for two months a quasi-postulant at Wantage."

A Constitution was drafted, which was approved by Dr Temple, Bishop of London, who agreed to act as Visitor. Dr Gore, then Canon of Westminster, was the first Chaplain-General. Mother Agnes and three others were clothed as novices in August 1896—two of them being like herself Newnhamites. In October 1898 Dr Temple, now Archbishop of Canterbury, received their profession. It is doubtful if any religious community of women was ever founded with such a background of culture and erudition. At the same time the first members of the Society of the Holy Family, i.e. teacher-associates of the Community, were enrolled.

A community house and day-school were opened in West Cromwell Road, London, about the same time.[1] In 1912 a small boarding-school at Tankerton, Kent, was started. The following year the mother house was moved to Baldslow, near St Leonards-on-Sea, and the Tankerton school transferred there. In 1915 the Community were able to take over the Lucknow Diocesan Girls' School and Training College at Naini Tal, India. For many years it maintained a House of Study at Cambridge for Sisters reading for theological and other degrees. From the earliest days of the Community a house set apart for a more enclosed life of prayer and worship had been desired by the foundress. Eventually one was established in the Diocese of Monmouth, but in 1937 was moved to St Pega's Hermitage, Peakirk, near Peterborough, in the midst of the Fens, where St

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[1] The London school was closed on the outbreak of war in 1939.

Pega, sister to St Guthlac, had her cell of wattles in the eighth century. Here there is room for half-a-dozen Sisters. In addition to St Mary's School for boarders and day-girls, the Sisters conduct a junior school at Stone Court, Gillmans Hill, St Leonards-on-Sea. Teaching is not the only activity of the Community—nursing, gardening, housekeeping, and secretarial and craft work provide occupation for some members.

After a six months' postulancy there is a three years' novitiate. Life vows are taken after five years in temporary vows. The Day Hours of the Divine Office are recited from *The Hours of Prayer*. For Matins a translation of the Sarum Office in MS. is used.

Mother Agnes Mason ruled over the Community she had founded for thirty-five years. She was the author of many books, and contributed articles to *Theology* and other reviews. Among the former her translation of St Teresa's *History of her Foundations* (1908), *Pain and Gladness* (1911), and *The Way of Beauty* (1920) deserve mention.

The Visitor of the Community is the Bishop of Chichester; the Chaplain-General, Fr Erwin A. Thomas, S.S.J.E.

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The growth of the religious life in the Church of England reached its peak about the end of the last century, and continued on about the same level until after the First World War. By 1913 some of the older female communities were able to maintain numerous branch houses at home and abroad.[1]

It might have been expected that the decade (1920–30) which was marked by the Anglo-Catholic Congresses would have resulted in a steady rise in vocations to the religious state, but this does not seem to have been the case. A few new communities were founded, and made progress, but in the case of some of the older sisterhoods, their numbers began to decline. The eventual result was that branch houses had to be closed. Several of the once very numerous parochial sisterhoods ceased to exist, or were absorbed into one or other of the larger communities.

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[1] (Approximate numbers of houses): Community of St Mary the Virgin, 50; Society of All Saints, 33; Community of St John Baptist, 40; Society of St Margaret, 40; Sisters of the Church, 30; Sisters of Bethany, 13.

CHAPTER VI

Communities founded since 1900

LOOKING back to the start of the century, what strikes one most is the variety of the communities which were founded. The older type of Anglican Sisterhood was superseded by many new communities: some of which approximated more closely, often unconsciously, to those of the Roman Church, and others which were planned to fit in with the spirit of the age. The general tendency in recent years has been to give up active works of mercy and charity, and to adopt a more claustral form of life. About half a dozen enclosed and contemplative communities of women have been founded, including two which have adopted the Cistercian observances. The revival of interest in St Francis of Assisi led to the establishment of several Franciscan communities. More and more communities appear to be replacing their original Rules with that of St Benedict, but each interpreting it to suit the particular nature of the work undertaken. Several moribund Sisterhoods have joined forces with older and more flourishing communities. Others have died out. The Community of St Mary the Virgin, Wantage, stands out as an almost unique instance of a Sisterhood well over a hundred years old, giving birth to three or four new communities of women at home, saving others from extinction, and mothering native Sisterhoods overseas. Except for the Benedictine nuns of Milford Haven, secessions to Rome have been infrequent in the past half century, but there are now one or two Anglican communities of women which state explicitly that they receive and profess the teachings of the Holy See of Rome concerning Faith and Morals.

It took a long time before any definite attempt was made to set up an official body to supervise Anglican religious communities on the lines of the various Roman Congregations which have undertaken these duties since Pope Sixtus V established the first of them in 1586. The existing Sacred Congregation of Religious, which superseded all other Congregations, was created by Pope Pius X on 29 June 1908. It deals with all matters connected with religious communities of either sex, including those who live in community without vows and secular tertiaries. There are also separate Commissions for legal matters, the examination of new Congregations, the constitution of Secular Institutes, discipline, studies, etc. In fact, the Religious State in the Roman Catholic Church has now become a highly centralized organization; controlled and directed by a clerical bureaucracy, whose chief officials are so numerous that their names take up five pages of the *Annuario Pontificio*! The Eastern Churches not in communion with Rome have retained a much less complex organization for the monastic life. The Church of England—as will be realized from what follows—has worked out a system which is a compromise between the two extremes.

Religious Orders and Congregations in the Roman Church of the twentieth century might be compared to regiments in a closely knit and highly disciplined army. As has been stated already, Anglican communities, almost up to the present time, have been little more than independent families with no definite official rank. Until a few years ago they felt more or less free to obey or not to obey the rulers of their Church as their consciences directed. They were free to form new families or to change rules if and when they felt the need, and this without reference to any outside authority. In other words, the formal obedience of a community to its diocesan or to any higher superior remained until quite recently more of the nature of a doubtful counsel of perfection than that of a precept.

According to the *Codex Juris Canonici* of the Roman Church there can be no true Religious State except in a Religious Body which has been approved by the Church. Bishops must consult the Holy See before allowing any new community to be established in their dioceses. Without the approval of the bishop of the diocese, no persons living together in community can claim either the status or the privileges of Religious. These form a definite class of ecclesiastical persons who are legislated for in the Code of Canon Law.

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By the 'sixties and 'seventies of the last century, with the rapid growth of Sisterhoods in the Church of England, the bishops had begun to realize that sooner or later it would be necessary for them to draw up rules for directing and controlling the groups of devout women who were living in community. Again and again this question was discussed; first by Convocation of Canterbury in 1861. Fourteen years later the Lower House of the Canterbury Convocation appointed a committee to consider the status of Sisterhoods and Brotherhoods, but it failed to achieve anything, which is not surprising, considering how little was known about the Religious State by the clergy chosen for this committee. In 1889 Archdeacon Farrar proposed certain resolutions in favour of lay and clerical Brotherhoods, which were passed on eventually to the Upper House of Convocation the following year.

After a long experimental period, lasting from 1862 to 1923–5 the Order of Deaconesses was formally restored by the Convocations of Canterbury and York. It was laid down that "the Order of Deaconesses is an Apostolic Order of Ministry of the Church of God; that the women admitted to it are specially ordained with prayer and the laying on of hands; that a deaconess in her ordination is dedicated to a life-long service, though the extent and manner of its exercise by her may vary at different times of her life in accordance with her circumstances". An Advisory Council was set up in 1934 for the superintendence of all matters concerning the Order and of the preparation of candidates for the office, all of whom have to undergo a definite training in one of the diocesan deaconess houses before their ordination. It rests with the bishop to "ordain a deaconess for some definite sphere of work, parochial or other", and to ensure that an adequate stipend is secured for her, with provision of a pension. The functions of the modern Anglican deaconess include the reading of the service of Mattins and Evensong, and the Litany in church. She is allowed to preach (except during the celebration of Holy Communion). Most deaconesses work in parishes where their status might be described as that of a female curate. Others teach in girls' schools, training colleges, and women's theological colleges, or undertake some specialized form of work for women and girls.

The official attitude of the Church of England towards deaconesses is best defined in the words of the report of a committee set up by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York in 1943: "The field of employment for women has widened greatly and with increasing rapidity in our country and throughout the world during the last thirty years. . . . This has brought a change in public opinion and also an improved status. . . . Women have taken their normal place alongside of men. This is being accepted as a normal and natural partnership by most men and women over forty. . . . Sex is less and less taken into account either as a qualification or as a disqualification. . . . Some women will be free and willing to give the Church their full-time service after the war, provided that they can receive the necessary training and be given an assurance that their services will be fully and freely used, and that there will be reasonable and fair remuneration. Here is a reservoir of service for the Church of a great potential value." So it will be seen that this state of life is most definitely not a call to the cloister; it is more in the nature of an ecclesiastical career.[1]

It was not until the Lambeth Conference of 1897 that the Anglican episcopate as a body first discussed religious communities, or suggested lines of closer relationship between them and the ecclesiastical authorities. A committee which was set up expressed thanksgiving for "the manifold tokens of God's blessing upon the revival of Religious Communities in our branch of the Catholic Church". The report of this committee recommended four points in order to secure a regulated freedom for religious communities in communion with Canterbury: all directed to the clarification of (1) vows; (2) the position of priest-religious and priests ministering to communities; (3) episcopal visitation; and (4) property. This report was duly presented to the archbishops on 28 November 1898, then submitted to the Lower Houses of Convocation, and copies sent to every bishop in the Anglican Communion.

It was in the American Episcopal Church that the first legislation affecting religious communities in the Anglican Communion was enacted since the Reformation. In 1913 the General Convention passed a canon for the formal recognition of religious communities, which covers almost every detail of their canonical status.[2]

The Lambeth Conference of 1920 set up a committee to deal with "the position of women in councils and ministrations of the Church of England", with special reference to "the notable services rendered to the Church and to the world by Religious Communities of women". It was recommended that there should be closer relations between the bishops and such communities. Ten years later at the next Lambeth Conference a scheme of regulations was drafted. Previous to this a meeting took place at Keble College, Oxford, attended by over a hundred Superiors of communities and other persons, lay and clerical, resulting in a unanimous request for the constitution of a council to act as an intermediary with the bishops. The Conference Committee drew up a full report, which is

of special interest since it makes explicit reference to the distinction between active and contemplative Orders. It contains a recommendation that it was time that all church-people should be made aware that "God may be calling many of varying attainments and gifts to consecrate themselves to His service in a corporate life of dedication".

A joint committee of the bishops and Religious Superiors was then formed on 31 July 1930. After further deliberation the establishment of an "Advisory Council on Religious Communities" for the Provinces of Canterbury and York was approved in 1935.

The functions of the Council are: (1) to advise the bishops upon (*a*) questions arising about the charters and rules of existing communities; (*b*) the establishment of new communities; (*c*) matters referred to it by a diocesan bishop, especially in regard to the regulations proposed by the bishops; (*d*) any amendment that may seem to the Council to be desirable in the said regulations; (2) to advise existing communities with a view to their obtaining enrolment in accordance with the regulations or in other matters if they so desire; (3) to give guidance to those who wish to form communities; (4) to certify to the bishops as to communities which have a rule consonant with the regulations with a view to their being enrolled at Lambeth.

It was laid down that the chairman and convener of the Council must be a diocesan bishop appointed by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York. The Council was to consist of twelve members, six of whom should be appointed by the bishops and six by the communities. Until his death in 1954 the chairman of this council was Dr Kirk, Bishop of Oxford. He was succeeded by Dr Mortimer, Bishop of Exeter.

It will be seen that the organization of this advisory council is much more elastic than that of the highly centralized machinery of the Roman Congregation of Religious. But in so comprehensive a body as the Church of England, which permits the widest possible liberty of belief and practice, it would be difficult to conceive of any better scheme for the regularization of religious communities of men and women than that which has been worked out in recent years.

After prolonged negotiations with the then existing Communities, certain Regulations were drawn up to guide the Council as to the main principles governing the mutual relations between the episcopate and the religious communities.

It was laid down that every Community must have a rule governing the main departments of its life and work, and also the regulations laid down by the bishops. Apart from this rule it is left free to make its own Constitutions, Statutes, etc., and to change them at its own discretion,

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[1] The following English Diocesan Deaconess Institutions have been founded: Ely (1869); Winchester (1879); East London (1880); Durham (1885); Rochester and Southwark (1887); Exeter (1890); Llandaff (1893); Newcastle-on-Tyne (1905).

[2] The canon has been a dead letter ever since it became law, as it makes optional the action of any individual community to apply for the official recognition of the Ordinary. Shortly after the passage of the canon, the Order of the Holy Cross wrote for advice to a large number of bishops, some of whom were known to be unfriendly. The unanimous reply was of advice to the Order of the Holy Cross to do nothing, but to continue as a voluntary religious group. This has been the policy of most American Communities ever since.

It must have a Visitor, chosen by the Community, who may be either the diocesan bishop, or, with his consent, some other bishop. The functions of the Visitor are clearly defined. These include powers for the release or dismissal of members. The approval of the Visitor is required for all services held in the chapels or churches of the Order, including the choir offices. The Holy Communion must be celebrated "according to an Order of Communion authorized by the provincial authority in the Anglican Province in which the House concerned is situated". There are detailed regulations concerning the licensing of chaplains and other priests ministering in the Community. It is stated that the rule of "every approved Community" must contain "a direct recognition that the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, as received by the province and diocese in which the Community serves, is binding on its members". Likewise there must be some provision to ensure that "none of the property shall ever be applied for other purposes than those of the Church of England or of religious bodies in communion with the same". Novices shall not be admitted to temporary vows before the age of 18 years, nor to permanent vows before the age of 25 years. Finally there is the proviso that only a Community "which is certified by the Advisory Council to have a rule consonant with this scheme, and which has the approval of the bishop of the diocese in which the mother-house is situated, shall be entered on a roll, to be kept at Lambeth, of Communities so certified and approved".[1]

In 1937 the publication of Fr Lucius Cary's book *Called of God: Notes on some Questions concerning the Religious State; with an Introductory Essay on the Meaning of the Religious State*, to which the Bishop of Wakefield contributed a preface, drew attention to the fact that final steps were being taken to regularize the canonical status of religious communities in the Church of England. How astonished most of the bishops of the middle of the last century would have been had they guessed that their successors would give their blessing to those "Conventual Institutions" which they themselves found so distracting!

In 1943 came the publication of *A Directory of the Religious Life*; a remarkable little book containing in a concise form almost everything needed by "those concerned with the Administration of the Religious Life in the Church of England". It was issued by the Advisory Council under the chairmanship of the Bishop of Oxford, and published with the authority of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York. In its

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[1] *Acts of the Convocations of Canterbury and York*, edited by A. F. Smethurst and H. R. Wilson (1948, enlarged edition, edited by H. Riley and H. R. Wilson, 1961), pp. 36–41.

fifty-six pages one finds a useful glossary of terms used in connection with the Religious State. The chapters dealing with the Religious State in general; the Religious Persons; Vows, Exclusion; Transference; Officers; Administration; Documents; Property, etc., are very clear and to the point. There is an admirable excursus on Benedictinism and another section devoted to Solitaries—the latter being more complete than anything similar in Roman Catholic works of reference. A third section covers Oblates and Third Orders. The appendices give a schedule of matters to be provided for in Constitutions, and questions for the use of Visitors. It is difficult to discover any important points which have been omitted. The contents of this manual are based on those sections of the *Codex Juris Canonici* devoted to Religious Orders and Congregations. In his foreword Archbishop Lang hopes that the *Directory* "may help the wise and orderly development of a movement which in many ways is deepening and strengthening the religious life of the English Church". The late Bishop Kirk of Oxford, in a much longer preface, drew attention to the importance of this book to the Church of England, and explained how it was compiled. A revised second edition was published in 1957.

The following quotation from the *Report of the 1948 Lambeth Conference* may be of interest: "While to every member of the Church there falls a share of the responsibility for its life and work, yet it is impossible to over-estimate the importance of maintaining and indeed increasing the supply of men and women who are prepared to devote their whole time to some special form of ministry for Christ and His Church. The Conference therefore urges clergy, teachers and parents to seek for and encourage among young people *vocations* to Holy Orders, to the Teaching Ministry, to *Religious Communities*, and to other forms of full-time service to the Church, at home and abroad."[1]

Although the bishops of the Anglican Communion throughout the world now think it is desirable to encourage vocations to the Religious Life as a form of "full-time service to the Church", it is not so certain that all of them regard the Religious State as anything more than a means of doing active work. Nevertheless it is very remarkable that the Church of England should have given its official recognition to the Religious Life when one recalls how bishops of the last century refused to admit that it had any status in Anglicanism.

Père Lacordaire used to challenge the catholicity of the Church of England on the score of her lack of religious communities. He could not do so if he were alive today. It was little more than a hundred years ago that Dr Bagot, Bishop of Oxford, wrote to John Henry Newman, expressing his alarm that there should be "a revival of Monastic Orders in anything approaching to the Romanist sense of the term". His successor in the see of Oxford, Dr Kirk, was bold enough to proclaim in May 1951: "I value the Religious Communities of the Church of God, because in them the Church has made her great effort to present this one truth, the thing that matters above all others, that men and women should be continually lifting their hearts and souls to God and dwelling with Him in the life of communion through His Son." He went on to say: "I have long hoped (but the hope has shown little sign of fulfilment) that besides the Communities of contemplative women in the Church of England, there might at least be one contemplative Community of men."[1]

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[1] Resolution No. 38, p. 35.

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While all these ecclesiastical negotiations had been going on Communism had become a far stronger influence over the younger generation than any form of orthodox Christianity. Strange to say it is largely due to this that the word "Community" has now ceased to have any "Romish" connotation. As far back as 1936 John Middleton Murry had founded the Adelphi Centre because of his conviction that "voluntary fraternity, real instead of superficial and titular, was the necessary ethos of a serious movement for social revolution in capitalist democracy". He wrote that "community is the only antidote to totalitarianism". A year or two later Dr George MacLeod of Govan pointed to the "myriad of varied efforts towards Community, bubbling up among believers in every land—like the commotion of a hot spring; myriads of folk, talking, discussing, dreaming of better ways of ordering society than this poor present shows".[2]

So the men and women today who are conscious of the call of the cloister within the Anglican Communion are no more than a small part of a much wider movement towards community-living, whose followers are convinced that "the foundations of community-life are rooted in personal allegiance to Christ . . . that, as this spirit, which is the embodiment of love, joy, peace and humility, becomes manifest in the life of individuals, so it will be instrumental in creating a new society; a commonwealth of people living in the spirit of community; giving, sharing and serving rather than getting, keeping and exploiting."[1]

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[1] The Conference on the Religious Life in the Anglican Communion in the United States of America and Canada was established by a group of superiors in 1948 to form an unofficial consultative body. It meets triennially but there is an executive body known as the Advisory Council. (See article by Dom Benedict Reid in *Holy Cross Magazine*, October 1962.)

[2] Peter F. Anson, *The Brothers of Braemore* (1960), describes an imaginary re-creation of the Rule of St Benedict in modern terms. Olive Wyon, *Living Springs* (1963), gives an account of new religious movements on community lines in Western Europe.

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The Canon Law of the Church of England, Being the Report of the Archbishops' Commission on Canon Law, together with Proposals for a Revised Body of Canons (1947) contains seven references to religious orders.

Proposed Canon 56, dealing with Titles for Ordination, provides that a bishop may admit into Holy Orders: ". . . any person who is living under vows in the House of any Religious Order or Community". This has already been done, e.g. by the Bishop of Oxford for the Benedictines of Nashdom, and by the Bishop of Wakefield for the Community of the Resurrection, Mirfield. When it is recalled how Fr Ignatius of Llanthony failed to get any bishop to ordain him priest (see p. 67), or how Abbot Aelred Carlyle of Caldey had to cross the Atlantic and be ordained by the Bishop of Fond du Lac, it will be realized how great has been the change in the official attitude towards religious communities even within fifty years.

Visitations of some Anglican communities are now conducted with great regularity and thoroughness, i.e. on practically the same lines as those of Roman Catholic communities. There is the formal reception of the Visitor in the church or chapel of the religious house, followed by compulsory interviews between the Visitor and all members of the community, ending with an allocution by the bishop.

In more recent years the Advisory Council on Religious Communities (see p. 483) has taken the view that vows may be dispensed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, in accordance with an Act of Henry VIII's Reformation Parliament which forbade applications for dispensation to go further than Canterbury, instead of to Rome as hitherto.

Even today religious communities in the Church of England have no *real canonical* status, for in the new *Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical*, which are still being discussed by the convocations, there are only incidental references to religious communities. Of these references at least one (in one of the canons on confession) has now been cut out. This omission is explained as follows in *The Canon Law of the Church of England, Being the Report of the Archbishops' Commission on Canon Law, together with Proposals for a Revised Body of Canons* . . . (London, 1947): "Some surprise may be felt that the new code contains no canons on Religious Orders or Communities. Apart from the fact that the differences in the constitutions of the various Religious Orders and Communities in the Church of England make the drafting of canons on the subject an impossibility unless they are to be of a very general nature, we have deliberately refrained from including any such canons in our new code, because we understand that the Archbishops' Advisory Council on Religious Communities takes the view that the time is not yet ripe for securing in the distinctive system of the Church of England the essential values of the Religious Life by way of canonical legislation" (p. 86). There is a reference in a footnote: "See *A Directory of the Religious Life* (S.P.C.K., 1943), p. 7."

The Episcopal Church in Scotland has made no attempt to legislate for religious communities as such, but section 5 of the Canon XXXVI "Of Private Chapels", introduced into the Code of Canons in 1911, reads as follows:

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[1] *Community in a Changing World* (1942), p. 190.

> Where any religious community in Scotland has a private chapel, it shall not be recognized as a community working in connexion with this Church unless its chaplains, warden, and other clergy ministering therein have the licence or sanction in writing of the Bishop of the diocese, and the Bishop shall have the same jurisdiction in the chapel of such community as in the ordinary congregations of the diocese.

This provision was re-enacted as Canon XL.5 of the 1929 Code of Canons. Canon LIII "Of the secularization of ex-members of religious communities", enacted in 1961, provides:

> The College of Bishops shall have authority to release from the obligations of the religious state any ex-member of an Anglican religious community having its central house in Scotland who has with the consent of the Visitor been released from his or her obligations to the community or has been expelled therefrom by due authority within the said community.

Chapter XVIII of the Canons and Rules of the Church of India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon, "Of religious communities", makes brief provision for their authorization and regulation. There is also Chapter XIX, "Of religious brotherhoods and other such societies". There are incidental references to religious communities in the Canons of the Church of the Province of South Africa.

Occasional prayers for religious communities are included in the *Scottish Book of Common Prayer* (1929), the *South African Book* (1954), and the *Indian Book* (1960). *The Book of Offices*, compiled by the Standing Liturgical Commission and commended for use by General Convention of the American Church (3rd edn, New York, 1960), contains a form for blessing a conventual house.

1. COMMUNITY OF ST MARY THE VIRGIN

Dublin, Ireland (1887)

In order to appreciate the full significance of the foundation of this Community it is necessary to recall something of the ecclesiastical background against which it came into being.

Within a year of the Irish Church Act receiving Royal Assent on 26 July 1869 the disestablished Church, represented by its General Convention, had drawn up new "Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical" which were partly directed against the spread of Ritualism and the infiltration of Anglo-Catholic doctrines; almost everything possible was done to emphasize the "Protestant" nature of the Church of Ireland. Regulations—as detailed as those of the Sacred Congregation of Rites—were embodied in the canons. They explicitly forbade the wearing by priests and deacons of vestments, other than surplice, bands, scarf and hood, though a bishop or archbishop was left to "use the customary Ecclesiastical Apparel of his Order". It was intended that the minister

was never to offer up public prayer with his back to the people, that when saying the Prayer of Consecration he must stand at the "north side" or end of the communion-table, which had to be of wood and movable. No lamps or candles might be used except for the purpose of giving light, and no cross could stand on or behind the table. No crossing, bowing, elevation of the elements, or other act of reverence was permitted. The mixed chalice, wafer bread, and incense were strictly forbidden. Habitual auricular confession was discountenanced. In addition to all this, the ecclesiastical polity of the Irish Church was changed: the hierarchy became a democracy, with a General Synod in which laymen were in an effective majority and which was invested with considerable administrative power. The Synod resembled the Queen in Parliament.

It was hoped by the compilers of these regulations affecting public worship to stamp out any "Romish" tendencies among Irish Churchmen, and to make it impossible, once and for all, for Anglo-Catholic doctrines and practices to get past the barrier which had been erected. Little did they suspect that within thirty years of these Statutes becoming law a religious community of women would have been established with the sanction and approval of Lord Plunket, the celebrated Archbishop of Dublin.

Among the few Irish clergymen who held Tractarian opinions was the late Canon R. Travers Smith, Vicar of St Bartholomew's, Clyde Road, Dublin. He laid his schemes before the archbishop, who gave his approval in writing for the foundation of a Sisterhood. The Community of St Mary the Virgin began in a very humble way, with Mother Isabella Maffett as its foundress and first Superior. In 1891, about a year after community life had been inaugurated in a hired house in St Bartholomew's parish, the Sisters moved into their mother house in Clyde Lane, Ballsbridge.

A Constitution, based on the rule of St Augustine, was drawn up, stating that the object of the Community was to be a life of prayer, with any active works to which it might be called. A small girls' school was opened, and other girls were trained for domestic service. Later on, as the Community grew in numbers, a hostel for little boys was established in Belmont Avenue, Dublin. Before the death of Mother Elizabeth in 1945 both the school and the hostel were closed, and the Sisters undertook as their active work the care of old and infirm ladies within the convent buildings.[1]

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[1] This work for old ladies continues: but was taken over in 1959 by the Community of St John the Evangelist, Sandymount, Dublin. This Community (C.S.J.E.) is now responsible for maintaining the Home for old ladies (see p. 506).

2. SISTERHOOD OF THE SAVIOUR

Chesterfield (1902)

The original title of this Sisterhood, founded in 1902, the year of the coronation of Edward VII, was "The Servants of the Poor". After a few years the Bishop of Southwell asked the Sisters to come and work in his diocese, and they settled in Chesterfield. The ideal was to combine a life of prayer with active work among the poor, and this busy industrial town, with its mills and coal mines, provided plenty of opportunities for their apostolate. The Sisters had a great love of holy poverty, adopting as their own the words of St Teresa of Avila, that the Community might "resemble our King who had no house save the stable at Bethlehem where He was born, and the Cross where He died". Hence the dedication: "Servants of the Poor".

Besides the mother house at Chesterfield, branch houses were opened in the parishes of St Mark, Leicester, St Osmund, Derby, and St Peter, Calow. When more Sisters were professed it was possible to extend the work by establishing the Holy Name Home, Grassmoor, near Chesterfield, St Barnabas' Home, Wigan, and St Luke's Home, Chesterfield, for aged women. There was nothing luxurious about these homes: some of them were merely miners' cottages. It was in keeping with a devotion to holy poverty that the mother house in Chesterfield was a converted public house! The Sisters wore a grey habit and black scapular.

In 1943, at the request of the Community, the Sisters of the Poor were received into the Society of St Margaret, East Grinstead, where they have continued their Religious Life and have taken a full share in the work of this great community, both at home and abroad. The St Luke's Home at Chesterfield became a mission house of St Margaret's; other establishments were closed. The Sisters of the Saviour had much in common with those of St Margaret, and the writings of Dr Neale were so familiar to them that the amalgamation took place with little difficulty and to the advantage of both communities. In 1959 St Luke's Home was taken over by the Sisters of St Laurence, Belper.

3. SOCIETY OF THE PRECIOUS BLOOD

Burnham Abbey, Maidenhead, Buckinghamshire (1905)

About half-way between Taplow and Burnham Beeches railway stations, there is a signpost on the Bath Road marked "Dorney", pointing south. The road passes through wide open fields where vegetables are grown for the London market. Arriving at an open gate one reads that this is Burnham Abbey. Up a short drive, past a red-brick cottage, one is confronted by a farm, with red-tiled timber barns and sheds here and there—at least it must have been a farm at one time or another. Then comes a glimpse of stone buildings on the far side of a cloister garth, unmistakably medieval in date. This is all that remains of Burnham Abbey, now the home of the Society of the Precious Blood.

The Abbey of the Blessed Mary of Burnham was founded in 1266 by Duke Richard of Cornwall, brother of King Henry III, for a community of Augustinian Canonesses, in thanksgiving for the ending of the Wars of the Barons. The abbey was suppressed at the Reformation, and the nine nuns who formed the community in 1539 dispersed. One of them, Dame Elizabeth Woodford, fled to Flanders, where she joined the Augustinian Canonesses at St Ursula's, Louvain. Many other English women escaped from their own country and found their vocations in this community. The result was that in 1609 a foundation had to be made at St Monica's, Louvain. Today this historic community has its home at Newton Abbot, South Devon, where the chief work, besides the recitation of the Divine Office, is Perpetual Adoration of the Blessed Sacrament.

The Society of the Precious Blood, whose Rule is founded on that of St Augustine, and whose members are enclosed, began as an active community. In September 1900 Millicent Taylor offered her services to the Reverend Arnold Pinchard, Vicar of St Jude's, Birmingham, as a parish worker. There was plenty for her to do, and the work handed over to Miss Taylor was the charge of a factory girls' evening club. St Jude's parish contained some bad slums with overcrowded houses. The church had achieved a certain notoriety since the Vicar had fallen foul of Dr Perowne, Bishop of Worcester, as a result of using incense.

After two and a half years Millicent Taylor felt that she ought to dedicate herself to parish work under a Rule. With the approval of Dr Gore, who had succeeded Dr Perowne as Bishop of Worcester, and who as the first Superior of the Community of the Resurrection was more sympathetic towards the Religious Life than his predecessor could ever have been, she started to observe a definite Rule under the direction of her vicar. In July 1905 she was convinced that she must found a community to undertake all kinds of parish work. A few months later the Society of the Precious Blood came into being, with Millicent Taylor as the first Superior and Fr Arnold Pinchard as its Warden. The motto adopted was the words of St Paul: "*Libentissime impendam et superimpendar pro animabus vestris*" (I will most gladly spend and be spent for your souls' sake). It was during the month of July, set apart for devotion to the Precious Blood by Roman Catholics, that the inspiration came to Miss Taylor to found this society. The same habit is worn today: a black habit with a red girdle and a red collar from which is suspended a crucifix.

Bishop Gore gave permission for Sister Millicent's profession, which took place on St Luke's day, 1905. She and a few companions took up their abode in a house at 51 John Bright Street, where they lived a strenuous and extremely penitential life. The long day, which began at 5.30 a.m. and ended at 10.30 p.m., was devoted to parish work, with the recitation of the Divine Office and hours of mental prayer. The Sisters were very poor and often they were left without any food in the house, until some kind parishioner came along to help them. On 19 April 1908 Sister Frances Mary, formerly an art student, was professed in the tiny chapel of the convent by Bishop Gore. He had taken a fatherly interest in the Community from the time of its foundation, and had visited the convent on more than one occasion. It is related that the only thing to which he objected was the statue of the Sacred Heart in the chapel! In those far-off times the Sisters of the Precious Blood lived in direct contact with the outer world, involving the daily parish visiting, Sunday-school teaching, and the running of the factory girls' club every night from 7 till 10 p.m. Most of these Birmingham girls were a wild crowd. They worked in conditions which would not be tolerated by the authorities at the present day, but they were loyal and devoted to the Sisters.

The Community began to grow. In November 1908 Fr Andrew, at that time Superior of the Society of the Divine Compassion, conducted their annual retreat, and from that moment the Sisters began to be drawn to a stricter life of prayer. On St Luke's day 1909 the Community migrated from the slums of central Birmingham to an old farm-house in the parish of King's Heath, where they endured poverty and hardships far greater than they had ever faced before. They were over two miles from the nearest church, and seldom got Mass in their own chapel. Every morning in all weathers they used to make the journey on foot. In 1911 they were able to have an occasional Mass in their chapel, with the privilege of Reservation. The Sisters still regarded themselves as an active community, for the chief reason for moving into the country was to ensure a quiet spot for training the novices. But a visit to Malling Abbey made by Mother Millicent in 1910 probably helped the foundress to see that God was calling her in another direction. The isolation, silence, and quietude of the life in the old farm-house at King's Heath did the rest.

By 1912 these ideas had taken a definite shape, yet it was not until two years later that they materialized. Then came the suggestion by Fr Andrew that the Society of the Precious Blood should take over the house at Hendon which had been opened by the Association for Promoting Retreats. A move was made there in July 1914.

The Community increased in numbers and soon there was not enough room in the retreat house for the Sisters and novices. One day Miss Emma Wolley Dod, guest mistress to the retreatants, expressed a wish to buy a permanent home for the Society. Burnham Abbey happened to be on the market, and nobody seemed anxious to buy the property. Mother Millicent went to have a look at it, and in her words: "We came, we saw, and it conquered! I shall never forget the welcome the place gave us and the irresistible atmosphere of calm quiet peace that surrounded it."

On 18 April 1916, six hundred and fifty years after the first dedication of the abbey, the first Mass for the Society of the Precious Blood was said in their new convent. There is not much to relate about its subsequent history, which is best summed up in the words of the sermon preached by Fr Pinchard at the Silver Jubilee, St Luke's day, 1930: "through many desperate happenings we had at last found ourselves as a Contemplative Community".

The pre-Reformation chapter-house was transformed into a far-too-congested chapel. In 1952 it was enlarged without spoiling its simplicity. There is a piece of the north wall of the ancient church in the refectory, and, in the community room and the hermitage beyond, much of the medieval walls is intact. In these old-world surroundings, the charm of which is difficult to put into words, these enclosed nuns devote themselves to perpetual intercessory prayer for the Church and the conversion of sinners. They sing the Divine Office in Choir, using the *Breviarium Romanum*. They aim at much the same observances as those of the Canonesses Regular who occupied Burnham Abbey from 1266 to 1539, and whose direct descendants are to be found at St Augustine's Priory, Newton Abbot. In emulation of this community which keeps up a ceaseless round of prayer before the Blessed Sacrament, the aim is an unbroken watch before the tabernacle. There is Exposition on Thursday night and all day Friday to honour the hours of our Lord's Passion. Each day one of the Sisters and novices takes the watch from 12 noon to 3 p.m., pleading the Precious Blood for the conversion of sinners, in union with our Lord on Calvary. There are no lay sisters, so the manual work is often hard and exacting. Thus the original spirit of hard work and poverty is maintained. Following a postulancy of at least three months, there is a two years' novitiate. Perpetual life profession is not made until after five years in temporary vows.

Associated with the Community are the Companions of the Precious Blood, consisting of layfolk with a simple rule of prayer.

Every day is a day of prayer; every work, technically so called, is prayer to be offered up as an act of penance and reparation. It is this spirit of spending and being spent that has to be learnt and practised and acquired in the training for the life. Silence and enclosure are the safeguards of the contemplative, for the strength of the contemplative life, and its power for good, lies in its hiddenness and silence.

Mother Millicent Mary resigned her Office as Superior in September 1942, but lived to keep the Golden Jubilee of her Profession and of the foundation of the Society. Sister Mary St Agnes was elected as her successor and installed by Dr Kirk, Bishop of Oxford, Visitor to the Community.

In 1956 in response to urgent appeals from the Bishop of Basutoland, Dr Maund, the Society agreed to found a multi-racial House at Masite where there was a small group of Basuto women anxious to try their vocation to the contemplative life. Mother Mary St Agnes took five Sisters out in May 1957, and, a year later, felt that the foundation was sufficiently secure to leave it in charge of the Reverend Mother Prioress, Mother Clare Mary. The Reverend Mother was able to see the foundation stone of the new stone Chapel laid before she left Masite. By what seemed a series of coincidences the date fixed for the Dedication of the Chapel was 19 September the 420th anniversary of the dissolution of Burnham Abbey and the destruction of the Abbey Church. The first African Novice made her Profession in Simple Vows on the feast of Holy Cross, 14 September 1961.

The address of this House is: The Priory of Our Lady, Mother of Mercy, Masite Mission, P.O. Maseru, Basutoland, S. Africa.

The Warden of Burnham Abbey is the Reverend Hugh Bishop, C.R., and the Visitor the Bishop of Oxford. The Warden of the Priory of Our Lady is the Reverend Keith Davie, C.R., and the Visitor the Bishop of Basutoland.

4. COMMUNITY OF ST FRANCIS

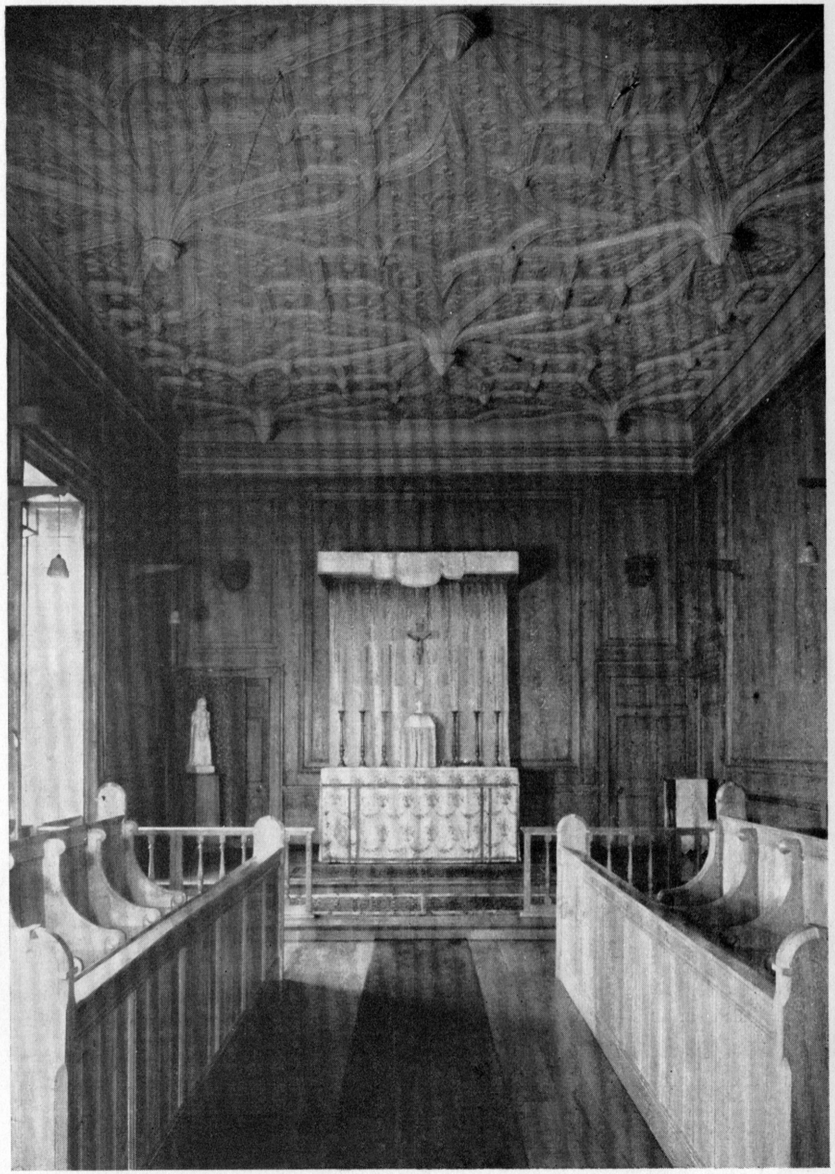
The Manor House, Compton Durville, South Petherton, Somerset (1906)

John Dando Sedding's Church of the Holy Redeemer, Clerkenwell, consecrated in 1888, is so completely Italian in inspiration that one forgets one is in the heart of London the moment one enters its doors. Not only

QVVM DOCVMENTVM NOVO CEDAT RI

CONVENT OF THE INCARNATION, FAIRACRES, OXFORD (1922)
By Paul Waterhouse

See p. 499



[Ramsey and Muspratt

PRIORY OF OUR LADY, BURFORD (Seventeenth Century)
Furniture of the chapel by Walter H. Godfrey (1950)

See p. 524

is the style of architecture Early Italian Renaissance, but the stately ciborium over the high altar evokes memories of a similar one in the church of S. Spirito in Florence. Moreover, unlike most English parish churches, the Holy Redeemer is not crowded up with pews—it has that spaciousness one finds in Italian churches. The whole atmosphere is just as ultramontane as that of the Italian church in Clerkenwell Road, not so very far away. The brick campanile is reminiscent of those of San Francesco and Santa Chiara, Assisi.

It was when working in this parish about sixty years ago that Sister Rosina, of the Sisters of Bethany, developed an intense devotion to St Francis of Assisi and longed to walk in the steps of St Clare. It so happened that one of the curates of the church, the Reverend John C. Hawes, who nearly half a century later became a Franciscan tertiary hermit on a small island in the Bahamas, shared this Sister's love for the *Poverello*. He was already dreaming of forming an Anglican community of *Frati Minori*, whose manner of life would conform to the most strict ideals of Holy Poverty (see p. 162). It was mainly through his influence that Sister Rosina severed her connection with the Sisters of Bethany. Three other members of this community followed her.

History repeated itself, for just as St Francis persuaded the Benedictine nuns at Bastia to give shelter to St Clare until he could find a permanent home for her, so did Fr Hawes manage to find a temporary refuge for Sister Rosina and her companions with the Sisters of the Holy Comforter at Edmonton, who at that date were in the process of becoming Benedictine nuns.

This community, today at Malling Abbey, was in close touch with Abbot Aelred Carlyle of Painsthorpe, and it was through him that Sister Rosina heard that the vicar of St Mary's, Sculcoates, Hull, was trying to find some Sisters to come and work in his parish. Here was the call they were waiting for. In 1906 they left London for Hull.

When they reached Sculcoates they must have been quite satisfied with the surroundings—mean streets built over what not long since had been marsh land, between the narrow winding River Hull and the Beverley–Bramston Drain, broken up with railway lines and sidings. A small house was rented and served as their first convent. They named it "St Damian's" in remembrance of the first monastery of the Poor Clares, but it was only in name that it bore any resemblance to that romantically situated *convento* outside the walls of Assisi, overlooking the Vale of Spoleto. Sister Rosina became known as "Mother Mary."

They had now adopted a brown habit, with the Franciscan knotted cord, a black veil, and sandals. They soon won the hearts of the poor people among whom they worked—almost a community in themselves, cut off as they were from the rest of the city. After three years in Hull the Sisters returned to London in 1908, having been invited to settle in the parish of St Philip, Dalston.[1] Their first home was a small house in Malvern Road. The following year a larger house in Richmond Road was transformed into a convent. In 1920 the next-door house was added; two large rooms being adapted to serve as a chapel. Before long there were several novices to be professed. Dr Winnington Ingram, Bishop of London, deputed his Suffragan, Dr Lang, Bishop of Stepney, to perform the ceremony. He examined the Sisters' Rule and approved of it, and from that day on he took a kind interest in the Community. There was more than enough to be done in St Philip's parish, with its teeming population. But with external success came increased doubts: Mother Mary now began to worry about her position in the Church of England. She could not overcome her scruples about those words at the beginning of the First Rule of the Friars Minor—"Brother Francis, and whoever may be at the head of this religion, promises obedience and reverence to our Lord Pope Innocent and his successors". The majority of her community felt that St Francis' views on the papal primacy are not an essential part of his religious ideals. Was it not enough to recognize the primacy of St Peter and the headship of the Bishop of Rome over other bishops? Finally, Mother Mary felt convinced that, so far as she was concerned, there was no alternative but to make her submission to the then "successor of our Lord Pope Innocent".

News had reached Dalston of the corporate submission of the Franciscan Society of the Atonement in October 1909 (see p. 548). So Mother Mary decided to go across the Atlantic with the idea of joining this community. Three other Sisters said they would accompany her. Bidding a sad farewell to the majority who remained in the Church of England, they embarked for New York. They took nothing with them, and their passages were paid by friends. Two of these exiles entered the novitiate of the Sisters of the Atonement at Graymoor, but Mother Mary and another found their vocations with the Franciscan Missionary Sisters of the Sacred Heart, whose headquarters are at Peekskill, New York.

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[1] The church, badly damaged by enemy action in the second world war, was an uninspiring example of Gothic Revival architecture. Charles Booth, who visited it a few years before the arrival of the Community, wrote: here "we find a moderately high attractive service, drawing middle-class congregations, of whom half are always strangers. Thirty services are held weekly, but the people of the neighbourhood are not responsive." *Life and Labour of the People in London*, Third Series: *Religious Influences* (1902), vol. I, p. 93.
Such was the environment in which these Franciscan Sisters found themselves.

The Sisters who were left at Dalston elected Sister Elizabeth as their Superior. She died on 7 March 1950, having ruled over them for forty-one years. In 1924 a new chapel and cloister were consecrated by the Bishop of Stepney. In 1957 a branch house was opened in the parish of St Mary-of-Eton, Hackney Wick. At the present time the Warden is a Friar of the Society of St Francis, with which the community is now closely affiliated. The Visitor is the Bishop of Bath and Wells.

There is little that need be said about the spirit of these Franciscan Sisters except that it is the spirit of their Holy Mother St Clare, who wrote: "We feared no poverty, toil, sorrow, abasement and contempt of the world, nay rather we held them in great delight." Year in, year out they have tried to comply with that last wish which St Francis wrote to St Clare: "I beseech you all, my ladies, and counsel you to live always in this most holy life and poverty." The Canonical Hours are recited from the *Monastic Diurnal*. Richmond Road is a nearly mile-long thoroughfare that links up Mare Street and Kingsland Road. It is definitely "off the beaten track". The Convent and Home were two adjacent, very ordinary mid-Victorian dwelling-houses. Here it was easy for the Community to live a *hidden* life, without attracting much attention. It was the *realism*, not the *romance* of St Francis, that one found at this convent in north-east London.

In 1962 the Dalston site was required for development purposes by the London County Council and the mother house was moved to the Manor House, Compton Durville, Somerset, which had been occupied from 1952 to 1959 by Sisters of the Sacred Cross (see p. 508). The foundation stone for a new chapel and nursing home at Compton Durville was laid in April 1963.

5. COMMUNITY OF THE SISTERS OF THE LOVE OF GOD

Convent of the Incarnation, Fairacres, Oxford (1906–7)

The publication in 1899 of *Christian Mysticism*, whose author, the Reverend William R. Inge, was at that date a Fellow and Tutor of Hertford College, Oxford, may perhaps have been responsible for increasing an interest in the contemplative life among members of the Church of England. The following year Algar Thorold's *Essay in Aid of a Better Appreciation of Catholic Mysticism* appeared in London and the Abbé Saudreau's *La Vie d'union à Dieu* appeared in Paris. These books were followed by many others of the same type; the most widely read being Poulain's *Grâces d'Oraison*. Mysticism soon became a fashionable craze and much of it was of an extremely superficial character, often tinged with Theosophy. Among the more orthodox writers of books on mysticism half a century ago was the Reverend George Seymour Hollings, S.S.J.E., who, perhaps more than any other Anglican clergyman at that date, directed his many penitents towards contemplative prayer. He was encouraged by Fr Page, then Superior-General of his own Religious Society of the Cowley Fathers, and by the Bishop of Oxford, Dr Francis Paget (who was a bishop-associate of Wantage), to use his own gifts of deep spirituality for the formation of a community of women who believed themselves to be called by God to serve Him in a life of prayer and enclosure. The only Anglican community at that date which did not carry on "works of charity and mercy" and which deserved the title of "contemplative" in the strict sense were the Benedictine nuns at West Malling (see p. 425). Yet it was clear that there were plenty of women in the Church of England who did not feel drawn to join any of the more active Sisterhoods.[1]

In 1906 the first venture was made in a small artisan's house in Leopold Street, Oxford, in great simplicity and poverty. The number of those coming to test their vocation under the direction of Fr Hollings increased rapidly. The Community then found somewhat larger quarters in a house on the Cowley Road, soon adding to this its semi-detached neighbour. There were many of the ups and downs which accompany and test all new foundations, but the number of Sisters grew steadily. The first profession in life vows took place in 1910; incidentally, the same year as the publication of the English translation of the Abbé Poulain's *Graces of Interior Prayer*. Baron von Hugel's *Mystical Element in Religion* and Bishop Arthur Chandler's *Ara Coeli* came out in 1908, with Evelyn Underhill's *Mysticism* in 1912. All these books must have helped indirectly to stimulate the ever-increasing yearning for the enclosed and contemplative life.

The "Sisters of the Love of God"—as the new community was called—began to feel the need of more spacious accommodation and especially a garden, so Fairacres House, in a quiet turning off the Iffley Road, was rented. The property lay within a few minutes' walk of the Cowley Fathers' Mission House and the grounds covered a sufficient area to make it possible for the Community to live an enclosed life. There was a secluded garden sloping down towards the river. At first the drawing-room of the house was used as a chapel until a temporary chapel (now the chapter-house) was built in the garden.

In 1914 Fr Hollings died while celebrating Mass in the presence of the Community. The care of the Sisters of the Love of God was then taken over by Fr Lucius Cary, S.S.J.E., at the request of Fr Maxwell, the Superior-General of the Cowley Fathers, and of the Bishop of Oxford, Dr Charles Gore. Fr Cary had always been deeply interested in the contemplative life and was versed in its history and spirit. He had also made a close study of canon law in relation to the Religious Life in general. He brought to the work the many gifts of his rich and spiritual vision.

During the first experimental years under Fr Hollings' care, the Community had a simple temporary Rule of Life, chiefly concerned with provision for the devotional setting of a life of prayer in enclosure. From this starting-point Fr Cary developed the Community on more positive lines and gave it the firm and clear vision and spiritual aim which are now incorporated in its Rule and Observances. The Rule was drawn up by Fr Cary to meet what he and a number of those who were drawn into the Community at this time felt to be the need of the Church and world and the call of the Holy Spirit.

The object of the Sisters of the Love of God is contemplative prayer—worship, adoration, and a special emphasis on reparation, penance, and intercession. All of these aims are embodied in the Rule which was finally approved by the Visitor, the Bishop of Oxford (Dr Gore), and accepted by the Community in 1917. The Statutes, guarding the Life and Rule and providing for the temporal affairs of the Community, were approved and adopted the following year. Each of Dr Gore's successors as Bishop of Oxford has been Visitor of the Community in his turn.

In 1922 the building of the present chapel, sacristies, and a main block of cells and other community rooms was begun. The work was completed in the following year. The architect was Paul Waterhouse, F.R.I.B.A., a devout and devoted friend and benefactor of the Community. The new chapel and other buildings were dedicated by Dr Burge, who had become Bishop of Oxford in 1919. The chapel is in the Spanish baroque style of architecture—so alien to this Oxford suburb, with its trim little red-brick villas, and to the mid-Victorian mansion which served as the original convent, that one almost expects to be told that—like the Holy House of Loreto—it was transported by the hands of angels! The Fairacres chapel might have been brought from Andalusia, Castile, Mexico, or California. The illusion of being in Spain or in Spanish America is intensified when gazing round the interior, which is far more expressive of the Counter-Reformation in Southern Europe than of English spirituality whether before or after the Reformation. One ventures to feel that this lovely but exotic chapel, although it would have appealed to the baroque taste of Archbishop Laud and even eighteenth-century Anglicans brought up in the Wren tradition, would have scandalized the later supporters of the Oxford movement with their almost superstitious veneration for everything Gothic, yet it may well be the logical evolution of the Spanish-American crucifix from Lima which John Henry Newman placed on the table in the oratory of his "monastery" at Littlemore about 1842. Few Anglican religious communities possess such an exquisite place of worship.

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[1] It is worth recording that in 1866 the Reverend S. Baring-Gould, at that date "Mission Priest" at Horbury Bridge, Wakefield, wrote: "One thing is very evident—that throughout Europe, even under the most favourable circumstances, the contemplative orders are fading away, and the active societies are stepping into their places. We would not suggest any reproduction of a purely contemplative and ascetic order in England. There seems to be no demand for it, no field for it to occupy." (Essay "On the Revival of Religious Confraternities" in *The Church and the World*, edited by the Reverend Orby Shipley (London, 1866), p. 109.)

In 1928 the first branch house was founded, at Boxmoor in Hertfordshire, and in 1935 a second and larger convent at Dudwell St Mary, Burwash, Sussex. Three years later the Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem, the late Dr Graham Brown (a former Principal of Wycliffe Hall), asked the Community to found a contemplative house of prayer at Ain Karim in the Holy Land, but this project, owing to the Second World War and the subsequent partition of Palestine, has never been realized. An increase in vocations necessitated a further enlargement of the conventual buildings at Fairacres and in 1959 a number of new cells and a more spacious and dignified refectory were built and dedicated.

The offering of the Church's prayer of the Divine Office by day and night together with the daily Eucharist is the Community's chief work. It must always be remembered that the contemplative life is a total life lived for the development of the most complete offering of charity possible in this world, a life that should tend towards contemplation in which the corporate form is sustained and made effective in the *Opus Dei*. The aim of the monk or nun is prayer in itself and not as a means to support other works, however good and useful they may be in themselves. Prayer flows from the Office and through the Office, so that in contemplative houses there is time for regular private prayer as well as the corporate offering of the *Opus Dei*. The Sisters of the Love of God recite the Night Office at 2 a.m. and the Day Hours are sung at the regular hours of monastic tradition. The Breviary used is the *Monastic Diurnal* with the Tymawr translation of monastic Matins. Two hours daily are given to mental prayer.

It is not the function of the contemplative-reparative life to deal with the world's needs at first hand, though the active ministry of the Church

must suffer unless it is supported and complemented by the power of the contemplatives, whether in religious houses or in the world. In order to ensure that the Religious can fulfil their work of worship and reparatory offering, silence and enclosure are essential elements of the contemplative life and are entirely positive. The life is withdrawn from the world's distractions in order to be given more completely to penitence and to waiting upon God. The offering is for the whole Body, the Church in all its needs. The essence of the enclosure of the contemplative is to stimulate the fullness of charity, to pray for and to suffer with the needs of the world.

In an age of change and uncertainty the contemplative-reparative life stands not for conservatism but for eternalism. That is its sanction and its contribution to the needs of the present age.

The Sisters of the Love of God are often described as Anglican Carmelites. This is incorrect because, though their brown habit may give them a superficial resemblance to St Teresa's daughters, their observance differs in both Rule and detail. The Rule, though impregnated with the ethos of the spiritual doctrine of St Teresa and St John of the Cross, is modern. The life of the Sisters is characterized by the mingling of the solitary life of the Cell with the corporate offering of the Divine Office and the family life.[1]

After a postulancy of six months, there is a novitiate of two to four years. Life vows are not taken until three to four years have been spent under annual vows.

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[1] The following time-table indicates how these communities fill up each day:

2.0	Matins
5.30	Morning Call
6.10	Prime followed by Mass and Thanksgiving, Collation then Spiritual Reading before Terce
9.0	Capitular office and Terce
9.15–10.15	Prayer
10.30–Sext	Work
12.0	Sext
12.30 p.m.	Dinner
1.0–1.40	On three days a week—Recreation: Silent Free time
1.45	Work
2.50	None
3.0	Half-hour rest; then half-hour work in garden
4.0	Collation except on fast days
4.15–5.15	Prayer
5.20	Vespers
5.45	Work
6.45	Supper
	Necessary duties and free time
8.30	Compline
9.0	Retire to bed

"*Suave jugum Christi: sunt suavia jugera nobis: gloria in excelsis: gloria ubique Dei.*" ("The Yoke of Christ is easy: the lot is fallen unto us in a fair ground; Glory in the highest: the Glory of God is everywhere.") In this chronogram, composed by the architect of the Convent of the Incarnation at Oxford, are to be found, not only the familiar name of the convent, but also the fundamental principles of the enclosed and contemplative Life of the Community of the Sisters of the Love of God, wherever they may be. These principles were summed up by Fr Cary as: "the segregation of life in obedience to an impulse which the soul adoringly recognizes as being divine, but which is only one way which seems to it to be open for the following of those divine footsteps of the Lord Christ, which lead by the wilderness way of sacrifice and single-hearted devotion to the one great objective of created life, the Vision of God in holiness, the offering of the self, and all with which self has been entrusted, to God and God alone."[1]

In the rapidly changing world situation and because of the complexity of the needs of the world, there is an increasing number of vocations to contemplative prayer, as distinct from the contemplative life, in the body of the faithful. The Community has a lively concern to support those called to share in the spirit of their life and whose vocation is not to the religious life itself, and it welcomes them into association as Oblates or Companions or as members of a large Fellowship for priests and the laity.

The Chaplain-General is the Reverend David Hemming, S.S.J.E.

6. SOCIETY OF THE GOOD SHEPHERD

Hare Hatch, Twyford, Berkshire (1909)

The story of this small community is comparatively uneventful. It was founded at St Saviour's, Walthamstow, in 1909, by the Reverend J. B. Johnson, with Sister Janet Mary (Cheeper)—the first Superior—and Sister Agnes (Gilbertson). The object of its members was to live in closer union with our Lord through works of mercy. The Sisters engaged in parish work in Walthamstow, and had their mother house on Canvey Island, Essex. From 1918 to 1936 they were under the direction of the Society of the Divine Compassion. After the Abbot of Nashdom became their Warden in 1936 the Sisters adopted a modified form of the Rule of St Benedict. Three years later the Community moved to its present home in Berkshire.

The convent is situated in the country and has extensive grounds, with gardens and woodlands. The Community offers a permanent or temporary home to ladies of limited means. Retreats are held from time to time, and guests are welcomed for private retreats. There is a resident chaplain. The Conventual Mass is always sung on Sundays. The Day Hours of the Divine Office are recited according to *The Monastic Diurnal*.

The Bishop of Oxford, the diocesan, is the Visitor, and the Warden is the Abbot of Nashdom.

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[1] *Hortus Inclusus*, pp. 19–20.

7. ORDER OF ST ELIZABETH OF HUNGARY

94 *Redcliffe Gardens, London, S.W.*10 (1912)

By 1912 St Francis of Assisi had definitely been re-discovered so far as England was concerned. Eighteen years had elapsed since the publication of Sabatier's *Life of St Francis*, and countless biographies of the Little Poor Man, and many books on Franciscan Italy, history, spirituality, and art had appeared. So it was not surprising that in 1912 three kindred souls resolved to unite themselves in prayer to acquire the Franciscan spirit of joyous freedom, which finds its happiness in stripping itself of everything for freedom to live for others, seeking to upraise them to a higher joy. "Baptize us, O God, with the Holy Ghost, and kindle in our hearts the Fire of Thy Love", was the formula of prayer on which the original three agreed. Others joined, and within a few weeks over twenty were gathered into this "Confraternity of Divine Love".

Then came the call to one of the members, herself already a religious, to form a group of associates of the Confraternity, which, with episcopal sanction, was to evolve into an Order of Sisters, Franciscan in spirit, and burning with a love of souls. This group was started in 1913 under the guidance of the Reverend Jesse Brett and the Reverend Willoughby Carter. A small mission was opened in the parish of St Alban, Fulham, and a novitiate was inaugurated. In the following year a house was rented in a more rural area at Hanwell, as being better suited for the training of novices. In 1916 the first three Sisters of the Order of St Elizabeth made their simple professions. All these had been members of the Confraternity of the Divine Love. The following year they moved to 94 Redcliffe Gardens, Kensington, which has been the mother house of the Order ever since. On 21 March 1921 Dr Winnington-Ingram, then Bishop of London, installed the first Mother Superior of the Order, the ceremony taking place at St Matthias', Earl's Court, a well-known Anglo-Catholic parish church. After a period fraught with many difficulties the Order vindicated its right to a place in the Church of England, by the proof of the many and various calls which came to it and of the steady increase in the number of Sisters.

It was Lady Campion, wife of the then Governor of Western Australia, who asked for Sisters to be sent out there to work among English settlers. A convent was founded at Bunbury, Western Australia, in 1928, followed by other houses at Busselton and Margaret River three years later. Religious teaching was given in the state schools, and much visiting done. In 1929 the chapter of the Order resolved that it should become a missionary society, devoted to work overseas, but with a strong base at home.

Provision for retreatants and a guest house for associates had been made as early as 1915 when the Hostel of St Mary, 34 Richmond Road, Earl's Court, was opened. Next year St Mary's Retreat, Heathfield, Sussex, was founded. Later on more land was acquired together with two other houses. Bungalows were built, to give further accommodation for guests in the summer months. A chapel was added, followed by cottages for elderly ladies of small private means. An extension of this work was made at St Mary-in-the-Fields, Mayfield, Sussex.

The spirit of the Order is fundamentally Franciscan. It has no invested funds, and is dependent on the providence of God for the maintenance of the Sisters and the extension of their work. It began without a penny in prospect: it has never been in debt or in want. To bring the love of God into touch with the lapsed and lost of any class is its chief aim. While the greatest care is taken of the devotional life, great stress being laid on vocal and mental prayer, the Sisters are always ready to respond to any call for aid at all times. *The Hours of Prayer* is the Office Book used in choir. Life vows are taken, following a period of five years in simple vows after the novitiate. The Rule, like that of Carmelite nuns, forbids large convents. In the O.S.E.H. no convent may have more than thirteen Sisters. The retreat and rest houses at Heathfield have been sanctuaries for a large number of people in need of quiet and restoration. All the work is done by the Sisters themselves, and this ensures a spirit of peace and devotion. The gardens and the beauty of the surrounding countryside also contribute to the end in view.

Today, in addition to the mother house, the Order maintains: St Margaret's, Heathfield (guest house); St Mary's Retreat House, Heathfield; cottages for gentlewomen at Heathfield and Mayfield. In 1957 it was felt well to discontinue the work in Australia, although the interest in the diocese, and in overseas missions still remains. The Confraternity of the Divine Love still carried on the work of prayer for which it was founded in 1913, and has a branch in Western Australia.

Mother Elizabeth—the foundress—was the author of several well-known devotional books, the best known being *The Vocation of the Soul* and *Restoration to the Sacred Heart*. At the present time the Visitor of the Order is the Bishop of Kensington, and the Warden, the Reverend Peter Clark, S.S.M.

8. COMMUNITY OF ST JOHN THE EVANGELIST

Sandymount, Dublin, Ireland (1912)

Twenty-one years after the foundation of the "Community of St Mary the Virgin" (see p. 488) a second community of women, dedicated to St John the Evangelist, was established in the Church of Ireland. The founder was the Reverend Fletcher Sheridan Le Fanu, who, after some years of work in a country parish, became Vicar of St John's, Sandymount, on the south side of Dublin. Here he found full scope for teaching and preaching the faith as he believed it, for St John's was one of the few churches in the Church of Ireland where the principles of the Oxford movement had taken root. He had long dreamed of establishing another sisterhood in Ireland, being convinced that his Church needed the hidden support of specially dedicated lives. Now was his opportunity to put these ideals into practice. Mr Le Fanu had studied the life and work of St Francis de Sales, and that led him to follow closely the spirit of the Order of the Visitation in the Rule he drew up, for it was this spirit he desired to inculcate in his Sisters. Strange to say no Roman Catholic Visitation convent had ever been founded in Ireland.

The "Community of St John the Evangelist", with the secondary title of "Sisters of the Love of Jesus", came into being in 1912. Its growth and development, from its early struggles, hidden in obscurity, overshadowed by the ignorance of the meaning of the Religious Life on the part of the vast majority of the members of the Church of Ireland (for love of which, and with the intention of making reparation for what it lacks, the Community exists), has been throughout a manifestation of the Providence of God.[1]

The first Sister, and first Superior, having made her novitiate at St Margaret's Convent, East Grinstead, returned to Ireland in the summer of 1912. She was professed in the little chapel of St John's Home (as the future convent was then called)—the first house in a terrace of four houses close to the sea at Sandymount. She had been taught church embroidery at East Grinstead, so she took up this as the only work immediately at hand. She was assisted by a group of ladies associated with St John's Church. It was not until September 1916 that another Sister was professed, and not until two years later that the profession of a third made it possible for a Mother Superior to be elected and installed.[1]

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[1] To realize fully what tremendous faith was needed to plant a tiny seed of this kind in the Church of Ireland, it should be borne in mind that in the Roman Catholic Diocese of Dublin alone there were over a hundred communities of women, embracing both contemplative and active orders.

The Constitution states that the Community is founded for the Glory of God, "first in the Religious Life of its members"; so that the fostering of this life by the appointed means, and above all the work of prayer, are the essential elements in the life of the Community. A postulancy of not less than three months is followed by a novitiate of at least two years. The Novitiate is followed by First Profession at which the Sister-elect professes her intention to remain in the Community for the rest of her life and takes a specific Vow to live under its Rule and Statutes for the next three years. At the end of this three years she is allowed to "Promise and Vow to remain in the Community and to practise Poverty, Chastity and Obedience, according to its Rule and Statutes for the rest of my life in this world." The Sister's first duty, enjoined by Rule, is the recitation of the whole of the Divine Office in choir—not only the Day Hours, but also Matins[2]—and faithfulness to her own times of private prayer. Although the increasing recognition of the existence of the Community by the Church of Ireland, and the development of understanding of the nature of its life and work, brings with it an increase of what the world calls active work, these "Sisters of the Love of Jesus" can never forget that the centre and mainspring of all their activity is this Love, the vitality hidden in their life of prayer, without which all else is fruitless.

In 1916 the work of All Saints Home for Girls was taken over from a Committee then responsible, but since the passing of the Child Adoption Act in recent years the need for such a Home has almost ceased to exist, and it has been given up. The Community won its way by slow degrees. The original work of the school of embroidery has now grown to such an extent that the Sisters' needlework—embroidery and linen—is sent to places in all parts of Ireland, as well as abroad. In addition to helping towards the adornment of the cathedrals and churches, this gives increased opportunities of helping the clergy and laity with whom the Sisters are brought in contact.

In April 1959, after prolonged negotiations, C.S.J.E. took over the work

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[1] The Reverend Mother Edith Mary, Foundress of C.S.J.E., resigned her office in January 1956 and died in May 1958.

[2] *The Hours of Prayer* and *The Night Hours* [East Grinstead] are the office books used.

and assets of the Community of St Mary the Virgin, Ballsbridge, Dublin. Here twenty-four elderly and infirm ladies are cared for in a large brick building which is being gradually converted and renovated. The two remaining members of the original Community live with the Sisters from Sandymount and share in the life of prayer and service.

Since 1933 the Community has worked in the Church in Wales. In 1952 the Sisters there were invited to take charge of the Diocesan Retreat House at St David's, Pembrokeshire. Guests, pilgrims, and retreatants are seldom lacking at any time of the year. By careful saving on the part of the Sisters working in Wales, and thanks to the generosity of Welsh Associates, it has been possible to convert an old stone-built coach house and stables into a simple, but pleasing, Chapel dedicated at Eastertide 1961.

The Community was the pioneer of organized retreats for women in the Church of Ireland. Two organized retreats are held every year, and private ones when required. The little priest's house in the grounds, normally occupied by the retreat conductors, is used at other times by clergymen or ordinands who seek quiet and seclusion for prayer and study. Both adults and children are prepared for the Sacraments. All these works are directed towards the carrying out of the second object stated in the Constitution of the Community, "the furtherance of the teaching and practice of the Catholic Faith". The first object: "The Glory of God in the religious life of its members" is safeguarded by the insistence on the observance of the times for corporate and private prayer. The Community motto: "*Caritas Christi urget nos*", serves as an inspiration and as a reminder of the words of the founder saying that the Sister should "do all in the spirit of adoration, as in the presence of the Heavenly Father and of the Sacred Heart of Jesus".

The Community feels strongly that its particular vocation is "to God's service in the disestablished Celtic Churches of Ireland and Wales, but always with the ideal of being fashioned as instruments for God to use in whatever way He wills . . . to help to show to the world the 'manifold Wisdom of God' in the varied ways of life in His Church".

It was not until 1939 that a legacy made it possible to build a permanent chapel for the Community. Today the Sisters carry out "The Work of God" in a dignified granite chapel, modern in design, and pleasing in its proportions—austere, simple, and plain, in keeping with the Rule of the Community. It was designed by B. W. L. Gallanaugh. In 1961 a simple extension to the terrace provided a permanent refectory (to replace a temporary erection) and an embroidery room over it.

The Company of St John by the Cross serves as a Third Order, and binds those in the world to the Community. The Associates of the C.S.J.E. form a faithful and valued body of friends. The Warden is the Reverend Donald Patey, C.R. The resident Chaplain lives in a house next to the convent. The Visitor is Bishop Thomas Hannay, C.R.

9. SOCIETY OF THE SACRED CROSS

Tymawr Convent, Lydart, Monmouth (1914)

Hidden away in the hills four miles to the south-west of Monmouth, in which county there were three Cistercian monasteries before the Reformation—Caerleon, Grace Dieu, and Tintern—is a small community of women living an enclosed life which, though not wholly Cistercian, has certain affinities with those communities dispersed in the sixteenth century. Since silence and solitude are the essential characteristics of this specialized life, it would be inconsistent with their spirit to give these nuns too much publicity. To quote their own words: "In the world, the research worker, whatever may be his subject, has to shut himself up with his equipment, tools or instruments, and books, in order to carry out his experiments undisturbed and reason out his conclusions without distraction. It is quite impossible for the majority of men to work well and produce results under any other conditions. So it is with the Contemplative: the solitude and silence of the Cloister, Cell, Chapel and surroundings give the environment, which alone is suitable for the mind and soul to grow into that knowledge and vision of God which is the end of this life." Such, in brief, is the purpose and spirit of the Society of the Sacred Cross—to know and love God supremely, for His own sake; to sit at his feet as Mary of Bethany did, and not to leave their enclosure to serve with Martha.

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There is not much to be said about the history of this forty-nine-year-old community. It came into being very quietly on 8 December 1914, in the midst of the First World War, when the Reverend E. A. Glover, D.D., who is regarded as its founder, admitted the first two members of what was intended to be a confraternity of the "hidden life" in St George's Church, Wyke, Chichester, of which he was incumbent. After four years of testing their vocations, the members rented a small house and began to live a community life under Rule. Three groups gradually evolved—Nuns, Oblates, and Associates. On the feast of St Teilo, 9 February 1923, the Community left Sussex for Monmouthshire, and moved into their present convent. By rigid self-denial and economy the Sisters, chiefly by handicraft work, were able to make enough money to pay the cost of the move. The Society had been founded without any financial resources, and had to be self-supporting from the start. Their house, Tymawr, was in a bad state of repair, and the outside painting was done by two of the Sisters at the cost merely of the materials. By degrees, drainage, a water supply, electric-light plant, and a hot-water system were installed. A new wing was built, and the house entirely repaired and redecorated. A proper chapel was a necessity, not a luxury, since the "Work of God" is the chief occupation of the Community. This was built by the combined efforts of the Society aided by a large circle of friends, who contributed money according to their means. But there is nothing luxurious about this chapel: it is as bare and simple as those of the primitive Cistercians of the twelfth century.

The Sisters spend their days in three ways: prayer, study, and manual work. The Divine Office is recited in English according to *The Monastic Diurnal* and the *Monastic Breviary, Matins*. This latter has been translated by the Sisters and the first edition, hand-printed by them, was issued in 1956. As there was a greater demand for the Breviary than was anticipated, a second edition was published in 1961. This edition is a translation of the *Breviarium Monasticum* and does not contain the special Kalendar, etc., appropriate to S.S.C.

In addition to the corporate worship in choir, the Sisters maintain a chain of adoration and intercession, which is as continuous as the numbers of the Community allow. There is a good library, and general reading is encouraged, to ensure that the life of prayer has its proper background in trained and well-informed minds. There are sixty acres of land, part of which is let to a farmer. The Sisters carry on and share all the work of the house and garden and land; attend to guests, look after the animals, cows, hens, bees, and make a variety of cheeses and butter. Besides all this there is the oversight of the printing-press, tractor, and machinery. Any art or talent which a Sister may possess is turned to good use. As the Society is dedicated to the Cross, all these occupations are offered daily at Mass as part of the life of prayer and penance for the glory of God and the redemption of the world. The postulancy lasts for six months, and is followed by a two to three years' novitiate. Life vows are taken after a period in temporary vows.

From 1952 to 1959 some Sisters occupied a daughter house at Compton Durville. Since the 1939 to 1945 war a new storey, roof and wing have been added to the Convent at Tymawr.

The present Visitor is the Right Reverend Ronald O'Ferrall, formerly Bishop of Madagascar. The Warden is Dom Dunstan Morrell, O.S.B.

10. ORDER OF THE HOLY PARACLETE

St Hilda's Priory, Sneaton Castle, Whitby (1917)

St Hilda's Priory, which has been the Mother House of this Community since its foundation, was built (as Sneaton Castle) by a wealthy landowner in the early nineteenth century. He had a desire to give his new home something of a medieval aspect by the addition of turrets and towers. It is situated about a mile and a half out of Whitby on the Guisborough road, looking across the Esk to the earlier foundation of St Hilda on the East Cliff.

The "Order of the Holy Paraclete" came into being in December 1914 during the difficult days of the outset of the First World War—the same month in which took place the bombardment of the Yorkshire coast towns by a German cruiser. Sneaton Castle, the property in which the Sisters established themselves, was in a dilapidated condition, and Whitby was a "Prohibited Area"; nevertheless a girls' secondary boarding-school was opened with thirty pupils, and since then the work has never ceased. Who were these nuns, asked the people of Whitby? Many suspected that they must be German spies in disguise. The only nuns most of them had ever seen were the black-robed Sisters of Mercy who ran a nursing home in the town, and they were Roman Catholics. In January 1915 Dr Cosmo Gordon Lang, Archbishop of York, accepted the office of Visitor. Two years later, on 16 October 1917, he received the profession of the first four Sisters. The position of Visitor to the Order has been held by successive Archbishops of York.[1]

Archbishop Lang appointed Fr Walter Howard Frere, C.R., as the first Chaplain-General, and thus began a connection with the Community of the Resurrection which remains to the present time: the present Chaplain-General being Bishop Thomas Hannay, C.R., sometime Bishop of Argyll and the Isles and Primus of the Scottish Episcopal Church. Fr Frere drew up a Rule, based on that of St Benedict, also a Constitution of the Order, defining its position both internally with regard to its members and also its canonical status. The aim is thus defined in the Prelude to the Constitution: "Rooted and grounded in Love; the Order of the Holy Paraclete has been instituted for the glory of God in adoration of the mystery of the bestowal of the Holy Spirit from on high. The purpose of the Order is the cultivation of a life dedicated to God according to the principles of the Evangelical Counsels of Poverty, Chastity and Obedience. The primary intention of the Order will be to devote itself to educational work, whether at home or abroad. Other work may however be undertaken if it should be deemed desirable, with the consent of the Chapter, provided that it be not in any way incompatible with the primary intention." The postulancy may extend for six months. The novitiate usually covers a period of from two to three years. Life vows are taken at profession.

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[1] The new chapel built of sandstone to tone with the castellated walls of the Priory and severely Norman in style was consecrated on 3 May 1957 by Dr Michael Ramsey, then Archbishop of York.

St Benedict felt himself called to found a family; in his case a family of twelve, with himself at the head. So too, in this Order, the family ideal is preserved, both in the Order as a whole and in all branch houses, although the numbers necessarily vary. Every Sister must do her share of manual work, either in house or garden. Every Sister must give time to study. But above all every Sister must contribute her share to prayer—the life of the Community.

And, for all, the *Opus Dei* comes first. No matter how varied and important the active work of the Order may be, or how exacting its claim, *the* work of the Order is to praise God. "Seven times a day do I praise Thee, O God." The offices are still seven in number, although in a "mixed" order the night office is necessarily combined with the first office in the morning. The Order owes much to Fr Frere, who was a recognized authority on liturgy, and who supplied manuscript Responds and Antiphons which still provide the Novices with many hours of copying! For the most important study on joining this community is to learn to sing and say the Divine Office perfectly, to the Glory of God.

Six times a day, then, the Sisters gather together for the corporate worship of God in the office, as well as in the daily Eucharist, and in the daily corporate meditation. In addition, for every Sister, there is her own private prayer and intercession—her own individual learning to know God by study of the Bible and books bearing on spiritual matters.

The active work, whether educational, hospital, or parish, or in the house, garden, or farm, must be fitted into the intervals between the offices. Some do more and some less of the external work of the Order, and some do more than others on the contemplative side.

In six out of the seven Houses in England the work is mainly educational. The seventh House, Wydale Hall, near Scarborough, is the recognized Retreat House for the Diocese of York, and is in constant use for retreats and conferences, summer schools, etc.

The members of this modern order seek their inspiration from the ruins of Whitby Abbey, which, more than a thousand years ago, was a stronghold of learning, Christian education, and missionary zeal. The

Second World War broke in upon a progressive development of both Community and school. After the fall of France, evacuation had to be considered. All girls under sixteen were sent—with a full complement of staff, both secular and religious—to Canada, where they were able to carry on their work as a unit. The senior girls found refuge at a safe distance from the coast at Wemmergill Hall, near Middleton-in-Teesdale. The Canadian exiles returned to England in 1944, by which time the number of girls had increased so much that there was an acute problem of accommodation at Sneaton Castle. A solution was found by dividing the school. Carr Hall, Sleights, became the home of the Middle School; the Preparatory School, after a temporary sojourn in Hickleton Hall, near Doncaster, was transferred, in 1960, to "Woodlands", a little further up the river from Sleights. So all three departments of St Hilda's School were once more within easy reach of each other.

As far back as 1934 negotiations had been started with a view to taking over the Community of St Michael and All Angels (see p. 472). It was finally affiliated to the Order of the Holy Paraclete in 1946; St Michael's Nursery and Primary Day-School at Leigh-on-Sea, Essex, being retained, and now under the supervision of the Holy Paraclete Sisters. The Order also has charge of a Church primary school at Frickley, near Doncaster. St Chad's House, 24 Vermont Street, Beverley Road, Hull, provides two Sisters for the St John's, Newland, School. There is a house at Rievaulx, near Helmsley, where a few Sisters are beginning a more contemplative approach to the Religious Life combined with prayer for the work of the Order.

The work in Africa began in October 1926, when three Sisters took charge of an African girls' boarding school at Cape Coast, establishing there the first of the three Convents of Our Lady and St Monica in West Africa, the others being at Mampong and Accra.

At Mampong, Ashanti, there is now an educational settlement including primary and secondary boarding schools, teacher-training college, and primary day school, and also a maternity hospital, clinic and training college for nurses—in all more than six hundred people.

In S. Africa the Order has eight Houses: three educational centres for Africans in Southern Rhodesia, at Penhalonga the Mirfield Fathers' Station; at Daramombe and at Bonda: three in Cape Town, Zonnebloem College where they teach and have charge of the Hostel, the Marion Community Centre and St Anne's Mother and Baby Home, all for coloured people: one in Swaziland, St Michael's School, Manzini, also for coloured; and a Multi-racial Retreat House in Johannesburg.

The Tertiary Order of the Holy Paraclete was founded in October 1948 with a Rule based on that of the Third Order of St Francis. Its present headquarters is in a building in the grounds of Sneaton Castle, where the annual retreat is held. There is also a rapidly increasing number of Associates.

Few Anglican religious communities founded in this century have grown so rapidly and built such solid foundations as the Order of the Holy Paraclete. This is largely due to the spiritual gifts and intellectual capacity of the Foundress, Margaret Cope. The Order also owes an immense debt to its first spiritual adviser, Fr Walter Frere, C.R., who placed his vast knowledge of Christian spirituality and the Liturgy so fully at its disposal in the early years. The Mother Foundress died suddenly in February 1961. Her successor is Mother Anne, Prioress, O.H.P.

The Order has published the following:

By Margaret, Mother Foundress, *Archbishop Garbett, More ready to hear than we to pray.*

Edited and partly written by Mother Foundress, *I Choose the Cloister* (1956), by "Rosemary Howard-Bennett" (Spanish translation, *Yo escogi el claustro*, San Sebastian, 1958; Swedish translation, *Jag valde Klostret*, Stockholm, 1959).

Pamphlets by the Sisters of the Order:
The Order of the Holy Paraclete (a brief historical sketch).
The life of St Hilda.
The life of Religious Communities.
Also a Quarterly, *Order of the Holy Paraclete.*

11. SISTERS OF THE TRANSFIGURATION

Wingrave, nr. Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire (1918)

This community evolved from the Society of the Crown of Our Lord, founded in 1895 by Miss Bertha James for the welfare of the mentally defective. She was supported by the then vicar of St Cyprian's, Marylebone, the Reverend Charles Gutch. With the help of Miss Margaret Macdowall she opened a school for mentally defective children at Ealing, which was moved to Burgess Hill, Sussex. Later, the Society acquired two houses at West Moors, Dorset, where mentally defective girls were cared for. One of the lady workers, Miss Stone, made her novitiate with the Sisters of Bethany, and on 22 November 1919 she was professed by the Reverend A. H. Baverstock, rector of Hinton Martel. She took the religious name of Sister Mary Frances of the Holy Crown of Our Lord. A few other women joined the community, which adopted the name of the "Sisters of the Transfiguration".

The pioneer Sisters at West Moors recited the Little Office of our Lady in their tiny chapel, and went to the village church for the daily

Mass. In June 1922 the Sisters moved to a large house at Parkstone, Dorset, where there was room for eighteen mentally deficient girls. Six years later they took over St Thomas's Home, Basingstoke, which was renamed "Mount Tabor". By this time the number of Sisters had increased, and there was now accommodation for fifty cases. The foundress and first Mother Superior died in April 1941, and Sister Mary Teresa, the first to join her in the beginning of the Community, was elected to succeed her. On the expiration of the lease of the house at Basingstoke, the Old Manor House, Wingrave, Buckinghamshire, became the home of the Community. It is now known as "Mount Tabor Convent", and it is here that the Sisters carried on their work of prayer and caring for the mentally afflicted until 1952.

Eventually the Abbot of Nashdom succeeded the Reverend A. H. Baverstock as Visitor, and the late Dom Gregory Dix of the same community was appointed Warden, having been previously for some years sub-Warden. The Community adopted a modified form of the Rule of St Benedict, but continued to recite the Little Office of our Lady in reparation for all the neglect of our Heavenly Father which is the cause of so many grievous cases of mental affliction in His children. The devotion of the "Holy Hour" was observed every fourth Sunday, with the special intention for the Reunion of Christendom. Owing to lack of numbers, causing overwork and consequent ill-health, the Sisters began to realize they could not maintain the direction of their Home. In the summer of 1952 it was handed over to the Community of St Mary at the Cross, Edgware (see p. 402), and the remaining Sisters of the Transfiguration have now been affiliated to the former Community.

12. SOCIETY OF THE SERVANTS OF MARY

St John's Hostel, 17 Grove Park, Camberwell, London, S.E.5 (1919)

Not to be confused with the Servants of Mary, otherwise known as the Servites, the order founded by seven Florentine merchants over seven hundred years ago, this Sisterhood—like the Servants of the Cross—is an affiliated community of Wantage. It came into being in 1919 through Sister Annie Clare of the Wantage Community realizing how great "were the needs of working women who desired to dedicate their lives to the service of our Lord, and to be professed for this purpose in a life-long dedication: this could not necessarily be satisfied within existing Novitiates".[1]

Ten years later the first three Sisters were professed, and the new Society was approved by Dr Strong, Bishop of Oxford. The Community of St Mary the Virgin provided a Superior and a Novice Mistress, likewise a house within the convent grounds at Wantage. A Rule and Constitution, based on those of the Sisters of Charity of St Vincent de Paul, were drawn up, and approved by the Bishop of Oxford at the same time. The habit worn by the Sisters is dark blue, with a white cap band, and wimple. Since 1943 their headquarters has been at St John's Hostel, 17 Grove Park, Camberwell, S.E.5; the house belongs to their parent community, and here the Sisters devote themselves to the care of the aged and infirm. They themselves live in the Convent of our Lady of Cana which adjoins the hostel. The motto adopted by the Servants of Mary is our Lady's injunction: "Whatsoever He saith unto you, do it", and besides caring for the aged they help in the parishes in which they live. In 1951 the Sisters took over St Mary's Home, Hastings, formerly run by Wantage as a home for old ladies. A Rule and Constitution, based on the Rule of St Augustine, were revised in 1953, with the collaboration of the Bishop of Southwark and Fr O'Brien, S.S.J.E. In September 1953 the Society elected a Reverend Mother from their own Sisters. The Servants of Mary are still affiliated to Wantage. They take annual vows for four years, with life vows at the end of that period. The Office Book used is *The Day Hours*. The Warden is the Reverend W. O. Fitch, S.S.J.E., the Visitor is the Bishop of Southwark.

13. COMMUNITY OF THE COMPANIONS OF JESUS THE GOOD SHEPHERD

The Convent, West Ogwell, Newton Abbot, South Devon (1920)

In 1920 a small group of teachers belonging to the Guild of the Good Shepherd asked the Reverend W. E. P. Hogg, Chaplain of St Mary's Convent, Wantage, if they could arrange to be formed into a religious community, while continuing their educational work. Thus it was that the Congregation of Jesus the Good Shepherd came into being. Each year the members met together during the holidays to lead the common life. The Community of St Mary the Virgin appointed one of their Sisters to be the Mother Superior. St Michael's House, Wantage, was set aside as the headquarters of the daughter community. A brown habit was chosen. In 1929 the Congregation opened a Church Secondary Day School at Mill Hill. Ten years later it acquired its own mother house, St Agnes' House, Wantage. About a dozen lived there in community, the rest continuing to live where they worked.

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[1] See *A Hundred Years of Blessing*, 1947, p. 110; and *A Memoir-Sister Annie Clare, A Servant of Souls*, 1950.

In 1943 the Advisory Council on Religious Communities recommended that the original Constitution should be re-drafted. The Congregation was re-styled "The Community of the Companions of Jesus the Good Shepherd". From now onwards the members were called "Sisters" instead of "Companions". The Statutes lay down that the object of the Community "shall be, through the life of prayer and the work of the members who follow the Rule of St Augustine, to further the advancement of Christian education". The whole life of the Community is centred in the daily Mass and the recitation of the Divine Office, according to the *Sarum Diurnal*, and in their times of private prayer. The Community is composed of Conventual Sisters, living in one or other of the Community houses, and External Sisters living in the world. All Sisters make a novitiate of two and a half years. The External Sisters are obliged to spend a certain time at the mother house or at a branch house each year. Two Fellowships have been formed for Associates of the Community, one for girls and young women between the ages of fifteen and thirty, the other for older women. Several women have joined as Oblates of the Community. There is also a number of priest Associates.

In 1943 a mother house was acquired at West Ogwell, near Newton Abbot. This old manor house stands in the midst of peaceful Devonshire pastures and makes a perfect centre for the varied activities of the Community. Guests are received and retreats held here and a wafer bakery has been started. A new chapel was dedicated in 1955. In the past twenty years the educational work of the Community in England has grown. Today it includes St Gabriel's Senior School, Sandleford Priory, Newbury; and a Junior School, Falkland St Gabriel, Wash Common, Newbury.

Since 1946 the work of the community has been extended overseas. It started with the opening of a Convent and School in Barbados (Collymore Rock, St Michael 15a). Next came a Convent, a junior school, and hostel for children attending the Government Secondary Schools in Georgetown, British Guiana. In St John's, Antigua, the Sisters have a Mission House, where they engage in teaching and parish work. For some years from 1955 the Community was in charge of the Anglican High School in Grenada. External Sisters are to be found working in Borneo and India.

In 1951 the Sisters elected one of their own number to be their Mother Superior. The Visitor is the Bishop of Exeter; and in the West Indies the Bishop of Barbados. The Warden is the Reverend Andrew Blair, C.R.

14. COMMUNITY OF OUR LADY ST MARY

Cary Castle, St Marychurch, Torquay (1922)

This Community was founded in 1922, partly on Benedictine lines, partly on those of the Order of the Visitation. The intention at the foundation was to work with the blind, particularly in the hope of fostering religious vocations among them, but it was not found possible to develop this activity. Some of the Sisters did parish work and they also undertook retreat work. With the death of its Superior, Mother Mabel in 1955, the community fell below strength and the remaining Sisters were dispersed among other Communities with the permission of the Bishop of Exeter. At his invitation, the Community of the Holy Name, Malvern Link (see p. 394) opened a Mission House in the former convent premises.

15. COMMUNITY OF JESUS OF NAZARETH

The Convent, Westcote, Kingham, Oxford (1928)

It was in 1926 that a group of women, with the help and blessing of Bishop Gore, resolved to establish a community dedicated to evangelistic work, and to preaching the Gospel of the Love and Poverty of Christ. Two years later they founded the "Evangelist-Sisters of Jesus of Nazareth".[1]

To quote their own words: "The vocation of the Society gives a special significance to the Vow of Poverty. The Community as a corporate body is without possessions in money or kind. Ownership of the property essential to its common life and work is vested in an independent Trust, but the Community has no settled income or endowment, and none of its work is paid. It trusts for its daily maintenance entirely to the love and care of God, as He may choose to bless it. Since the foundation of the Evangelist-Sisters twenty-two years ago, God's care has never failed to provide, by the gifts of friends known and unknown, sufficient for all their needs."

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[1] The Salvation Army can claim that they were the first religious denomination in Britain to give women an equal platform and opportunity with men to preach the Gospel. The Women's Suffrage Movement, which ended in 1918 when women of the age of thirty were given the parliamentary vote, and the multiform services rendered by women during the First World War, all influenced the authorities of the Church of England when they were forced to consider the development of the Ministry of Women. By this time Dr Maude Royden was attracting large crowds by her sermons, preaching first in the City Temple, and after June, 1921, in the Eccleston Square Congregational Church, which was renamed the Guildhouse. The services, of a vaguely undenominational character, were devised by the Reverend Percy Dearmer, author of the well-known *Parson's Handbook*. One of the chief objects in the foundation of the Guildhouse was to provide an outlet for the Ministry of Women.

The Sisters recite *The Hours of Prayer*, and the Divine Office has the first call on their time. They live a life of prayer and study, seeking so close a communion with our Lord that they may impart to others the spirit of His love. Their work consists mainly in helping in parishes and parochial missions, visiting the people in their homes, addressing meetings of women and girls, and gathering and teaching the children.

The mother house stands on a ridge of the Cotswolds, between Burtord and Stow-on-the-Wold. Here the novices are trained, and here the Sisters who are away in the branch houses come for their annual retreat. The novitiate lasts for two years; two further years are under temporary vows before the final life vows are taken. There is a small guest house, where Associates and others who wish to make a retreat, or to have a short time of quiet and prayer, are welcomed.

At the present time there are branch houses at St Paul's, Knightsbridge; Sunderland; Hull; and St Augustine's, Tonge Moor, Lancashire. These branch houses are established for a period of years only, during which time the Sisters' aim is to draw souls to the love of God and bring them into the family of the Church, to prepare children and adults for the Sacraments, and to find and train lay workers to teach and help in the parish. No Sister is away from the mother house for more than a limited number of years.

The Visitor is the Bishop of Gloucester and the Warden is the Reverend David Hemming, S.S.J.E.

16. COMMUNITY OF THE PRESENTATION

(formerly NURSING COMMUNITY OF CHRIST THE CONSOLER)

The Convent, 71 Seabrook Road, Hythe, Kent (1927)

The years between the passing of the Nurses' Registration Act in 1919 and the Nationalization of Hospitals in 1948, witnessed a gradual and increasing loss of the sense of vocation among nurses, many of whom now regarded their work just as a career with good worldly prospects. It is true that reform was needed in many instances in regard to salaries, pensions, and living conditions, but putting the emphasis on these things has tended to crowd out the all-important spiritual motive which should be the mainspring of a nurse's work.

In 1927 certain trained nurses, unknown to one another, were called to found a new Community, to live the Religious Life under the vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, to the glory of God, and to endeavour to stress in their life of service the importance of nursing as a vocation.

The Community admits to its membership not only trained nurses, but any in sympathy with the object of the Community and who have gifts which can be used in the service of the sick.

The Novitiate is for at least two years and the Sisters take life vows at profession. The Holy Sacrifice is offered daily, the Divine Office is recited in choir, and time is set apart for mental prayer, Bible study, intercessions, and regular retreats.

The main work of the Community was for some sixteen years at St Saviour's Hospital, Osnaburgh Street, Regents Park.

St Saviour's Hospital was built in 1845 by Dr Pusey for the Sisters of the Holy Cross—the Park Village Sisterhood—who used it as part convent and part children's home until their amalgamation with the Devonport Community (see p. 241). From 1877 the Hospital was used by Mrs Palmer for cancer patients and then for thirty years by the All Saints' Sisters, followed by the Community of the Epiphany for thirty years, as a hospital. It was taken over by the Community of the Presentation in 1947 who carried out extensive modernization.

The Community was established in the first instance at Highgate where the Sisters also had a small nursing home. Owing to increasing noise and lack of space this was sold in 1958 and in its place a property was purchased at Hythe, Kent, a most attractive house with four acres of ground overlooking the Channel. The house is used for convalescents and a convent has been built adjacent to it.

Meanwhile the reconstruction of the north side of Euston Road has involved the destruction of St Saviour's in 1963 and the hospital will be rebuilt on the extra land at Hythe.

The visitor of the Community is the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Warden the Right Reverend Kenneth Warner, sometime Bishop of Edinburgh.

17. FRANCISCAN SERVANTS OF JESUS AND MARY

Posbury St Francis, Crediton, Devon (1935)

A tiny flat in a tenement-house in Paisley was the birthplace of this community—four women, two rooms, and a tiny oratory—when it began in an experimental form in 1926. In this veritable "Little Portion". it was impossible to stand up, so the Divine Office had to be recited kneeling. Only two of the original community persevered. Later on these two left Scotland for England. After a few months spent in the country, they lived for five years in Oakley Crescent, City Road, London. Here it was that the foundress, Mother Teresa, and her companion received permission from Dr Winnington-Ingram, Bishop of London, to make life vows, having been for five years in temporary ones. This was in 1935. In most respects the ideals of this little community were those of the first Franciscans: the loving acceptance and practice of the Gospel precepts, nothing else: with a complete sharing of goods, both spiritual and material, of love towards God and man, expressed in prayer and sacrifice, and in joyful service.

So far as poverty was concerned, everything in the surroundings was conducive to it, but the Sisters began to feel again that the form of life and prayer to which they were drawn must be lived in the country. A house was found in the picturesque village of Whitwell in the Isle of Wight, but this proved to be only a temporary home. In 1942 the Community moved to their present home in Devonshire. The house was their own, and for the first time they had a chapel with an altar, so it was possible to have Mass celebrated beneath their roof instead of going out to church. At Posbury the corporate life has gone on growing and unfolding itself along the lines the Sisters believed God willed for them. The Community has placed itself under the patronage of St Francis of Assisi as the most perfect example of the mixed life of prayer and labour. They feel that the message which he and his friars went out to preach and to live, of "the Love of Jesus and the need of repentance", fits so exactly the needs of our modern times, and is now, as in the times of St Francis, the message of life to a dying world. So the Sisters work and pray for the salvation of souls, seeking to draw the hearts of all with whom they come in contact to the Love and Service of Jesus, and of his Blessed Mother.

The novitiate is from two to three years, with a period of three years in temporary vows before life vows can be taken.

The exterior life of the Community is simple, much more domestic and "family" than institutional. All the labours of the house and garden are shared, and are prized as being part of the communal offering of prayer and praise, and an active expression of love and service to their neighbours. The Sisters undertake evangelistic work-missions in villages, both for adults and children; they assist in parochial missions when invited to do so, and also give devotional and teaching courses within the diocese and elsewhere. Permission has been given by the Bishop of Exeter for professed members of the Community to speak to mixed congregations in the churches of the diocese, where the parish priests are willing to have them. Hospitality has always been a mark of the Franciscan spirit, and the house at Posbury is increasingly used for retreats and conferences, and by private retreatants. Others come to stay for a time of quiet and prayer or spiritual instruction. There is no separate guest house. Visitors share in the family life of the Community as much as they wish to. This sharing of meals, of work and recreation, as well as prayer, gives a distinctive note of happiness and equality, a real sense of community and communion which the Community believes is the greatest gift they can offer to those who come to the house.

The Community has its living to earn, having no invested funds or certain source of income. This is done in various ways, which include weaving, lettering, and poster work, and a growing industry of Christmas and other card making, and also by the sale of garden produce. There is a deliberate intention of making use of the simplest and most elementary ways of supporting life, and not being drawn into the competitive aspect of buying and selling any more than is unavoidable.

The spiritual life of the Community, which is not considered as a separate one from the life of labour, has as its basis the daily Mass and recitation of the Day Hours from *The Divine Office* and a fixed period of prayer for each Sister. On one day in the week, continuous prayer is maintained in the Chapel from after breakfast to the evening meal, for a need of the Church or the world.

As followers of a Franciscan vocation, the Community repudiates modern warfare, for any purpose whatever, as irreconcilable with Christian faith and practice. The prayer of the Sisters is always directed towards the generation of a spirit of peace throughout the world, and a charity which will accept sacrifices for the cause of peace.

The intention of the Community is to live in small groups, so that the family spirit can be maintained.

The habit of the Community is brown with a red cross sewn on the scapular, a white cord and sandals, and a brown starched cornette, instead of a veil.

There is a tertiary group, some of whom live with the Community under a simple Rule of life. The Warden is the Reverend Prebendary John Hooper; the Visitor, the Bishop of Exeter.

18. BENEDICTINE COMMUNITY OF THE SALUTATION OF ST MARY THE VIRGIN

Priory of our Lady, Burford, Oxfordshire (1941)

Not long after the outbreak of the Second World War it became clear to the Community of St Mary the Virgin, Wantage, that there were many women who had vocations for the Religious Life, but whose health would not stand up to the discipline of any existing novitiate. It was resolved to form a new community, inspired by the ideals and special characteristics of the Order of the Visitation, as founded by St Francis de Sales, who made provision for "both weak and strong", including late vocations.[1]

A start was made in 1941, when the first aspirants were received at St Thomas' Convent, Oxford. Then they made their novitiate at Wantage, adopting a grey habit to distinguish them from their mother community. As time went on it was felt that this attempt to establish an Anglican Visitation Order was not a success. For one thing, there was nobody on the spot who had any direct knowledge of the practical working of the Rule. Again, the liturgical spirituality of the Sisters was not satisfied with the recitation of the *Little Office of our Lady*, which St Francis de Sales ordered for the Visitation nuns. Almost unconsciously and with no deliberate effort the new Community of the Salutation found itself being drawn towards Benedictine monasticism, and eventually *The Monastic Diurnal* was adopted for use in choir.

In 1946 the Sisters left Wantage and lived for three years in the Bishop's Palace, Cuddesdon. Then they heard that Burford Priory was for sale. The property, which at first sight seemed utterly desirable but equally impossible, was put within their reach by the strong conviction of its previous owner that it should again become a religious house. From then onwards every detail of the negotiations went forward as if planned beforehand. The Community took possession of their new home in March 1949, and became independent of the Mother Community.

No more perfect setting for a monastic community could be imagined than this stately Elizabethan mansion of warm grey stone, standing just off the main street of one of the most unspoilt and most picturesque little towns in the south of England. Almost every house deserves to be

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[1] Cf. *A Hundred Years of Blessing* (1946), pp. 113–14. A small Anglican Sisterhood, stated to follow the Rule of the Visitation Order, existed at Ghent, Belgium, in 1900. It has not been possible to find out when it was disbanded. (See p. 530.)

preserved as an "ancient monument" of one or other period of architecture. The great rambling mansion, the earliest portions of which were built by Sir Lawrence Tanfield in the latter years of the sixteenth century, occupies the site of the Hospital of St John the Evangelist. This was a thirteenth-century foundation, consisting of a Master and a few brethren, who cared for the sick. It was suppressed at the Reformation. In 1580 the property was acquired by Sir Lawrence Tanfield, subsequently Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer.

Readers may wonder what these remote historical details have to do with the modern Anglican community which dwells at Burford Priory. But they are not so irrelevant as might appear.

Sir Lawrence Tanfield's only child, Elizabeth, married Henry Cary, the first Viscount Falkland, in 1600. He became Viceroy of Ireland under Charles I. Some time between 1620 and 1624 Lady Falkland met Dom Augustine Baker, the famous Benedictine mystical writer. The result was that under his spiritual direction her yearnings towards catholicism increased, but she put off her reception into the Roman Church until after her husband's death in 1633. Her younger son and four daughters took the same step. Within a few years all of them had left the country and joined English Benedictine communities abroad.[1]

Lucius Cary, the elder son, remained a High Church Anglican. He inherited the title of Viscount Falkland on the death of his father in 1633, and lived at Burford surrounded by some of the most brilliant men of the day. After the death of her husband in 1633 Elizabeth Lady Falkland found herself in dire poverty. She supplemented her meagre income by the translation of catholic theological books. She died in 1638.

Lucius Cary married Lettice Morrison in 1631. He was killed at the first Battle of Newbury in 1643. Like himself his widow was a devout High Church Anglican. During those happy years when she acted as hostess at Burford Priory, she had already started to lead a life of exceptional piety. After his death she retired to Great Tew, where she devoted herself to prayer and good works among the poor. It is related that she dressed like a nun and recited the Canonical Hours in private. Burford Priory had now been sold, but it was her dream that one day it would be the home of a sort of religious community, perhaps another Little Gidding. She wanted it to be above all else a place "where the Lord could be served without distraction". She died in 1646. Exactly three hundred years elapsed before her prayers were answered.

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[1] Dom Henry Placid Cary, professed at St Edmund's, Paris, 1641, died 1655.

Dame Anne Clementina Cary, born 1615, clothed at Cambrai, 1639, helped to found Priory of our Lady of Good Hope, Paris (today at Colwich Abbey, Staffordshire) in 1662, died 1671.

Dame Lucy Magdalene Cary, born 1619, professed at Cambrai, 1639 or 1640, died 1650.

Dame Elizabeth Augustina Cary, born 1617, professed at Cambrai, 1640, died 1682.

Dame Mary Cary, born 1621, professed at Cambrai, 1640, went to Paris to help her sister in the foundation of the priory, returned to Cambrai and died there in 1693.

The Abbey of our Lady of Consolation, Cambrai, was founded in 1625. Since 1838 the Community has been at Stanbrook Abbey, Worcester. St Edmund's, Paris, to which community Dom Placid Cary belonged, was founded in 1615. Since 1903 the monks have been settled at Douai Abbey, Woolhampton, Berkshire.

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Considering the past associations of Burford with five Benedictines of the same family, all of whom spent their early years in this mansion, it is not really surprising that once the Community of the Salutation took possession of the property in 1949 it was drawn more and more strongly towards a purely monastic form of the Religious Life. The English Office Book (*The Monastic Diurnal*) was replaced by the *Breviarium Monasticum*. Then it was decided to use the *Missale Monasticum* in order to bring the general observances of the Community into line with those of other Benedictine communities of women.

At the time of writing the Community numbers twenty nuns. The rambling house, enlarged and much altered at various dates, could hardly hold more than twenty-five without additions to it. The life is enclosed and contemplative. No external work is undertaken. Orders for prayer-cards and handicrafts are received, and there is a guest house where ladies can stay for private retreats. No more ideal surroundings could be imagined than the spacious grounds in the peaceful valley of the Windrush.

The exquisite chapel, consecrated in 1662, was planned as the private oratory for a family, and is too cramped for insertion of choir-stalls. So a large room on the first floor became the community chapel. The panelling, open screen, and stalls were designed by Walter H. Godfrey to harmonize with the period of this room, which has a magnificent plaster ceiling. The altar, with its overhanging tester, stiff frontal of rich brocade, veiled domed tabernacle, and six tall candlesticks, is furnished in strict conformity with the rubrics of the Roman Missal and the Decrees of the Sacred Congregation of Rites.

If the five Benedictine children of the first Lord Falkland were to return to their old home they would find Anglican Benedictine nuns performing the *Opus Dei* just as they did in the monasteries overseas. The same Latin words from the same book—the *Breviarium Monasticum*. As a matter of fact there is little to differentiate this community from any of the older Roman Catholic Benedictine communities of women in England, which were founded abroad during the Penal Times. It is difficult to remember that it only came into existence in 1941, and that, strictly speaking, it is only in its formative stage, engaged in learning the Benedictine way of life.

There is a two years' novitiate after a six months' postulancy. Solemn or perpetual vows are not taken until three to six years have been spent under temporary vows. Good average health is now essential for all aspirants. The Prioress and the first four nuns made their Solemn Profession in the usual Benedictine form, according to the Consecration of a Virgin, as found in the *Pontificale Romanum* on the Feast of St Basil, 1952. The function took place in the presence of the late Bishop Kirk who was Visitor to the Community. He received the Sisters' vows and signed their Charters of Profession. The first Warden was the late Fr Raymond Raynes, Superior of the Community of the Resurrection. In 1952 his place was taken by the Abbot of Nashdom. The usual form of black Benedictine habit and cowl has now been adopted, but the linen wimple and guimpe are of distinctive pattern.[1]

19. COMMUNITY OF ST CLARE

St Mary's Convent, Freeland, Oxfordshire (1940–50)

This is the first Anglican community whose Rule is adapted from that drawn up by St Francis of Assisi for St Clare and her "Poor Ladies", but it should not be forgotten that the fifteenth-century Constitutions of the Poor Clare Collettine nuns formed the basis of the Rule of the Second Order of the Society of the Most Holy Trinity, now at Ascot, Berkshire. This was composed by Abbess Lydia Sellon in 1856 and revised in 1861.[1] The various Franciscan communities of women which have been established in the Church of England within the past sixty years have sought inspiration from the active life of the Third Order Regular of St Francis.[2]

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[1] It was in 1941, the same year as the foundation of the Community of the Salutation, that Miss Florence Allshorn founded *St Julian's Community* in Sussex. She had been brought up in an uncompromising Evangelical section of the Church of England, and had spent several years working for the Church Missionary Society in Africa and at home. Apparently, without any knowledge of the Religious Life, she became convinced that women today need to "enter upon a vow of dedication to the eternal which is as complete and irrevocable as was the vow of the monks in the middle ages". She visualized "little groups of utterly dedicated lives knowing each other in fellowship with the Divine; to live in the world, but not wholly of the world. . . . Such groups could revive the Christian witness and shake the countryside." This venture of faith had not a little in common with some of the modern Lay Institutes which have sprung up in France, Belgium, and other countries on

It was not until the early years of the Second World War that the Society of St Francis brought together five women and gave them the status of Oblates of St Clare. It was hoped that these aspirants would become the nucleus of a Second Order of St Francis. Through the kindness of Mother Maribel they were allowed to test their vocations at St Agnes' House, Wantage, where (as Oblates) they shared the life of the newly established Society of the Salutation of Mary the Virgin, which has since moved to Burford Priory (see p. 522). Later on the would-be Poor Clares found a temporary home of their own in a flat at the top of Cassington Rectory, near Eynsham.

In 1947 the Oblates were invited to continue testing their vocations at Tymawr Convent, near Monmouth. Here they were clothed as novices, and taught the fundamentals of the contemplative way of life by the Mother Foundress of the Society of the Sacred Cross.

Then quite unexpectedly came the offer of a permanent home—the Retreat House at Freeland, situated between Oxford and Witney. The bequest included the furnishings of the chapel and the contents of the library as well as the property. For about six months the Mother Superior of Tymawr came over periodically and continued to direct the newly founded Community. After this the Community of the Holy Name, Malvern Link, lent one of its Sisters for over a year for help and counsel. In 1952 the first Mother Superior was installed, and the Poor Clares became autonomous. A new chapel was dedicated in 1961.

The ideal aimed at is an enclosed and contemplative life. There are certain mitigations from the austerity of the First Rule which was approved by Pope Innocent IV in 1253, e.g. Matins is recited early in the morning instead of at midnight. The Office Book used in choir is *The Monastic Diurnal*, with its supplementary volume for Matins. The

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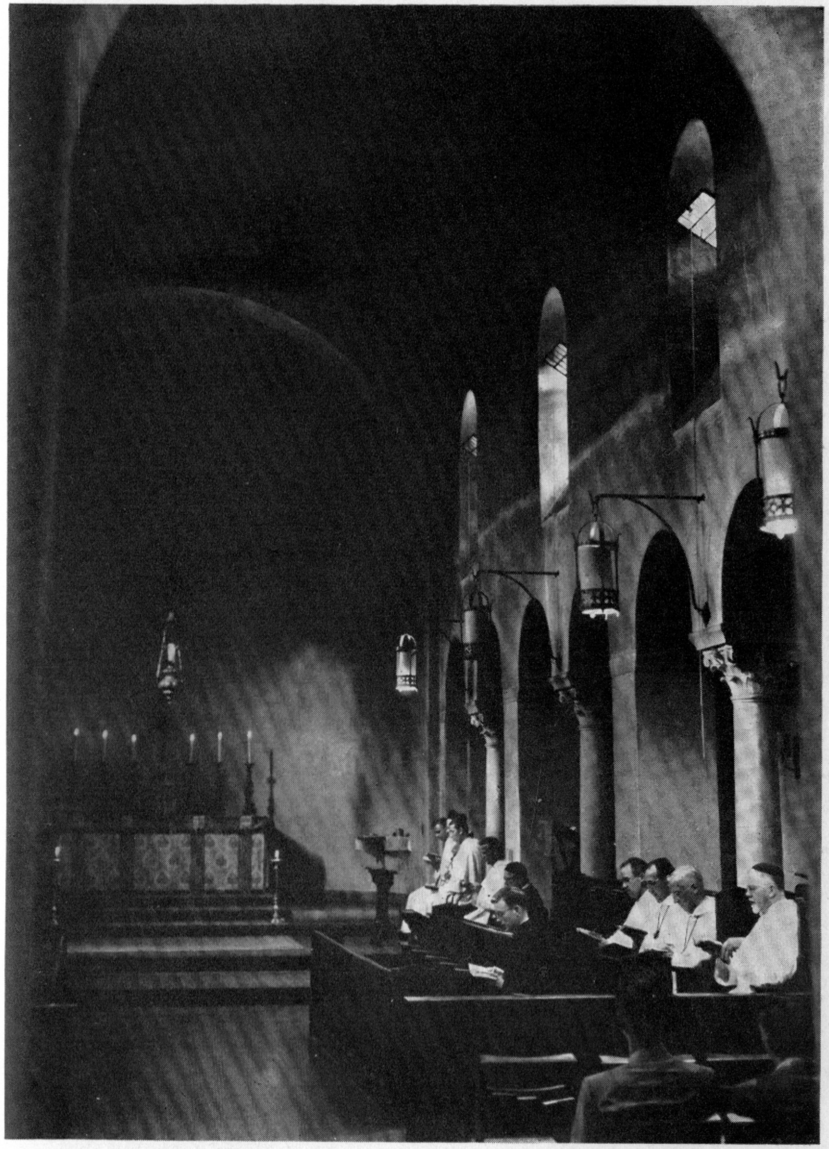
the continent of Europe. (Cf. J. H. Oldham, *Florence Allshorn and the Story of St Julian's* (1950).)

Another movement on rather similar lines was the *Community of the Spirit*, founded at Chatham in 1944. Descriptions of various types of experiments in communal ways of living—many of them heterodox and some non-Christian—will be found in *Community in a Changing World* and *Community Overseas*, both published by the Communal Service Committee in 1942.

[1] See p. 270, and T. J. Williams, *Priscilla Lydia Sellon* (1950), pp. 209–11.

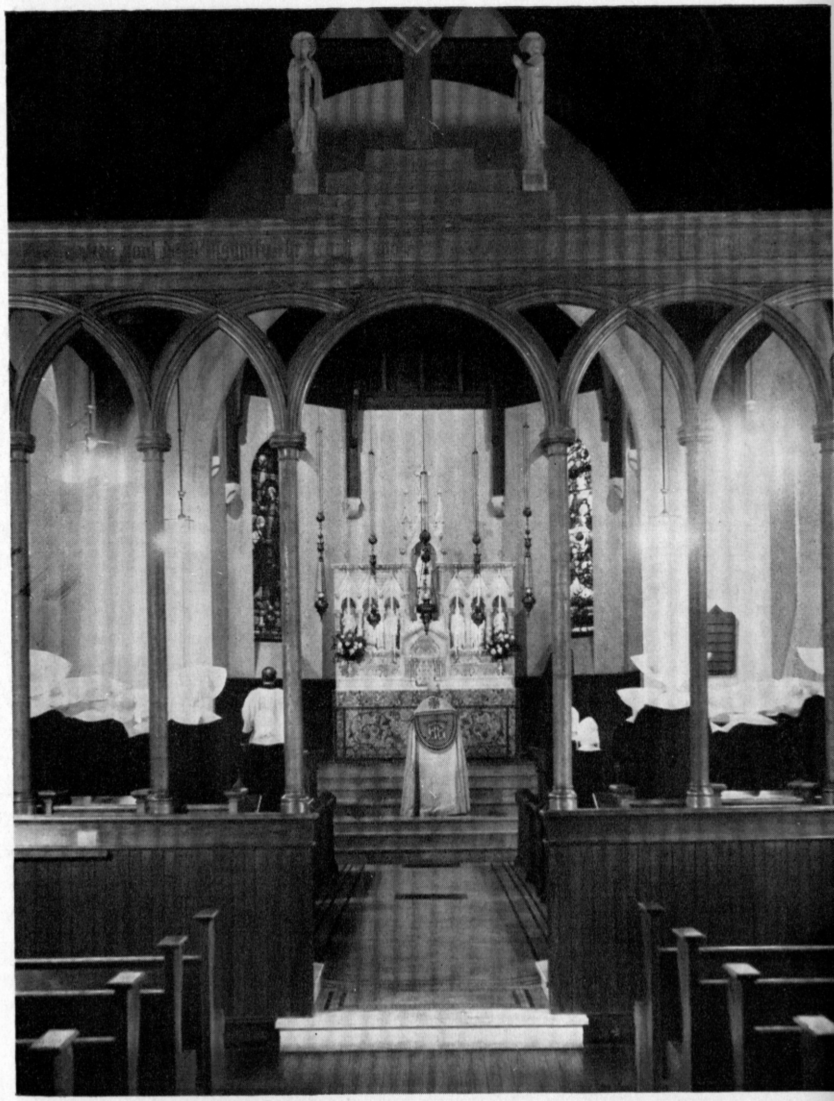
[2] For details of the American Episcopalian "Poor Clares of Reparation and Adoration", see p. 568.



[*New York Herald-Tribune*

HOLY CROSS MONASTERY, WEST PARK, NEW YORK
(consecrated 1921)
By Ralph Adams Cram

See p. 541



[Edward Thayer Monroe

ST MARY'S CONVENT, PEEKSKILL, NEW YORK (1872)
(Solemn Vespers)

See p. 558

habit is brown, with a black veil and white cord girdle. One of the Fathers of the Society of St Francis acts as Warden. The Visitor is the Bishop of Exeter.

20. COMPANY OF ST FRANCIS

Gateshead County Durham (1950)

The Company of St Francis was formed in 1950 and consisted of some Franciscan Women Tertiaries who lived in Community and cared for a Retreat House. Besides having charge of the Retreat House, the Sisters went out on mission, visited in parishes, and helped with clubs and at the Borstal Institution in Durham.

There was a postulancy of six months and a novitiate of two years, after which the Sisters took the threefold vow of poverty, chastity, and obedience annually. The Sisters were under a definite "Company of St Francis Rule" and there was also a Customary for regulating the day. The usual silences were kept and there was a time set apart daily for personal prayer and study. There was a Sisters' enclosure within the Retreat House. The Holy Eucharist was celebrated daily in the Chapel and the Divine Office was recited. The Office Book used was *Prime and Hours*.

The Sisters wore a brown dress and cloak with a hood. The spirit of this little Company was definitely Franciscan joyousness.

The C.S.F. was affiliated to the S.S.F. at Cerne Abbas, and had a Friar-Warden and Friar-Chaplain. The Company came to an end in 1963.

21. MISSION SISTERS OF THE CHARITY OF ST FRANCIS

Little Portium Mission House,
Cross Lane, Calvert Street, Norwich (1952)

A few years after the foundation of the "Poor Brethren of St Francis" at Merrill, Wisconsin, in 1919, their First Superior, Fr Joseph (Crookston) (see p. 550) paid a visit to England and formed a small group of Franciscan tertiaries, whose Rule and Observances were based on those in America. There was a considerable difference in this Rule and those followed by other then existing groups of Anglican Franciscan tertiaries in Britain. It involved a postulancy and a novitiate, with the conferring of a habit in accordance with the details of the First Rule of the Order of Penance. Later on the question arose of merging the tertiaries, which were still in close touch with the American Franciscans, with the other

Third Order groups in England, but nothing came of it. Then the Reverend Agnellus George Hall (Vicar of St George's, Tomblands, with SS. Simon and Jude, Norwich) was appointed Director of the former, which are still dependent on the Little Portion Monastery, Mount Sinai, Long Island, New York.

More recently two of these tertiaries, living in the world like the rest, felt drawn to the Religious Life. They were anxious to devote themselves to works of charity and mercy among sick and lonely old people in Norwich. After a necessary delay and a time of waiting, the permission of both the Father Minister in America and the present Bishop of Norwich was obtained. The two women made a novitiate with the Companions of Jesus the Good Shepherd at West Ogwell in Devonshire (see p. 515). They are now under simple vows as Tertiaries Regular, and are established in a Caroline house in Cross Lane, Norwich.

The Divine Office is recited according to *The Monastic Diurnal*. The habit worn consists of a black habit and grey scapular; white cord with three knots; with a white wimple and black veil.

* * *

Among other small communities of women which were founded at one time or other, and which either came to an end or were amalgamated with larger communities were the following:

(1) *St Mary and St John*, Chiswick. Founded in 1868, but never very numerous, this Sisterhood was incorporated with the Society of St Margaret, East Grinstead, in 1910.

(2) *The Blessed Virgin*, Stone, Kent. A small Sisterhood was established at Tenterden, Kent, in 1860, which took charge of a penitentiary. The Rules were approved by the Archbishop of Canterbury. In 1865 the Community moved to Stone, where a new House of Mercy was built. At one time the Sisterhood had small branch houses at Sidcup and Margate. In 1911 the House of Mercy at Stone was taken over by the Community of St John the Baptist, Clewer, and from 1926 to 1939 it was in charge of the Wantage Community. The house has now been demolished.

(3) *The Name of Jesus*, Great Maplestead, Essex. This Community was founded at Great Maplestead in Essex in 1881. It ran a Penitentiary there and an Orphanage in Stratford in East London, where it also did parochial work and ran a school. In 1891 the community moved to South Wales to take up penitentiary work in the diocese of Llandaff, its principal house being at West Cross, Glamorgan. It came to an end in the nineteen-forties. The Rule was a modern one from various sources.

(4) *Our Lady of Nazareth*, Dover. The date of the foundation of this small community was 1899. The Sisters engaged in parish work at Dover, and ran a holiday and convalescent home. At one time they had mission houses at Willesden, London; Tuebrook, Liverpool; and Chard, Somerset. They also took charge of a boys' home at Pershore, Worcestershire, for several years. During the First World War they acted as nurses in the military hospital at Dover, and started a home for working lads in this same town. Their convent was destroyed during the Second World War, and the Community was dispersed.

(5) *The Paraclete*, Croydon. The founder of this never very numerous Sisterhood was the Reverend Arthur Tooth, otherwise remembered as one of the victims of persecution for "ritualism" in the 'sixties and 'seventies of the last century. In 1878 he retired to Woodside, Croydon, where he formed the Community of the Paraclete. The Sisters looked after orphans, drug addicts, and inebriates. In 1924 Fr Tooth bought a large property at Otford, Kent, to which the Sisters were removed. Only two of them were alive at his death in 1930. Their orphanage for boys passed into other hands.

(6) *The Ascension*, London. This Sisterhood, so named because it was founded in the parish of the Ascension, Mayfair, London, came into being in 1894. The first house was at 21 Seymour Street, off Portman Square. The small community engaged in parish work. Eventually the Community moved to Tankerton, Kent, where they established a home for school teachers and young business women. A branch house was maintained in the parish of St Katherine, Rotherhithe, for some years. The Sisterhood is now extinct.

(7) *Order of St John the Beloved*, Westcliff-on-Sea, Essex. Founded in 1904 by the Reverend J. L. Davids, the object of this little community was "the active and the contemplative life, with the setting forth of the converting love of Jesus". The Sisters conducted the John Lenthal Memorial Home, a guest house, and a Church Depot at Westcliff. The Community seems to have ceased to exist about 1925.

(8) *Community of St Giles*, East Hanningfield, Essex. Founded by the Society of the Divine Compassion (see p. 160), this Sisterhood had for its object the care of lepers, and followed a Franciscan Rule. The homes at East Hanningfield, established in 1914, were taken over by the Community of the Sacred Passion (see p. 581) in recent years, and the few remaining Sisters absorbed into this community.

(9) *Canonesses Regular of our Lady of Victory*, Stow St Mary, Chelmsford, Essex. An attempt to establish an Order of Anglican Canonesses Regular of St Augustine, on the lines of those which existed in England in pre-Reformation times, was made by Sister Mary St John Watson in 1915. The objects were stated to be "the ideal of living as servants of the Church, the mystical body of Christ, to the rule of the Contemplative and Canonical Life, in special devotion to the Holy Sepulchre". Daily recitation of the Divine Office in choir was to be the chief work of these Canonesses, and they were closely associated with the leaders of the Anglican Papalist movement. The first priory was in Shepherdess Walk, London, N.1, and the Director the Reverend H. J. Fynes-Clinton, later Rector of St Magnus the Martyr, London. After some years in Essex, the few members of the Community settled in a cottage at Edgware in the grounds of the Convent of St Mary at the Cross (see p. 397). The Canonesses have now ceased to function.

(10) *Sisters of Reparation to our Most Holy Redeemer*, Hayes, Middlesex. This small community, which was in existence in 1920, took the Rule of the Reformed Carmelites, and had for its object Perpetual Adoration and Reparation for Sinners. Intercession was also made for the Reunion of Christendom and the Regeneration of Europe. Canon T. A. Lacey is believed to have been the founder.

(11) *Sisterhood of the Holy Childhood.* The community was founded in 1881. Its object was mainly parish work among children, with reparation. Two Houses for Children were managed by the Sisters—one at the mother house at Clapton in London and the other at Kettlebaston in Suffolk. It came to an end about 1930.

(12) *Sisterhood of the Childhood.* This small community—distinct from the above—was founded in 1894 by Fr Elwin, S.S.J.E. Its members taught in Elementary Schools. The headquarters was at 9 Marston Street, Oxford. It ceased to exist about 1952.

(13) *Order of the Visitation.* In 1900 there was an Anglican community living under the Rule of St Francis de Sales at 3 Rue l'Esturgeon, Ghent, Belgium. The Sisters conducted a school "for the daughters of gentlemen", with another department where "the orphan or destitute children of gentle-people" were educated, fed and clothed free of charge. It is not known how long this Community existed or when it was disbanded.

(14) *Sisterhood of St Agnes.* This community was associated with the Guild of St Alban and founded about 1884. The Sisters lived in their own homes and worked at Leeds, Bradford, and Nottingham. It seems to have come to an end about 1887.

(15) *St Cyprian.* In 1866 the Reverend C. Gutch established a sisterhood in the parish of St Cyprian, Marylebone. They worked here under Mother Emily, a sister of the late Lord Selborne, and an aunt of the late Bishop E. J. Palmer, sometime of Bombay, until 1892, when she resigned for health reasons. The Community came to an end in 1902. The two remaining Sisters died in 1913 and 1915.

(16) *Sisterhood of St James* (*Servants of the Poor*). This community was founded in the eighties by Sister Clara Maria Hole, of the Third Order of the Devonport Society, at Kilkhampton, Cornwall, where it ran orphanages for boys and girls and also undertook nursing and parochial work. In 1892 it established the Hostel of God, or Free Home for the Dying, at Clapham. The Hostel was taken over by the Society of St Margaret, East Grinstead (see p. 335), in 1896, when the St James' Sisterhood came to an end.

(17) *Sisterhood of St Michael and All Angels.* This community was founded in 1851 to manage the Penitentiary or House of Mercy at Bussage, near Stroud, the first Superior being Mrs Grace Poole, a friend of John Keble. The Church of St Michael and All Angels, Bussage, has a unique history, having been built in 1846 by twenty Oxford undergraduates, disciples of Keble and Pusey. Its first vicar, the Reverend Alfred Suckling, gave much inspiration to the Sisterhood and was its first Chaplain. The community came to an end in 1900. The House of Mercy was then enlarged, re-named St Michael's Home, and re-opened as a branch house of the Community of St Mary the Virgin, Wantage (see p. 254). The Wantage Sisters withdrew in 1948, since when the House was continued as a boys' home by the Society of the Incarnation, Saltley (see p. 471) until 1963.

(18) *The Holy Ghost the Comforter.* In 1890 a Sisterhood of this name was formed at Worthing, Sussex. Its members visited the sick in hospitals and in their own homes. The community was disbanded by 1894.

(19) *Sisterhood of St Mary of Nazareth.* This community was founded about 1925 and existed for some twenty years at Linton, Ross-on-Wye, Herefordshire. It sought to provide the religious life for country women.

[A further list of small Communities of Women will be found in Appendix 2, p. 603.]

CHAPTER VII

Communities in Oversea Provinces and Dioceses

The Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America

It was not until 1870 that the Religious Life for men was established in the American Church when the Cowley Fathers (*Society of St John the Evangelist*) made a foundation in Boston, Massachusetts, although previous attempts had been made and had come to nothing. The first indigenous male community which managed to survive was the *Order of the Holy Cross* (1881). The *Community of St Mary* was the first American Sisterhood to take root (1865). The *All Saints Sisterhood* was the first of three English communities of women which made foundations in the United States (1872).[1]

The sections which follow deal with communities of purely American origin.

(*a*) *Men*

1. THE NASHOTAH MISSION

Nashotah, Wisconsin (1842)

The Catholic movement in the American Episcopal Church was not the result of the Oxford movement in England as is often supposed. Granted that the writings of the Tractarian party influenced American Episcopalian clergymen, the catholic movement can be traced back to Samuel Seabury (1729–96). He was in touch with the Non-jurors in

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[1] The story of their American foundations is dealt with in the sections devoted to the following communities: *Society of St John the Evangelist* (p. 86); *Benedictines* (p. 192); *All Saints Sisters* (p. 323); *Society of St Margaret* (p. 352); *Community of St John the Baptist* (p. 316); *Sisters of the Church* (p. 441).

England and Scotland. His consecration as the first official bishop for the American Episcopalians took place in Aberdeen in 1784. Through him the Scottish Episcopal Church had some influence on the Liturgy of the American Prayer Book. Bishop John Henry Hobart (1775–1830) was another High Churchman of the old-fashioned type, holding definite and uncompromising opinions which he preached with great zeal in churches which had very little to distinguish them from ordinary Protestant places of worship. It was Bishop Hobart who founded the General Theological Seminary at New York in 1822. He gave this institution what was then regarded as a High Church character. Among its first students were young men who in after years became leaders in the catholic movement, which, like the Tractarian movement in England, was concerned not with ceremonial but with doctrine. By 1840 seven out of the nineteen men who formed the House of Bishops were strong High Churchmen. Six had been pupils of Bishop Hobart. The rapid growth of Roman Catholicism in North America after 1830, due to Irish immigrants, who were followed by Catholics from other countries in Europe, tended to give an anti-Roman bias to the majority of the High Church bishops and clergymen.

The *Tracts for the Times* did not arouse anything like the same opposition in America as in England. The doctrines that they set forth merely confirmed what had been expounded for years by such High Church bishops as Seabury, Hobart, Doane, and Hopkins. The *Tracts* were reviewed favourably in Episcopalian publications. The first American edition started to appear in 1839. Among their most enthusiastic readers were some of the younger students at the General Theological Seminary. "The intense piety of Pusey, the daring iconoclasm of Froude, above all the literary genius of Newman, acted like a tonic on the new generation. They had been placed in a receptive mood by the teachings of Hobart, Whittingham, and Onderdonk. The ground was seeded, and the *Tracts* were like the summer sun. Furthermore, the general tone of the *Tracts*, the *Athanasius contra mundum* attitude, was just the thing to appeal to the latent chivalry and the inborn revolutionary spirit of men in their twenties."[1] It was almost inevitable that some of these young men should be drawn to the monastic life.

The first attempt to establish a community of men in the American Episcopal Church was made in 1840. On 19 June that year Mr J. W. Miles, of South Carolina, presented a scheme to some of his classmates

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[1] George E. De Mille, *The Catholic Movement in the Episcopal Church* (2nd ed. Philadelphia, 1950), p. 43. See also *The Episcopal Church in the United States 1789–1931*, by James T. Addison, (New York, 1951) pp. 152–163.

at the General Theological Seminary, New York, which was approved by Dr William R. Whittingham, Professor of Ecclesiastical History, who had just been elected Bishop of Maryland.[1] Mr Miles visualized a group of unmarried clergymen, yielding implicit obedience to the Rules of the Community, subject in all things to the bishop, and holding property in common. They would engage in mission work wherever their services were required.

Not long after this Bishop Jackson Kemper, who had been appointed to the North-West Territory in 1835, visited the General Theological Seminary, where he was allowed to appeal to the students to come to his aid in the evangelization of a vast expanse of rapidly developing country.[2] Eight men were eager to answer the bishop's call. "They would emulate the Jesuit Fathers in their missionary enterprise. They would found an Anglican monastery in the heart of the forest, and from this centre of prayer and study spread a religious influence throughout the North-West. Though they had little conception of the vastness of the undertaking, their determination was undaunted and the bishop encouraged their enthusiasm."[3]

After being ordained deacons in the summer of 1841, three of these young students—James Lloyd Breck,[4] William Adams, and John Henry Hobart, Jr.[5]—left New York for the North-West. The journey took them several weeks. Most of the way it was done by water. Bishop Kemper first installed the little community at Waukesha, to the west of Lake Michigan. He appointed one of his few clergymen to be their Superior, but the Reverend Richard Cadle did not understand the monastic ideals of the three deacons and soon departed. After surviving a bitterly cold winter and enduring much hardship, the pioneers bought land on the banks of two lakes, twenty-seven miles west of Milwaukee. These lakes were named Nashotah or "The Twins". Mr Hobart was sent back to New York to collect money for the erection of buildings, leaving Breck and Adams to start community life on 30 August 1842. It was on 19 April that same year that John Henry Newman and his companions inaugurated their "monastery" at Littlemore (see p. 30). It is not generally known that these two first attempts to form Anglican religious communities of men were being made at the same time—the one in a village near Oxford, the other in the forests of what is now the state of Wisconsin.

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[1] Dr Whittingham (1805–79), who became a professor at the General Theological Seminary in 1836, did much to influence the students towards catholic principles. His own researches had led him to almost the same theological opinions as those of the early Tractarians in England. Nevertheless he was always a bigoted anti-Romanist, and strongly opposed to any changes in the traditional ceremonial of the Episcopal Church. Cf. De Mille, op. cit., pp. 26, 27, and Addison, op. cit., pp. 156, 162.

[2] At first his missionary diocese included what are now the states of Indiana, Missouri, Wisconsin, Kansas, Iowa, and Minnesota. Missouri was made a diocese in 1840, but its first bishop was not consecrated until four years later.

[3] Edward Hawks, *William McGarvey and the Open Pulpit* (Philadelphia, 1935), p. 57.

[4] "A born missionary, because he was a born pioneer, he had the restlessness, the impatience with settled communities, the longing to be out on the edge of things, that characterized such men as Boone and Harrod. His aim, which he later ascribed to the teachings of Whittingham, but in which we can trace more clearly the innovating spirit of the *Tracts* [*for the Times*], was to be a missionary of a new sort, a missionary such as the Anglican Church had not seen since the Reformation. He planned to found a missionary order, combining military discipline, asceticism in life, and apostolic zeal" (De Mille, op. cit., p. 45). See also C. Breck, *Life of the Reverend James Lloyd Breck* (New York, 1886).

[5] Mr Hobart was a son of Bishop John Henry Hobart (1775–1830), who combined evangelical piety with sacramental ideas which were in advance of those held by most other bishops before the Oxford movement had extended its influence across the Atlantic. By 1842 some Protestant-minded members of the Episcopal Church were waging war against the small body of High Churchmen. The following year the Reverend Arthur Carey, when examined for Holy Orders, was accused of

The Nashotah Community, sometimes referred to by its founders as "The System", was composed of students and members. A student was eligible for membership after six months' probation. All bound themselves to remain three years and to take part in daily manual labour—eight hours in summer, four hours for the rest of the year, except in mid-winter when only two hours were spent out of doors. With such strenuous work as felling trees, splitting, and sawing them, gardening, laundry, cooking, baking, and erecting buildings, there was no need to provide physical recreation. The devotional life was simple, consisting of Mattins and Evensong in common. Although Mr Breck's ambition was that Nashotah would develop into a "permanent church school, in all respects adapted to the most Catholic principles", there was not much evidence of this in the furnishings of the little wooden chapel, except that the altar was surmounted by a cross, before which stood a chalice, on either side of which was a vase of flowers.

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holding "Romish Doctrines". The Bishop of New York, Dr Benjamin Tredwell Onderdonk (1791–1861), who had the courage to ordain him, was eventually suspended from his office—the charge being immorality, but his real offence was his open sympathy for the disciples of the English Tractarians. The prosecutors threatened to deal with other High Church bishops in a similar manner if they gave any encouragement to Ritualism. Matters reached a head in 1844 when a committee was appointed at the Philadelphia General Convention to prevent books by leaders of the Oxford movement being read by students of the General Theological Seminary and to stamp out signs of Romanist superstitions which had crept in. But it was not until after Bishop Ives of North Carolina had submitted to Rome in 1852 (p. 539) that there was any considerable secession of Episcopalian clergymen and laymen. The Reverend G. E. De Mille reckons that the total number of clergy who seceded to Rome between 1817 and 1858 was thirty. "The number is not great, but the quality was high" (op. cit., p. 106). See also Addison, op. cit., pp. 158–63.

"Most of us were thoroughly in earnest", so Mr Markoe, who was a student in 1843, records. "For myself I rejoiced in the somewhat romantic idea of leading a monastic life. I loved the labour, the study and the devotions. . . . It can readily be understood that this mode of life kept our thoughts almost constantly on religious subjects. My great ambition was to conform as nearly as possible to the lives of the early Christians. I fasted severely and beyond my strength; even on ordinary Fridays, eating and drinking absolutely nothing till three o'clock in the afternoons and continuing my work just the same. Some of us had permission to go to communion every day."[1]

For various reasons the monastic character of the life at Nashotah gradually faded out. We are told that Mr Breck ruled with a rod of iron, making no distinction when dealing with boys or with men. Eventually Mr Adams married one of Bishop Kemper's daughters. Hobart also married. Breck left in 1850 to undertake mission work in Minnesota, where he tried to found another community. However, he too finally abandoned his celibate ideals and before his death many years later had been married three times. But Nashotah survived its troubled foundation. It evolved first into a moderate High Church seminary, but blossomed out about 1890 as a stronghold of the Catholic party, soon after Fr Grafton, formerly a member of the Society of St John the Evangelist, was elected Bishop of Fond du Lac. As one of the Trustees of the Seminary he managed to get Dr Walter R. Gardner, an advanced churchman, appointed President. Two years later, the Reverend William W. Webb, one of the most zealous members of the Companions of the Holy Saviour (see p. 544), was nominated Professor of Theology. The students found themselves under a stricter discipline than in the far-off days of Mr Breck. Once more the ideal of a celibate priesthood was put before them.

2. SOCIETY OF THE HOLY CROSS

Valle Crucis, North Carolina (1847)

A second attempt to found a religious community for men in the Episcopal Church was made in the autumn of 1845, about the same time as John Henry Newman and his companions at Littlemore had submitted to the Roman Church. After being ordained deacon, the Reverend Edgar P. Wadhams was placed in charge of a rural district in Essex County, New York. Here he was joined by a Mr Clarence E. Walworth and another deacon, named McVicker. They tried to initiate a sort of monastic establishment, but it did not succeed. Within a year all its members had been received into the Roman Church.[1] Mr Wadhams was consecrated first Bishop of Ogdensburg, New York, in 1872, and died in 1891.

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[1] Hawks, op. cit., p. 59. See also Nils William Olsson, ed. *A Pioneer in Northwest America, 1841–1858, The Memoirs of Gustaf Unonius* (Minneapolis, 1950/60, Vol. II, pp. 20–50).

The third attempt followed two years later. In 1831 the Reverend Levi Silliman Ives (1797–1867), a convert from Presbyterianism, was elected Bishop of North Carolina. After the death of Bishop Hobart, whose daughter he married, he found himself one of the leaders of the catholic movement within the Episcopal Church. In 1842 Bishop Ives heard of the existence of "a remote and beautiful valley in the mountains near the Tennessee border". Having visited it "he conceived the idea that this would be the place for an agricultural mission and a school for training clergy for his large diocese. He began to gather money for this purpose, and soon afterwards he bought a large tract of land, and had a number of buildings erected. A priest was put in charge, and a number of boys were brought there to learn farming. . . . From the form of a cross made by the junction of three streams at the heart of the valley, it received the name of Valle Crucis. This gives a clue to the way the Bishop's mind was working. Valle Crucis was the name of a famous pre-Reformation [Cistercian] monastery in the mountains of Wales."[2] William Skiles, a young unmarried man, was put in charge of the farm school. There were difficulties right from the start, for the wrong types of boys were sent there. Meanwhile the bishop had formed the idea of establishing a religious community, modelled on the Society of Jesus, with himself as General. The first members of the Society of the Holy Cross were professed by Bishop Ives in St Luke's Chapel, New York, when he was taking part in the General Convention of 1847. One of these men, William Glenny French, was ordained priest at the same time. Among the other five or six was Oliver Sherman Prescott.

Bishop Ives (in a pastoral letter addressed to the clergy of his diocese) explained that "the object of the Society shall be the promotion of personal holiness; of the Sacramental System of the Church as set forth in the Book of Common Prayer; and of Catholic Unity". It would consist of three orders: "First: Perpetual members, who must be unmarried men. Second: Other persons living in the institution. Third: Persons not residing at Valle Crucis."

The members of the three orders were bidden "to cultivate in themselves a spirit of deep humility and charity by calmness and patience under reproaches and suffering". It was their duty "to inculcate upon the minds of all within their influence the sacramental system of the Church, particularly Baptismal Regeneration; the Real Presence of Our Lord in the Holy Eucharist and Sacerdotal Absolution; and also to promote the unity of the one Catholic and Apostolic Church by excluding sectarian prejudices from their minds and avoiding sectarian language in their conversation and by uniting in a common prayer that God may speedily bring together in one mind and one heart the scattered members of Christ's Body". Most of the bishops, when they heard of its existence, were determined that this "Nest of Jesuits" must be wiped out.

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[1] Cf. C. A. Walworth, *Reminiscences of Edgar P. Wadhams* (New York, 1893). Mr Wadhams and his classmates at the General Theological Seminary, New York, practised devotion to our Lady and the Saints. They recited the Breviary, and made their confessions.

[2] Fr Palmer, S.S.J.E., "Brother William Skiles of Valle Crucis", article in *Cowley* (Autumn, 1944), p. 84.

Meanwhile Bishop Ives was going ahead with its establishment at Valle Crucis. Fr French, who had been nominated Superior, "began by trying to set in order the religious life of the place. Fr Prescott had provided the party from New York with its external aids to devotion; viz., a book of prayers, some devotional pictures, a crucifix, an *Ursuline Manual*, and some letter-paper with a picture of St Francis Xavier as a heading, which later horrified their friends when they used it."[1]

Bishop Ives wrote to Fr French and laid down rules for the government of the Society. "Absolute obedience is required of every member of the establishment to yourself. Everyone is to style you 'Father William', and approach you with crossed hands and lowly demeanour. . . . The dress of yourself and of all priests officiating is the surplice. I think that the Cross (a small cross at the back) should be affixed to the stole only at the Communion when none but communicants are present. Deacons and Lay-brothers wear the alb. . . . You are to direct the minute devotions and self-examination of individual members to suit their requirements. Begin with small requirements as to penance and self-discipline."[2]

In 1849 George E. Badger, a Senator from North Carolina, published a pamphlet in which he attacked Bishop Ives for having founded this "Monastic Order, a Society within the Church, composed of persons bound to him by the vows of celibacy, poverty and obedience". Mr Badger added that the bishop "has given to the members their peculiar dress, a black cassock, extending from the throat to the ankles, *answering to that worn by the Romish Order of Jesus*. He allows to be placed on the altar a Pyx, in which is reserved the consecrated elements after Communion; a practice used in the Romish Church, disallowed and forbidden in ours."[3]

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[1] Sister Hilary, C.S.M., article in *Holy Cross Magazine* (July 1945), p. 201.

[2] Ibid., p. 202.

[3] Quoted by W. L. Hayward, *The C.S.S.S.* (Philadelphia, 1940), p. 35.

The mountaineers of North Carolina were told that the children being educated at Valle Crucis were using a prayer book which encouraged them to say the "Hail Mary" and to pray for the dead. Was this book the *Ursuline Manual*, one wonders? No matter, Bishop Ives explained that the particular copy which had been discovered had been given to a boy who had forgotten to strike out certain expressions. Life at Valle Crucis was far from peaceful. Many of the boys refused to submit to the strict discipline enforced by Fr French. Some of the students protested against the rigidity of the rules. By the end of two years only five candidates for Holy Orders remained. Nevertheless "a wonderful work was being done in a quiet way. The simple people were being taught the Church services by rote, so that one might often hear a boy singing the *Benedicite* as he drove his cows to pasture. Schools had been started up and down the valley to teach the people to read and write. Good cattle had been introduced to improve the local stock. All that was done in church was to use the services of the Prayer Book to the full, including the opportunity to make private Confession."[1]

Bishop Ives must have been a difficult Superior-General. He dreamed dreams and saw visions, but did not seem able to make up his mind on what lines his Society ought to develop.[2] He grew alarmed at what people were saying about the Valle Crucis Community. In 1851 he informed his Diocesan Convention "that no such order is now in existence, nor has been since the Salisbury Convention (1849)". He assured the clergy and laity, "that no vows, outside those expressly required or allowed by our Ritual, ought to be taken in our Church", and that he was satisfied that the young men at Valle Crucis could manage without vows. It is more probable that instead of formally disbanding the Community he drew up a new Rule, omitting all reference to the Vows of Religion.

Things went from bad to worse. Fr French resigned his superiorship and returned to New York. Fr Prescott departed, and so did the few other members who were left. Only Br Skiles remained to carry on. In September 1852 Bishop Ives received permission from his Convention for six months' leave of absence from the diocese and an advance of one thousand dollars on his salary to travel on account of his bad health. Three months later he wrote to the Diocesan Convention that he had resigned his bishopric; ending his letter with the words: "I am determined to make my submission to the Catholic Church." He went to Italy, where he carried out his resolution. His wife and several of his friends followed his example not long after. On his return to the United States he found work as a professor at St Joseph's Seminary, New York, and devoted himself to charitable works of all sorts. He died in 1867.[1]

The property of Valle Crucis was sold, but it passed into the ownership of an Episcopalian layman, who allowed Br Skiles to remain there. For ten years this faithful deacon lived a more or less eremitical life in the mountains. He ministered to the bodies as well as the souls of the people in the valley, for he had learned a little medicine. His poverty was truly Franciscan. He treated his bishop as his superior, and gave him loyal obedience. He was faithful to his vow of chastity. From time to time a priest came over to administer the sacraments to this scattered flock of Episcopalians.

One day the bishop arrived to consecrate the little church, which had been built by Br Skiles. "That service was the crown of the good Brother's life. He never entered the church again, but died of cancer soon afterwards in the home of Colonel Palmer. . . . The troubled times [of the War between the Northern and Southern States] made it necessary to bury him in the garden of the house, but later on his body was removed to a place beside his little church. So died in faith and patience the first man in the Anglican Communion since Reformation days to persevere in the dedicated life of poverty, chastity, and obedience, under vows. . . . He fell asleep in the Lord on the Feast of the Conception, December 8th, 1862."[2]

Oliver S. Prescott, who had been one of the pioneers at Valle Crucis, also continued in the Religious Life. Associating himself with Charles C. Grafton in another attempt to establish a community, the two friends entered the Society of St John the Evangelist at Cowley, England. Fr Prescott returned to America when the Society opened its house at Boston in 1872. He became rector of St Clement's, Philadelphia, in 1876. So there was a measure of continuity effected between the two Anglican communities of men in North America—Valle Crucis and the Cowley Fathers.

"As it was, the failure [of the Society of the Holy Cross] had a two-fold result. In the first place, it was used as a warning to any young man who might be disposed to attempt some form of life under rule. Monasticism and Rome were said to be inextricably united; and the fact that in this case they were sharply divided, and that the persons who had practised monasticism were not those who had gone to Rome, seems not to have impaired the force of the argument. So far as events at Valle Crucis may have delayed the revival of the Religious Life, they had another and more far-reaching result, in that they turned men's thoughts in the direction of such associations."[1]

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[1] Palmer, op. cit., p. 85.

[2] This vacillation is shown in Bishop Ives' address to his Diocesan Convention in 1850 when he asserted that he did not advocate private confession "in the Romish sense", that he believed that invocation of saints was "clearly derogatory to Christ", and that he was opposed to Reservation. All these things had been practised and encouraged at Valle Crucis.

[1] Cf. Ives, *Trials of a Mind in its Progress to the Catholic Faith* (Boston, 1853); also Hayward, *The C.S.S.S.* pt 1, ch. iv, "Valle Crucis" (Phildelaphia, 1940). In later years, Archbishop Hughes, of New York, described him as a man of "generous, impulsive, somewhat erratic temperament".

[2] Palmer, op. cit., p. 86.

3. ORDER OF THE HOLY CROSS

Holy Cross Monastery, West Park, New York (1884)

After the Society of the Holy Cross had been disbanded in 1851, thirty years elapsed before any serious attempt was made to form another indigenous community of men in the Episcopal Church. The branch house of the Society of St John the Evangelist, established at the Church of the Advent, Boston, in 1872, was more in the nature of an import from England, even if most of the first members of the community were Americans.[2]

The first purely American male community which had been given a name was dedicated to the Holy Cross. The same dedication was chosen by the Reverend James Otis Sargent Huntington, a son of Dr Frederic D. Huntington, Bishop of Central New York, when he began his work in New York in 1881.[3] His vocation to the Religious Life was due to a retreat conducted by Canon Knox-Little at St Clement's, Philadelphia, in 1880. Huntington was joined by two young men who shared his ideals. They tested their vocations by working in a slum district of the Lower East Side New York, but only Huntington persevered. On 25 November 1884 he made his profession in the presence of Dr Henry C. Potter, assistant Bishop of New York, and of his own father. Dr Lee of Delaware, then presiding bishop of the Church, was horrified when he heard the news. He wrote to Bishop Potter, expressing his "astonishment and distress" at his colleague's "recent unexampled act, the admission of Mr Huntington to a so-called religious order, after requiring of him the well-known Romish vows". Bishop Potter did his best to placate the Bishop of Delaware, by pointing out that women in the Episcopal Church had taken the same vows for nearly twenty years. There were other bishops

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[1] Sister Hilary, C.S.M., op. cit. pp. 202–3.

[2] It was not until 1920 that the American branch of the Cowley Fathers became autonomous (see p. 87).

[3] Vida D. Scudder, *Father Huntington* (New York, 1940).

who expressed their strong disapproval of what had occurred. It was hardly true to describe it as an "unexampled act" since precisely the same thing had taken place in New York City when Bishop Ives professed the first members of the Society of the Holy Cross in 1847.

Fr Huntington paid no attention to this controversy which he had aroused. He continued his work among the poor and needy, and shocked the more conventional Episcopalians by what they regarded as dangerous Socialist preaching. He taught his choirboys to sing a hymn of which the first words were "Our Lord He was a carpenter". Moreover, one summer he discarded his habit and worked as a farm servant, so that he might understand by personal experience the lot of the ordinary labourer. The growth of his order was very slow. Only two men had persevered in the Community after ten years. Very wisely he decided to transfer it to the country. In 1892 a house at Westminster, Maryland, became the first real home of the Order of the Holy Cross. The contemplative side of the Religious Life began to take precedence over the active. Vocations increased; a Rule was drawn up, and the future of the Community was assured. The site of the present headquarters of the Order at West Park was acquired in 1900, and the mother house was dedicated four years later.[1] In 1905 St Andrew's School for mountain boys was opened at Sewanee, Tennessee. Kent School, Connecticut, followed soon after. Since 1922 the Holy Cross Fathers have been carrying on mission work in the hinterland of Liberia in West Africa, where the Sisters of the Order of St Helena (see p. 572), who have the same Rule, help with the schools, hospitals, and other works of mercy and charity among the native women and girls. In 1925 Fr Robert E. Campbell, O.H.C., was elected Missionary Bishop of Liberia. This was the first instance of an actual member of a religious community becoming a bishop of the American Episcopal Church, and continuing his membership. In 1948 Mount Calvary Monastery, near Santa Barbara, California, was established as the centre of the Order's life and work on the Pacific Coast.[2] Kent School, Connecticut, founded by Fr Herbert Sill, O.H.C. (died 1952), is no longer under the direction of the Order. St Michael's Monastery, St Andrew's, Tennessee, is another branch house, and a centre for retreats, missions, schools of prayer, and preaching. The headquarters of the Liberian Mission is at St Athanasius' Monastery, the postal address of which is Kailahun, Sierra Leone, West Africa.[3]

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[1] The dignified chapel (see illustration opposite p. 526) was designed by the late Ralph Adams Cram.

[2] The monastery is an interesting Spanish-type building with a patio.

[3] Werner Junge: *Bolahun*, (1952).

The motto of the Order of the Holy Cross is "*Crux est mundi medicina*". The Rule lays down that our Lord Jesus Christ is the only model set before members of the Order, "whose likeness in each of its members it is the purpose of the Community to create". The Rule is modern, and not based on that of any older Rule, although there are affinities with the Dominican Constitutions. Liturgical prayer in common is the basis of the spiritual life. The Divine Office, according to *The Monastic Diurnal*, is recited in choir; also in all houses now a vernacular version of the office of Mattins.[1] The very full day starts with Mattins and Lauds at 5.45 a.m., and ends with Compline and examination of conscience —followed by Mattins at the West Park Monastery. There are two half-hours of mental prayer daily, also special times for public and private intercessory prayer and spiritual reading. On Sundays and greater festivals there is a High Mass. The Holy Cross Fathers undertake parochial missions, retreats, and other preaching in all parts of North America and the West Indies. At home there is other work, such as the care of guests, the training of novices, and the writing of books and articles.

It is worth mentioning that priests and lay-brothers have equal votes in chapter. Five groups of associates link up the Order with the clergy and laity: (1) The Society of the Oblates of Mount Calvary (for celibate clergy); (2) The Priests Associate (married or unmarried); (3) The Confraternity of the Love of God; and (4) The Confraternity of the Christian Life (both the latter for clergy and layfolk of both sexes); (5) Seminarists Associate.[2]

"It is difficult to fix on any particular outstanding characteristic of our Order", so it is stated, "perhaps for the very reason that we try to encourage a balanced and natural (as well as supernatural) life. Our members represent widely varied backgrounds, personalities and abilities; and our chief task, next to the praise of Almighty God, is to learn to live together. Our Founder was intensely American and had a marked genius for liberty; and this trait is reflected in the scope ordinarily given for discussion of common problems, for the development of each individual's gifts and capacities (so far as seems compatible with his own spiritual welfare and the Order's) and for individual initiative and responsibility. . . . Perhaps it might be said that it is the ethos of our Order to glorify God rather by endeavouring to use His creatures aright than by not using them at all. In general we welcome any man who comes to us but only

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[1] Until the publication of *The Monastic Diurnal* the Office Book used was *The Day Office of the Church* (see pp. 96 n. (2), 448). Holy Cross Mattins is an arrangement of the Prayer Book service of Morning Prayer.

[2] The Order of St Helena (see p. 572) is now affiliated with Holy Cross.

if we see he is not afraid of hard work and earnestly desires to abandon himself utterly to God, without reservations and without the prospect of being given any particular kind of place or employment."[1]

The six months' postulancy is followed by a novitiate of two years. Temporary vows are then taken for two years, and then final vows for life. Priests and lay brothers have equal status in the Order. The habit worn is white, consisting of a capuce, scapular, and tunic, with a wooden cross (for the professed) and girdle. When away from the monastery a black habit is worn, identical in pattern with the above. Ordinary clerical dress is worn when travelling.[2] Two periodicals are published; *The Holy Cross Magazine* and *The Hinterland* (devoted to the interests of the Liberian Mission).

4. BROTHERS OF NAZARETH

Priory Farm, Verbank, New York (1886)

The Order of the Brothers of Nazareth, a community of laymen, devoted to a life of prayer and manual labour, was founded in 1886 by Gilbert Tomkins, a communicant of the Church of the Holy Comforter,

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[1] *Religious Communities in the Episcopal Church* (Holy Cross Press, 1945), pp. 30, 31.

[2] A general account of the life and work of the Order is to be found in *An American Cloister* by Fr Shirley Hughson, O.H.C., published by the Holy Cross Press, West Park, N.Y. (6th Edition, 1961).

An interesting glimpse of the Order at work in Liberia is given in Mr Graham Greene's book *Journey Without Maps*, which has been quoted already in connection with the Community of the Holy Name (see p. 397). He writes: "It was a two-mile walk up to the mission through the village of Bolahun, through the deep barking of the frogs. The mission belonged to the Order of the Holy Cross, a monastic order of the American Episcopal Church. I dumped my loads outside the long bungalow and waited for the priests to come out from Benediction. I could hear the low murmur of Latin inside; in the darkness only the white eyeballs of my carriers were visible, where they squatted on the verandah; everyone was too tired to talk. But the sound of the Latin represented a better civilization than the tin shacks of the English port, better than anything I had seen in Sierra Leone; and when the priests came out and one led the way to the rest-house, his white robes stirring in the cold hill wind, I was for the first time unashamed by the comparison between white and black. There was something in this corner of a republic said to be a byword for corruption and slavery that at least wasn't commercial. One couldn't put it higher than this: that the little group of priests and nuns had a standard of gentleness and honesty equal to the native standard." (Ibid., 1948 edition, p. 75.)

One of the Holy Cross Fathers writes that Graham Greene heard "the low murmur of Latin . . . only in his mind's ear", for at the time of his visit no Latin was used at Benediction, although in more recent years *Adoremus in aeternum* is sung sometimes. However, very often the Fathers used to sing parts of the Benediction service in the native language, and Mr Greene may have taken that for Latin, or merely have thought that of distant chanting as in the liturgical tongue.

See also The Right Reverend Robert E. Campbell O.H.C., *Within the Green Wall* (the story of Holy Cross Liberian Mission 1922–57).

Poughkeepsie, N.Y. Having tried his vocation with the Cowley Fathers in Boston, Br Gilbert made use of the training which he there received to establish the first purely lay community in the American Church. His efforts were encouraged and supported by the Reverend Morgan Dix, D.D., Rector of Trinity Church, New York, who played a like part in the foundation in 1865 of the Community of St Mary (see p. 556), and by a wealthy layman of New York City. When Br Gilbert was clothed (or professed?) the service was held in Holy Cross Mission Church, on the Lower East Side of New York, built and owned by the Community of St John the Baptist and served at the time by the recently founded Order of the Holy Cross. Dr Dix was the preacher.

The Brotherhood seems to have grown at first. Work was undertaken for the betterment of the condition of destitute boys and young men. Among the institutions of the Community were the following: The mother house, Priory Farm, Verbank, N.Y., a home for consumptive men and boys, a convalescent home for men and boys, a House of Rest for clergy, a cottage for children sent from the slums of New York and elsewhere to benefit from country air. All these good works were located at Verbank, so it appears. The boys received industrial and agricultural training.

By the turn of the century the numbers of the Brotherhood had been so reduced by death and withdrawal that, even if their principal lay benefactor had not given up his financial support, it would have been impossible to maintain the varied activities at Priory Farm. The latter was eventually taken over by the bishop of the diocese. Br Gilbert returned to secular life. Another member of his community, Br Louis Lorey, ordained deacon and priest in 1906, was received and professed in the Order of the Holy Cross, in which he spent the rest of his life. Thus was the Community of the Brothers of Nazareth in a sense perpetuated in the Order of the Holy Cross.

5. COMMUNITY OF THE COMPANIONS OF THE HOLY SAVIOUR

6101 *Cedar Avenue, Philadelphia 43, Pennsylvania* (1895)

On 11 June 1891 seven young clergymen, who had gathered together one day at the Church of the Evangelists, Philadelphia, resolved to form themselves into a religious society bound by a rule of life. It was given the name of the "Companions of the Holy Saviour". There was no idea of founding a religious order. The object of the society was to help its members to fulfil their obligations as priests—to recite the Divine Office as contained in the Book of Common Prayer (not expressly obligatory on clergymen of the American Episcopal Church as it is in the Church of England); to celebrate the Holy Communion at least twice each week; to fast before Communion; to go to confession at least once a month; to make a yearly retreat, etc. These and other rules were drawn up merely to cultivate a spiritual life in clergymen who were engaged in active work for souls. The Reverend William McGarvey, assistant to the Reverend Henry R. Percival of the Church of the Evangelists—at that time one of the leaders of the Catholic party in the Episcopal Church—was elected Master.[1] The Reverend William W. Webb, who was to become Bishop of Milwaukee in 1906, took on the duties of secretary.

The real object of the Companions of the Holy Saviour was to encourage clerical celibacy, but this was not stated openly in its Rules, at least not at first. The membership increased and for several years there was an average of fifty. Local branches, called Conferences, were established in New York and in the Middle West. Nashotah Seminary, Wisconsin, was the chief stronghold. A number of its professors and students became Companions.

On 8 October 1895 eleven members of the Society met at Philadelphia, and then decided that the time had come to found a religious community. Fr McGarvey was chosen as its Superior. He went to England where he made a month's retreat with the Cowley Fathers at Oxford under the guidance of Fr Benson. Fr Cowl, who was in charge of the parish of St Elisabeth, Philadelphia, agreed to resign the rectorship in McGarvey's favour and to become one of the Community. Two houses were rented in Mifflin Street, and community life began in the autumn of 1896. The first eight members took the three Vows of Religion in October that same year.

The Rule of the Community was based on that of the Society of Jesus, with considerable adaptations taken from the Constitutions of the Society of Priests of St Sulpice (founded by Jean Jacques Olier in 1642). Mattins and Evensong from the Book of Common Prayer and the Day Hours of the Roman Breviary were recited in common. When alone, most members of the Society substituted the *Breviarium Romanum* for the American Prayer Book offices. A new community house was erected and also a new church, designed in the Italian basilican style. Its furnishings were as "ultramontane" as the doctrines preached from its pulpit. Intensive parish work was carried on. Retreats and missions were undertaken by members of the Community. Some of them were men of outstanding qualities as preachers and authors. Fr McGarvey wrote many books and pamphlets. He produced a standard work on the American Prayer Book.[1] He contributed the section on Low Mass to a composite work *The Ceremonies of the Mass arranged conformable to the Rubrics of the Book of Common Prayer*. This was much used by Anglo-Catholic clergymen on both sides of the Atlantic.

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[1] "Percival was a queer, crabbed eccentric, whose churchmanship followed a line all its own. . . . He was utterly opposed to all ceremonial elaborations. But his theological position was extreme of the extremes. He was bitter in opposition to anything remotely savouring of liberalism, accepted the whole teaching of the Council of Trent, . . . and wrote vigorously in defence of the invocation of saints and of late Mass with non-communicating attendance. It has been stated that before his death he had come to regard the Anglican Church as a schismatical body." (De Mille, op. cit., pp. 163, 164.) The influence of Percivallian theology on the Community of the Holy Saviour accounts for its ultramontane character.

Like Fr Paul James Francis, founder of the Society of the Atonement (see p. 548), McGarvey and most of the Community of the Holy Saviour had gradually become convinced that reunion with Rome was the final goal of the Oxford Movement. They had no sympathy with Bishop Grafton's combination of extreme Ritualism and anti-Romanism. Starting with the hope of the eventual "Corporate Reunion" of the entire Anglican Communion with the Holy See, they realized that this was most unlikely. Finally they were content with the prospect that a small faithful remnant would become a Uniate body in communion with Rome. Such views found expression in the *Lamp*, to which Fr McGarvey contributed several articles on Anglican orders and celibacy.[2]

It was the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, held at Richmond, Virginia, in October 1907 which proved the death blow to the Community of the Holy Saviour. With the passing of the Open-Pulpit Canon which allowed "Christian men, who are not ministers of this Church, to make addresses in the church on special occasions", many of the Catholic party felt that their days as Episcopalians were numbered. On 12 March 1908 Fr McGarvey disbanded his Community. Its members were released from their vows of poverty and obedience. Two months later he resigned the charge of St Elisabeth's, Philadelphia. On 27 May McGarvey and six other clergymen were received into the Roman Church.[3] Two of the former Community and many other members of

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[1] *Liturgiae Americanae, or the Book of Common Prayer as used in the United States of America compared with the proposed Book of* 1786, *and with the Prayer Book of the Church of England, and an Historical Account and Documents* (Philadelphia, 1895).

[2] Cf. E. Hawks, *William McGarvey and the Open Pulpit*, Appendix I.

[3] The secessions of 1907–8 numbered about twenty-one clergymen and about fifty layfolk. Among those who followed McGarvey was Mother Edith (Pardee), Superior-General of the Community of St Mary, Peekskill. Three other Sisters of the Community took the same step.

the Congregation remained faithful to the Episcopal Church. One of the seceders returned to his Anglican allegiance.

The Congregation of the Companions of the Holy Saviour still exists as a society of celibate priests, deacons and candidates for holy orders, living under a rule for the strengthening of their spiritual life. A simple rule is provided for lay associates of the Congregation, the purpose of which is the deepening of the spiritual life of the members and furthering the interests of the Congregation.[1]

6. SOCIETY OF THE ATONEMENT

Graymoor, Garrison, New York (1898)

It was a Franciscan friar who celebrated the first Mass in the New World on the discovery of North America by Christopher Columbus in 1493. The Friars Minor were the first religious order to make a foundation on the continent of North America. They took a prominent part in the evangelization of Texas, New Mexico, and California during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Early in the following century Irish, Belgian, German, Austrian, and Italian Franciscans made foundations in the United States. Today all three branches of the First Order of St Francis of Assisi are firmly established from ocean to ocean, but it was not until 1893 that there was any thought of forming a Franciscan community in the American Episcopal Church.

At that date the Reverend Lewis T. Wattson, who was in charge of St John's Church, Kingston-on-Hudson, felt he was called to found a community dedicated to the Mystery of the Atonement. Mainly as a result of his association with Sister Lurana White, a member of the Sisterhood of the Holy Child Jesus at Albany, who was equally convinced that it was her vocation to establish a community of women on Franciscan lines, vowed to absolute poverty, the Society of the Atonement came into being in 1898. Sister Lurana was released from her obligations to the community of which she was a professed member. She went to England, made a novitiate with the Sisters of Bethany in Lloyd Square, London, and put on a brown habit. A year later she returned to America. Property was acquired at Graymoor, and the new community moved into its very primitive wooden convent in 1898. Two friars took over a derelict shed as their home on St Francis' Day the following year. Mr

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[1] For further details of the Companions and the Community of the Holy Saviour, see *The C.S.S.S.* (W. L. Hayward, Philadelphia, 1940), *William McGarvey and the Open Pulpit* (E. Hawks, Philadelphia, 1935), *The Catholic Movement in the Episcopal Church* (G. E. De Mille, Philadelphia, 2nd ed., 1950, pp. 163–70) and J. G. H. Barry, *Impressions and Opinions* (New York, 1931.)

Wattson made his profession on 27 July 1900. The ceremony was performed by Dr Coleman, Bishop of Delaware. From now onwards the founder was known as Father Paul James Francis.

Not long afterwards he began to proclaim openly that every baptized Christian owes allegiance to the Pope of Rome as the Sovereign Pontiff and true Vicar of Christ. He expressed his firm belief in the *de jure* authority of the Holy See of Rome. As was only to be expected, he was shunned by most of his clerical brethren. On 2 February 1903 the Society of the Atonement issued the first number of the *Lamp*—a monthly magazine devoted to Church Unity and Reunion with Rome. Five years later the Church Unity Octave of Prayer was started. The publication, in 1904, of *The Prince of the Apostles* (written jointly with the Reverend Spencer Jones, Rector of Moreton-in-the-Marsh, Gloucestershire, and author of *England and the Holy See*) also helped to bring Fr Paul James Francis into the limelight. It is possible that in retrospect he rather exaggerated his own importance in the Episcopal Church; certainly the McGarvey group of the Companions and Community of the Most Holy Saviour who seceded shortly before the Society of the Atonement attracted much more attention.

In August 1909 the founder approached Mgr Falconio, Apostolic Delegate at Washington, to find out if the Society could be accepted as a body into communion with Rome, and continue its corporate existence as part of the Third Order Regular of St Francis. An affirmative answer having been received from Cardinal Merry del Val, the two friars, five Sisters, and ten tertiaries, who composed the Society of the Atonement, were received into the Roman Church on 30 October 1909.[1]

7. ST BARNABAS' BROTHERHOOD

5827 Meridian Road, Gibsonia, Pennsylvania (1913)

"Once upon a time—in the year 1896 to be exact—", so the Reverend George De Mille writes, "there was in New York City a devout layman.

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[1] The subsequent growth of this little Society has been phenomenal. Today the Congregation, made up of friars and Sisters, has spread over North America to Europe and Asia. Although its members are mainly engaged in mission work at home and abroad, the chief object of the Society still is to further the reunion of all Christians round the Chair of St Peter. Benedict XV extended the observance of the Church Unity Octave to the Universal Church in 1916. The *Lamp* continues to be published at Graymoor. The Society is now established at S. Onofrio al Gianicolo in Rome, where one of the Community edits the English edition of the review *Unitas. Father Paul of Graymoor*, by David Gannon, S.A. (New York, 1951), and *A Woman of Unity*, by Sister Mary Celine, S.A. (Graymoor, Garrison, New York, 1956). In 1961 a house was opened in London.

who was deeply conscious of a divine call. Every noon, Gouverneur P. Hance used to leave the office where he worked to kneel in Calvary Church, asking what God would have him to do. There being no apparent answer, he finally resigned his job, and appeared at the diocesan office as a willing but vague volunteer. A puzzled archdeacon could find no place for such a man. For a time he worked as a Church Army missioner in western Pennsylvania. Here he learned to endure poverty and to work on a shoestring. Finally in 1900 he decided what his vocation really was; in the slums of Pittsburgh he opened a convalescent home for poor men."[1] Some years later Hance was joined by another man, Charles H. L. Pennington. The convalescent home became also a home for incurables. The Brotherhood evolved out of the home, without any conscious effort. It was not formally constituted until St Barnabas' Day, 1913, when Bishop Cortlandt Whitehead of Pittsburgh received the professions of its first three members. "Growing as naturally as a tree, the order has made but little noise in the Church or the world. It has engaged in no controversies, broken into no headlines. It has merely demonstrated Christ to the world."[2]

The purpose of this Brotherhood is self-dedication to the care of the sick poor in free homes and hospitals, also service to others by prayer and example. It has been described as "a body of Churchmen living and worshipping in community". Stress is laid on its lay spirit and organization. The Rule, though modern, is based on that of St Benedict. The conditions of admission involve six months as a visitor, six months as a postulant, and two years as a novice. "Junior Vows" are taken for two years. Only then are life vows permitted. The Day Office is recited in choir from *The Hours of Prayer*, as well as Mattins and Evensong. The patients as well as the Brothers attend the latter services. Vespers of the Dead are said on Fridays. Special times are set apart for meditation and other spiritual exercises. The work of the Brotherhood consists in looking after incurable and convalescent men and boys, regardless of religion, race, or colour, free of charge. The homes are supported by means of voluntary contributions. The habit consists of a grey cassock and hood, with a black leather belt. All professed brethren wear a red fibre cross. The solemnly professed wear a silver ring.

There are two groups of associates; the one lay, the other clerical (known as "Advocates"). *Faith and Work* is the official periodical of the Brotherhood. The houses are St Barnabas Free Home, Gibsonia, Pennsylvania, and St Barnabas House-by-the-Lake, North East, Pennsylvania.

The Visitor is the Bishop of Western New York.

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[1] *The Catholic Movement in the American Episcopal Church*, p. 145. [2] Ibid., p. 146.

8. ORDER OF POOR BRETHREN OF ST FRANCIS

Little Portion, Mount Sinai, Long Island, New York (1919)

In 1908, the year before the Society of the Atonement made its submission to the Holy See of Rome, a number of people began to pray and work for the establishment of another Franciscan community in the Episcopal Church, not so aggressively "Papalist" in character as that of Graymoor. In 1916, after a novena, two groups of men and women placed themselves under the direction of the Reverend Claude Crookston (in religion Father Joseph). Their purpose was to form a community of friars and another whose observances would be based on those of the Poor Clares. A third group of persons who were bound by the ties of marriage, or who did not feel called to the Religious Life, were enrolled as secular tertiaries.

It was on the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, 14 September 1919, that Fr Joseph and a few other men started to live in community at Merrill, Wisconsin. In 1928 the Brethren moved from Wisconsin to Long Island. Their present mother house (known as "Little Portion", in emulation of the *Porziuncula* at Assisi) is at Mount Sinai, an old fishing settlement in the vicinity of Port Jefferson. Their other centre for their life and work is the Friary of the Good Shepherd, 120 West French Avenue, Orange City, Florida.

The Community has been incorporated under the legal title of the "Order of Poor Brethren of St Francis of the American Congregation of Franciscans". The Poor Brethren are supported entirely by alms and the work done by them, for they have no endowments. Their ideal is to observe the primitive Franciscan Rule as closely as possible. All the domestic work is done by the Community. Some of them conduct missions and retreats, or engage in other forms of active apostolate. There are both priests and lay brothers. The recitation of the Divine Office (in English) is the basis of the spiritual life.[1] The day starts with Prime and Terce at 6.25 a.m. Anticipated Matins and Lauds are recited at 9 p.m. The *horarium* of the Poor Brethren in their friary at Mount Sinai is much the same as that observed in most communities of Friars Minor.

The essential spirit of this community seems to be summed up in its own words: "although Franciscans have always been a missionary

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[1] A translation of the *Breviarium Romanum* has been made by one of the friars. The Second Nocturn lessons have been revised, and this vernacular Breviary provides for the observance of most ordinary Doubles with three lessons only, but with no other important changes. This book is entitled *The Anglican Breviary, Containing the Divine Office according to the General Usages of the Western Church.*

Order, our vocation is not to tell God what we will do for Him, but to give ourselves to God in such a way that He may find use for us when and as He wills".

After a postulancy, the length of which depends on the individual, there follows a year's novitiate. Solemn vows are not taken until after three years in temporary vows, and three or more years in simple-perpetual vows. The habit worn is grey. It consists of a tunic, capuce, and shoulder-cape. The usual Franciscan knotted cord with a seven-decade rosary is worn round the waist. The diocesan is the *ex officio* Visitor. A bishop, with the title of "Father Protector", is elected as a member of the Chapter and has certain powers of discipline.

9. BROTHERS OF ST PAUL

Apartment 35, 2 St James Street, Roxbury 19, Massachusetts (1928)

The Brotherhood of St Paul was founded at Kingston, New York, in 1928. "We are a Society for laymen only", so the Community explains, "purposely organized for working men with little education, and are mainly concerned with providing working people with better environment and spiritual help. We are not concerned with church work as such, but with the children of God."[1]

The special work of the Brothers is the charge of homes for working men. The Rule is modern, and was drawn up on experience of the particular needs of the Brotherhood. The Community is supported by the wages earned by its members in secular jobs. The observances are very simple, as might be expected from the nature of the life. The Brothers while in the house wear a black cassock, with white bands at the neck, reminiscent of those worn by the De La Salle Brothers, founded in the seventeenth century. Simple annual vows are taken after the novitiate. At Roxbury, St Paul's Home provides accommodation for working men who wish to live in a Christian environment.

10. BROTHERS OF ST JOSEPH

East Moriches, Long Island (1935)

This was another Episcopalian community which offered "to the laymen of the Church a life of prayer and work dedicated to God under vows". It was founded by Brother Francis Anthony at Peekskill, New York, in

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[1] *Religious Communities in the American Episcopal Church*, p. 26.

1935, with the object of providing a lay brotherhood devoted to prayer and manual labour. The Rule was based on that of St Benedict. The Office was recited from *The Monastic Diurnal*. The Brothers were supported by alms and their own manual work. The latter was mainly confined to liturgical art. The Community, in emulation of their patron St Joseph, made church furniture, helped in repairing churches and chapels, instructed children, and gave what assistance they could to the parochial clergy. Prime and Terce were recited at 7 a.m., followed by Mass. Sext and None were said before lunch; Vespers and Compline at 5 p.m., Lauds at 9.45 p.m. Special times were set apart for community intercessions, study, and meditation. A period of six months as a visitor was followed by six months of postulancy, after which the aspirant, if accepted, was clothed as a novice. After a novitiate of two years, temporary vows were taken, renewed annually for three years. Simple life vows were taken at final profession. The habit consisted of a black tunic, scapular, hood, and a black leather belt. With the habit a rosary was worn. The Bishop of Long Island was Visitor and Protector of the Community until 19 March 1957, when he removed his patronage.

11. SOCIETY OF THE CATHOLIC COMMONWEALTH

Oratory of St Mary and St Michael, 35, Ledge Road, Gloucester, Massachusetts (1939)

This community likes to regard itself as a twentieth-century adaptation of the Oratorians, and has tried to "recapture the original flexibility which characterized the Oratory in Rome under St Philip Neri". It was founded in 1939, when the first four members made their vows, but the Oratory of St Mary and St Michael at Cambridge, Mass., had been established four years before this as a House of Studies.

At first the Society regarded itself as "a society within the Church, rather than as a monastic order". It warned aspirants who were seeking the traditional form of the religious life that here they would not find it. During the past decade the growth of the Society has been among layfolk, who live under a simple rule of life, and who are known as "Members Secular". Groups have been formed in various cities of the U.S.A. and Canada, with one in England and another in Japan. They have been encouraged to meet at regular intervals for social action or liturgical research. In 1942 the Society produced its own eucharistic rite.[1] It has published many other books, tracts, etc., most of them by F. Hastings Smyth, Founder and first Superior of the Society, mainly dealing with various aspects of the modern Liturgical Movement.

The emphasis of what was founded as an American Episcopalian adaptation of the Oratorians has now become more monastic. It is felt that a relatively strict and traditional form of the religious life is demanded as a focus for the widely spread and relatively active secular membership. A distinctive habit has been adopted, consisting of a leather belted cassock, scapular and capuce, with its hood lined with red. *The Monastic Diurnal* is recited in choir, but its short chapters at Lauds and Vespers are replaced by the complete lessons provided in *the Book of Common Prayer*.

In 1955 the Oratory moved from Cambridge to Gloucester, with its headquarters in a large house overlooking the Atlantic; designed by R. A Cram in 1925. There is a Guest House for conferences and retreats. The S.C.C. defines itself as "an apocalyptically prophetic Sect-type of Religious Order; yet neither now nor later to be cut off from the church in time".

Father Smyth died in April 1960 and was succeeded as Superior by the Reverend Don P. Johnston, junior.

12. ORDER OF ST AUGUSTINE

(*Community of the Good Shepherd*), *Orange City, Florida* (1943)

This community aimed at the purely contemplative life. It was founded at Marion, North Carolina, in 1943 but removed first to Good Shepherd Island off the coast of South Carolina, where the monks built a monastery, largely with their own hands, and later to the little town of South Carolina, in the diocese of South Florida. At the request of the bishop, the monks who were in Holy Orders were included among the diocesan clergy and he exempted the community's oratory and property from the jurisdiction of any secular priest. *The Monastic Diurnal* was used in choir with a privately compiled version of monastic Mattins. The community was disbanded about April 1957.

13. SOCIETY OF ST PAUL

Mount Resurrection Monastery, 321 Stenil Drive, Sandy, Oregon, P.O. Box 446, Gresham, Oregon, (1958)

This community is primarily for laymen. The Constitution provides that the Society is to exist for three purposes: developing individual spiritual life along communal patterns, performance of the daily *Opus Dei*, and the "showing forth of the spiritual life" in works "of mercy, charity, and evangelism". The office book is *Morning, Noonday and Evening*. The founder and Rector of the Community is Canon René Bozarth, the parish priest, who compiled the Rule, with expert assistance. The Society cares for helpless and elderly Episcopalians in St Jude's Home and undertakes printing at St Paul's Press. It does educational and missionary work both locally and in South West Africa, where St Peter's Priory, Windhoek, was established in 1962. Government of the community is on the Benedictine pattern, the Senior Brother being primarily responsible for internal affairs, but the spirituality is basically Franciscan. A brown habit is worn. The American Visitor is the Right Reverend James F. W. Caraman, Bishop of Oregon, and the African Visitor is the Right Reverend Robert Mize, Bishop of Damaraland.[1]

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[1] The *Amamnesis of the Body and Blood of Our Lord Jesus Christ* (Cambridge, Mass., 1942).

In 1962 a Second Order for women was begun at the Convent of St Mary and St Martha, Sandy, Oregon, with a group of postulants. The Second Order moved to Gresham, Oregon, in 1963.

(*b*) *Women*

1. SISTERHOOD OF THE HOLY COMMUNION

New York City (1852)

The first Sisterhood to be established in the American Episcopal Church was not influenced in any way by the Tractarian movement. Its background was quite different, for the founder, the Reverend William Augustus Muhlenberg, had been brought up as a Lutheran, and was a convert to Episcopalianism. The services in the chapel of the school for boys at Flushing, Long Island, which Dr Muhlenberg had founded in 1827, became famous for their ceremonial. It is related that "the chapel was brilliant on the great feasts with candles and emblems. At the Christmas services a picture of the Virgin and Holy Child was placed above the altar, wreathed with holly. On Good Friday a picture of the Crucifixion, draped in black. On Easter . . . there were the bright lights and the fragrant flowers."[2] This was the sort of thing that Dr Muhlenberg continued after he founded the Church of the Holy Communion, New York, in 1845. It was the first Episcopal church in the city to hold weekly Communion services. But "His churchmanship is in fact impossible to

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[1] See René Bozarth, *The Single Eye* (Gresham, Oregon, 1961), a commentary on the Rule with the texts of the Rule and Constitution, and the Society's quarterly, *St Paul's Printer*.

[2] C. W. Knauff, *Doctor Tucker, Priest-Musician* (New York, 1897), p. 18.

label. . . . Eirenic in temper, broad in his sympathies, calling himself an Evangelical Catholic . . . refusing to be bound by the platform of any party, he was perhaps for this reason a more effective worker in the advance of Church art than many who flaunted the party flag."[1]

Six months after the foundation of the first English Sisterhood in 1845, a young American woman, Miss Anne Ayres, was greatly moved by a sermon on Jephtha's daughter, preached by Dr Muhlenberg. She related in after years that this sermon had "an application glancing at the blessedness of giving oneself undividedly to God's service".[2] The immediate result was that Miss Ayres resolved to dedicate her life to her Saviour. She offered her services to Dr Muhlenberg, and was given work in his parish.

In 1850 he decided to found St Luke's Hospital, New York. Nurses were required, and Miss Ayres and a few other ladies were formed into a Sisterhood in 1852. It was modelled on the lines of the Lutheran Deaconesses of Kaiserwerth. "Dr Muhlenberg frequently proclaimed that his Sisterhood bore no resemblance to a religious order but was thoroughly Protestant."[3] No vows were permitted by the founder. As time went on some of the Sisters were not satisfied with this loose form of community life. The first ward of the hospital was not opened until 1858. In 1863 Miss Ayres resigned her position as "First Sister". Dr Muhlenberg then announced that the organization had been dissolved. He proposed that its members should now form themselves into a "Company of Christian Ladies", and continue to work under Miss Ayres as matron of St Luke's Hospital. Miss Harriet Starr Cannon and four other ladies returned to their own homes. Not long after they became the nucleus of the Community of St Mary (see p. 556).

So far as can be discovered, the Sisterhood of the Holy Communion was revived in 1871, when Dr Lawrence succeeded Dr Muhlenberg as rector of the parish. The members of this small community continued to work at St Luke's Hospital. They had charge also of a home for old women, a dispensary, and a school for poor children. Later on that quite remarkable person, Sister Catherine—in her own way something like the famous Mother Kate of St Saviour's Priory, Haggerston, London—took over a convalescent home at 334 Sixth Avenue, eventually moved to 210 East 46th Street, New York. "Sister Catherine's Home" still exists as a residence for working girls, though no Sister has been connected with it for many years.

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[1] De Mille, op. cit., p. 78.

[2] Ayres, *The Life and Work of William Augustus Muhlenberg* (New York, 1881), p. 188.

[3] T. J. Williams, "The Beginnings of Anglican Sisterhoods", in *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* (August, 1945), p. 234. See also J. T. Addison, *The Episcopal Church in the United States, 1789–1931*, pp. 164–170.

The bishop acted as Visitor of this revived Sisterhood of the Holy Communion, whose "ideals and organization, like the character of its work, seem to have differed little, if at all, from the non-monastic 'evangelical' pattern of the earlier sisterhood of the same name".[1] This quasi-Sisterhood ceased to exist on the death of its last surviving members at St Johnland on Long Island in 1934. This group of institutions was the last of Dr Muhlenberg's many foundations. For all practical purposes the Community had been defunct many years before.

2. COMMUNITY OF ST MARY

St Mary's Convent, Peekskill, New York (1865)

In the year 1854 Mrs Richmond, wife of the Rector of St Michael's Church, New York City, established a House of Mercy for the rescue of women and girls. By 1863 this establishment had begun to need more constant care than its foundress could give it. The Reverend Thomas McClure Peters, the then Rector of St Michael's, consulted Dr Muhlenberg, who advised him to call in the aid of Miss Harriet Starr Cannon (1823–96) and some of the other women who had been members of his Sisterhood of the Holy Communion. Bishop Horatio Potter gave his consent to Miss Cannon and her companions taking over the House of Mercy, saying that they were to have absolute freedom "to order their own manner of life so long as the care of the inmates was well maintained". They began their new work on 1 September 1863. It appears that both Dr Peters and Mrs Richmond were well repaid for the bold experiment of placing women with such "queer ideas" in charge of this institution. The "queer ideas" were that these ladies wanted to become Episcopalian nuns.

About a year later Miss Cannon called on Bishop Potter to obtain his approval for the foundation of a community of women based on traditional catholic lines. He was "one of the coolest and most statesmanlike men who ever sat in the American House of Bishops".[2] He summoned a council of five clergymen to advise him. There is little doubt that it would be Dr Morgan Dix, Rector of Trinity Church, New York, who managed to persuade Bishop Potter that there was nothing "essentially Romish" in the proposed foundation. The bishop prepared a statement which he submitted to Miss Cannon. He also paid several

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[1] Williams, op. cit., p. 363.

[2] De Mille, op. cit., p. 70.

visits to the House of Mercy. Finally he compiled an office for the blessing of the Sisters and on the Feast of the Purification of our Lady, 2 February 1865, Bishop Potter, in the presence of Dr Dix and friends of the five Sisters, performed the simple profession ceremony in St Michael's Church. No vows were taken, but it was the intention of the Sisters to dedicate themselves to the Religious Life irrevocably.[1] So it was that the Community of St Mary came into being.

To appreciate the full significance of this event, it must be remembered that it was not until early in the 'sixties that even linen vestments had been introduced into a few Episcopal churches in America. Lighted candles were still regarded as advanced Ritualism. The Madison Street Mission Chapel, St Alban's, and Christ Church were the only churches in New York where anything approximating to catholic ceremonial could be found. The majority of the bishops were trying to suppress the growth of Ritualism. The year after the foundation of the Community of St Mary twenty-eight of them signed a declaration condemning eucharistic vestments, altar lights, incense, and any reverence paid to the altar or the consecrated elements. It was in 1866 that Bishop Hopkins of Vermont came out with a defence of what most of his episcopal brethren regarded as Romish innovations. He published a small book entitled *The Law of Ritualism*. Dr Morgan Dix, who, since 1855 when he was appointed to Trinity Church, New York, had been taking a prominent part in the internal affairs of the Episcopal Church, also did his best to defend the more Catholic-minded clergy. He was "a person of strong common-sense and sane judgment . . . to a large extent the balance-wheel of the [Catholic] party".[2] It was to Dr Dix that Bishop Potter entrusted the direction of the Community of St Mary in 1866, some months after Sister Harriet had been elected its first Mother Superior at a chapter held in the sacristy of St Luke's Church, Hudson Street. She remained in office until her death in 1896. Dr Dix, in collaboration with Mother Harriet, drew up a simple Rule, which was followed by a Constitution. He also compiled a *Book of Hours* for the use of the Sisters.

Once the news got round that an Episcopalian Sisterhood had been founded, both Bishop Potter and the Sisters had to face much bitter opposition. Dr Peters, in whose parish they worked, did his best to assure the trustees of the Sheltering Arms Orphanage "that so long as the work done in the institution was satisfactory, it was nobody's concern what clothes the Sisters wore or what books and ceremonies they used in their own private oratory and rooms". But it was to no purpose: the board members of the City Mission Society were also up in arms against the Community. Mother Harriet felt that she had no choice but to give up St Barnabas House for homeless women and girls and also the Sheltering Arms Orphanage.[1]

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[1] Mother Harriet Monsell of Clewer was the first Anglican Sister to be professed by a bishop. This was in 1852. Bishop Wilberforce also installed Mother Harriet Day as Superior of Wantage in 1854. Two years later he deputized for the Bishop of London when instituting Sister Harriet Brownlow Byron as first Superior of the All Saints' Sisterhood.

[2] De Mille, op. cit., p. 95. See also Addison, op. cit., pp. 206–10.

In spite of much opposition the Community continued to grow. Mother Harriet managed to find time to visit several of the Sisterhoods in England, where she gained useful knowledge of the practical working of community life. She is said to have borrowed several customs and observances from the All Saints' Sisterhood, where she stayed during a sojourn in London. The first foundation outside New York was made in 1872, when St Gabriel's School, Peekskill, was opened. The following year a few Sisters were sent to Memphis, Tennessee, in response to an invitation from Bishop Charles T. Quintard. Here they opened a school. Four of this community laid down their lives nursing the victims of an epidemic of yellow fever in 1878. The high altar in Memphis Cathedral was erected as a memorial to them.

In 1874 Dr Morgan Dix introduced the Sisters into Trinity Parish, where they were put in charge of a hospital. Four years later Bishop Edward R. Welles, of the diocese of Wisconsin (now Milwaukee), asked Mother Harriet to send some of her increasing community to direct Kemper Hall, a girls' school which had been opened at Kenosha on Lake Michigan. In 1905 this convent became the mother house of the Western Province. The next year the Southern Province was formed with its headquarters first at Memphis and later at Sewanee but proved short-lived as a province. At Sewanee there was a mission school for mountain girls but this developed differently when professional people began to send their daughters. In 1902 the Community took over St Katharine's School at Davenport, Iowa (founded in 1884).[2]

The Community is best known for its educational work. Kemper Hall, Kenosha, maintains its reputation as one of the oldest and best-equipped schools for girls in the Middle West. St Mary's School, Peekskill, whose stately Gothic buildings were designed by the late Ralph Adams Cram, overlooks the Hudson River. At St Mary's School, Sewanee, mission work is carried out among people from the scattered settlements in the Tennessee Mountains. The rural setting of St Mary's-in-the-Field, Valhalla, is ideal for the protective work for girls with problems which has taken the place of rescue work for women started in New York City which was the original apostolate of the Community. A new type of educational work for the Sisters is the parish day-school: the first venture was made at Sierra Madre, California, in 1949.

St Mary's Home, Chicago, looks after the welfare of about seventy-five children, most of whom are in Episcopalian foster homes. For over half a century the Community has been engaged in many forms of social service in Chicago. In the summer months the Sisters run a camp for girls at Racine. For more than eighty years they have been occupied with hospital service in New York. St Mary's Hospital, now located at Bayside, Long Island, cares for convalescent children. The training-school for nursery-nurses is a recent development of work carried on there. In the foothills of the Rocky Mountains lies St Raphael's House, Evergreen, used in the summer months for retreats and guests. The House of the Redeemer, New York City, serves as a retreat house for women and has a lending library. This great mansion was incorporated in 1949 as an institution of the Episcopal Church in the State of New York. It has its own board of trustees, with the Bishop of New York as president, and is under the care of the Community of St Mary.

In 1935 the Community bought Racine College, Wisconsin, and renamed it the De Koven Foundation for Church Work. This famous stronghold of the Catholic movement in the Episcopal Church has now become a centre for retreats and conferences. The grounds are also used for a summer camp for children.

Various arts and crafts are carried on by the Sisters. The making of vestments and illuminating, also the altar-bread department, provide occupation for those who are not engaged in teaching and nursing.

Since 1917 the Community has been working in the Philippine Islands. There is an upper elementary, and high school at Sagada, where the Sisters also work among the villagers. In 1934 a native Order of St Mary the Virgin was founded. Its members conduct the Holy Child Orphanage under the direction of the American Sisters. The latter were interned by the Japanese during the Second World War and suffered great privations.

At the present time the Community of St Mary has the following houses:

The Mother Superior General resides at St Mary's Convent, Peekskill, New York, N.Y. where the *Eastern Province* has its headquarters, with branch houses at St Mary's School, Peekskill, N.Y.; St Mary's Hospital for Children, 29–01 216th Street, Bayside, Long Island, N.Y.; St Mary'sin-the-Field, Valhalla, N.Y.; St Mary's Mountain Mission and St Mary's School, Sewanee, Tennessee; St Mary's Convent, Sagada, Mountain Province, Philippine Islands, and the House of the Redeemer, 7 East 95th Street, New York.

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[1] Cf. "The Foundation of the Community of St Mary" by Sister Mary Theodora, C.S.M., in *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* (March, 1945), pp. 38–52; also "The Beginnings of Anglican Sisterhoods" by Thomas J. Williams, ibid. (December, 1947), pp. 363–8; and "Mt. St Gabriel Papers, No. 1".

[2] Cf. "Mt. St Gabriel Papers, No. 2."

The mother house of the *Western Province* is St Mary's Convent, Kenosha, Wisconsin. There are branch houses at Kemper Hall, Kenosha, Wisconsin; St Mary's Home for Children, 5741 North Kenmore Avenue, Chicago 40; De Koven Foundation for Church Work, and St Mary's Camp, Racine, Wisconsin; Church of the Ascension Parish School, 45 East Laurel Avenue, Sierra Madre, California; St Raphael's House, Evergreen, Colorado.

St Mary's Messenger is a bimonthly magazine devoted to the activities of the Community.

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The spirit of the Community of St Mary is set forth thus in its Rule: "The Community hath been raised up by God for the performance of all the corporal and spiritual works of mercy of which a woman is capable, and herein more particularly, for the care of the sick, the needy, the orphan, and the fallen, and for the education of the young. And in thus doing, we follow those holy women who ministered to the Lord in person, and those whom the Apostles admitted to be helpers in works and labours of love. United and bound together in a holy fellowship as we are; wholly set apart and consecrated to the service of our Lord; secluded as far as may be from the world, we are pledged to draw our thoughts and efforts towards the care of the poor and the instruction of the young; and by united prayer, and mutual sympathy and counsel, to comfort and support one another in our holy and blessed work."

The Rule is based on that of St Benedict. The motto of the Community is "*Beati mundo corde*". Its spirit has been summed up as "cheerfulness, simplicity, and mortification of self". The novitiate lasts for two full years, following a postulancy of not less than six months. After this probation the Sisters make their profession. The habit, scapular, veil (worn at solemn functions and outside the house), and girdle are black, with a white linen wimple, coif, and cornet. A black cross bound in silver with a lily emblem and a gold ring are worn by the professed. The novices' cross is white. The Divine Office is recited from *The Monastic Diurnal*.[1]

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[1] It was in 1916 that the Community brought out the first Anglican edition of the Benedictine office of Matins. The translation was made by Canon Winfred Douglas, choir master of the mother house at Peekskill (died 1944). Two years later the Community printed for its own use a vernacular version of the Benedictine Day Hours. After careful revision it was published by the Oxford University Press in 1932, under the title of *The Monastic Diurnal*. This handy and beautifully printed book has been adopted by numerous Anglican communities of men and women in recent years. A musical edition, *The Monastic Diurnal Noted*, was published at St Mary's Convent, Kenosha, Wisconsin, in 1952. *Lauds Noted*, published in 1961, completes the antiphoner.

The Sisters recite their shortened form of monastic Matins and Lauds at 8.30 p.m., after Night Prayers. The day starts with the recitation of Prime at 6.30 a.m. The two provinces have their own novitiates, and are directed by the Mother Superior General. To all intents and purposes each province is autonomous, and her status is rather like that of the Abbot president of the English Benedictine Congregation, or that of the Abbot Primate of the Confederation of Black Monks. Quite apart from the multiform works of mercy undertaken by this community, "the greatest achievement of the Sisters has been their steadfast pursuit of the community's primary object: the living of a life of liturgical worship and of intercessory and contemplative prayer under a Rule whose successive revisions by Fr Benson and Fr Langmore, S.S.J.E., . . . have maintained and intensified the Benedictine spirit imparted to its original form by Dr Dix".[1]

3. SISTERHOOD OF THE HOLY NATIVITY

101, East Division Street, Fond du Lac, Wisconsin (1882)

It was in 1882 that Fr Grafton withdrew from the Society of St John the Evangelist. That same year and on his advice Sister Ruth Margaret (Vose) and another Sister were released from their obligations to the Society of St Margaret, East Grinstead. Sister Ruth Margaret was one of the community which had been working in Boston, Massachusetts, since 1873.[2] Under Fr Grafton's direction she established a new community, dedicated to the Holy Nativity. She and its other members devoted themselves to all kinds of parish work at the Church of the Advent. In 1888 the Sisters moved to Providence, Rhode Island, which remained their headquarters until 1905. Parish work, both in Providence and elsewhere, was their chief form of apostolate. Fr Grafton was consecrated Bishop of Fond du Lac in 1889. He continued to take a fatherly interest in the Sisterhood which he had founded. In 1905 he moved its mother house to his cathedral city, so that the Sisters should be under his direct personal guidance. He died in 1912.

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[1] T. J. Williams, "The Beginnings of Anglican Sisterhoods", in *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* (December 1947).

[2] See p. 352.

Having been trained by Fr Benson at Cowley in the principles of the Religious Life, the bishop imparted the same austere ideals to his Sisterhood. Its spirit has been defined as "to make the love of God the motive of all our actions, and prayer the source of our life of personal sanctification and of our work for God". Bishop Grafton taught the Sisters to seek first their own sanctification as religious, and only then to devote themselves to winning souls to Christ "by making known the Faith and Sacraments of the Church". The Rule—like that of so many Anglican communities of women—is based on the Rule of St Augustine.[1] Six months are spent as a postulant; two years as a novice. Life vows are not taken until two years have been passed under temporary vows. A black habit with long sleeves is worn, a black veil, woollen cincture, and an ebony cross. There is no scapular. The East Grinstead diurnal, *Breviary Offices from Lauds to Compline* (1877), is used in choir. Perpetual intercession is kept up daily from 10 a.m. until 5.30 p.m. Each Sister takes a half-hour or quarter-of-an-hour watch before the altar. A devotion to the Hidden and Interior Life of our Lord is encouraged. The *work* done is regarded as of much less value than the religious *life*.

A group of Associates, who observe a simple rule, is kept in touch by a monthly intercession leaflet. The Sisters help the parochial clergy by teaching church doctrine and history, or conducting Bible classes.

The Sisterhood has the following houses at the present time: The Convent (Mother House and Novitiate, with work in the Cathedral parish), 101 East Division Street, Fond du Lac, Wisconsin; Mission work in St Stephen's and other parishes in Providence, Rhode Island, 134 Power Street, Providence 6; Mission House, with work in the parish of St Mary the Virgin, 133 West 46th Street, New York 36, N.Y.; Mission work in the parish of Mount Calvary Church, and in its chapels, St Mary's and St Katharine's, among coloured people, 820 North Eutaw Street, Baltimore 1, Maryland; and in the parish of All Saints', 3682 Seventh Avenue, San Diego 3, California—all well-known strongholds of the Catholic movement in the Episcopal Church. Near Fond du Lac is Bethlehem-by-the-Lake, a summer rest-house for the Sisters. A House of Rest and Retreat is situated at Bay Shore, Long Island. St Mary's Retreat House is at 505 East Los Olivas Street, Santa Barbara, California.

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[1] Cf. T. J. Williams, "The Influence of St Augustine", in *Holy Cross Magazine* (August 1945), p. 245.

4. SISTERS OF THE COMMUNITY OF ST JOHN THE EVANGELIST

Brooklyn, 13, N.Y. (1888)

It was in 1872 that Bishop Abram N. Littlejohn, together with Sister Julia and Sister Emma, founded a Deaconess Society to work in his diocese of Long Island. Sixteen years later it was formed into a religious community by this same bishop and given the title of the "Sisters of the Community of St John the Evangelist". The objects were to minister to the poor, the sick, and the ignorant; to educate and train the young, and to help in missionary, parochial, or any other work that was required. The daily life of the Sisters was very active. They recited only the offices of Terce, Sext, and Compline from *The Hours of Prayer*. The postulancy lasted six months; the novitiate for two years. After this probation, life vows were taken. The habit and cape were black, with a large white collar, veil, cuffs, and cap. Out of doors a black veil and long black cloak were worn. The motto of this Sisterhood was "*Omnia in Nomine Domini Jesu*". "No detail is too great or too small for the Sisters", so they explained: "We are on call at all times."

Work was carried on in the Church Charity Foundation of the diocese of Long Island. This embraced St John's Hospital, Homes for the aged and the blind, and certain social service work.

The Community has now ceased to exist.

5. COMMUNITY OF THE TRANSFIGURATION

Convent of the Transfiguration, Glendale, Cincinnati, 46, Ohio (1898)

When the Prayer Book of the American Episcopal Church was revised in 1892, the Feast of the Transfiguration, a black-letter day in the English Prayer Book, was raised to red-letter rank. It was on 6 August 1898 that Eva Lee Matthews and Beatrice Henderson took their first vows in a new Sisterhood which had been established at Cincinnati, Ohio. Miss Matthews named their house in Cincinnati the "Bethany Mission House", expecting to name her Community the "Sisterhood of Mary and Martha of Bethany", expressing the idea of the mixed life, the contemplative and the active. However, when she learned that there were several small Sisterhoods bearing some form of the name "Bethany", she chose the "Transfiguration". The significance of the name and the prominence given to the Feast of the Transfiguration in the American Church made it especially appropriate to a foundation which was to be distinctly

American and dedicated to the ideals of the mixed life. Miss Matthews belonged to a remarkable family of converts from Presbyterianism.

This is how the Mother Foundress visualized the spirit of her community: "In our Lord's Transfiguration the Apostles, and through them ourselves, were given a glimpse of what the new heavenly life would be like, the beauty of it, . . . and with the knowledge of this vision kept close and secret in their hearts, they went down to the common duties of the common life. So we, as Sisters of the Transfiguration, must ever keep the vision of the King in His Beauty in our hearts while our hands are busy ministering to His little ones . . . and perhaps what we as a Community are expected to do is to show the Church and the world we live in the transfiguring beauty of a life lived under the law of the endless life."

The motto of the Community—"*Benignitas, Simplicitas, Hilaritas*"—sums up this spirit. The ideal set before the Sisters has always been the *joyousness* of the Religious Life rather than its austerity. Aiming at kindliness, simplicity, and joy there is less formality in the observances of this community than is found in some Anglican Sisterhoods. After a postulancy of one year and a novitiate of three years, life vows are taken. Any kind of missionary work of mercy is undertaken. It is worth mentioning that the Sisters recite the Prayer Book Offices of Mattins and Evensong in addition to the Day Hours of the Breviary. The latter are taken from *The Hours of Prayer*. Each Sister has her special time for spiritual reading, mental prayer, and intercessions—these being arranged according to the nature of her work. The habit worn is blue, with a short white linen veil, suggestive of that worn by the women of Bethlehem, and fastened on the breast by a blue-and-white enamel pin in the form of a Jerusalem Cross. A crucifix is suspended from a white girdle. Outside enclosure a dark-blue veil is worn over the white one. The Rule and Constitutions are modern.

This was the first American Episcopal Community to undertake foreign mission work. In 1914 an overseas apostolate was started in China. There were four Chinese Sisters at St Lioba's Convent, Wuhu, at the time of the withdrawal of the American Sisters in 1948. In 1918 the Community took over St Andrew's Priory School for Girls, Honolulu, established by the Society of the Most Holy Trinity, Devonport, in 1867 (see p. 275). The Convent of the Transfiguration, Ponce, Puerto Rico, was founded in 1945, and in 1956 work was started in Sendai, Japan. The Community's works in the U.S.A. include: Bethany School for Girls and St Mary's Memorial Home for aging churchwomen, both located on the grounds of the Mother House in Glendale, Ohio, near Cincinnati; St Simon's Mission and School in a Negro community near Glendale; St John's Home for girls, Painesville, Ohio; St Dorothy's Rest, a children's camp and retreat centre at Camp Meeker, California, and St Matthew's Parish Day School in San Mateo, California. The Sisters publish *The Transfiguration Quarterly*.

6. COMMUNITY OF ST SAVIOUR

San Francisco 21, California (1901)

Founded at San Francisco in 1901 by Mrs Gertrude Ames, in religion Mother Gertrude Paula, the Community of St Saviour had for its objects: (1) the promotion of the honour and worship due to Almighty God; (2) the cultivation of the life of the evangelical counsels; and (3) active service and corporal works of mercy, particularly the care of children and parochial work. The ideal set before the Sisters was "to cherish Christ our Saviour in themselves, and reveal Him to others". Their Rule was modern, based on that of St Benedict, with elements drawn from the Rules of Clewer and the Sisterhood of the Holy Nativity. Six months were spent as a postulant; two years as a novice. After this period life vows were taken. A black habit and veil, white headdress, and silver cross were worn. In 1959 the two remaining Sisters were absorbed by the Order of the Teachers of the Children of God (see p. 569).

7. ORDER OF ST ANNE

Convent of St Anne, 18, Claremont Avenue, Arlington Heights 74, Boston, Massachusetts (1910)

The Order of St Anne was founded in 1910 at Arlington Heights, outside Boston, Massachusetts. The founder was Fr F. C. Powell, S.S.J.E., the first Superior, Mother Etheldred (Barry). Fr Powell visualized "a family of Religious living the life of prayer and looking after children—a family of Religious who would teach these children 'the beauty of holiness and the holiness of beauty'". He "hoped that the children would, in their turn, be teachers in the Way of Perfection by setting an example of that Poverty, Chastity and Obedience which God reveals unto babes". On 22 November 1910 the first four Sisters were clothed as novices. The first life professions were made on St Peter's Day, 29 June 1916.

The Rule is essentially Benedictine in spirit. The *causa* of the Order is the life of prayer and perpetual intercession; the *occasio*, the care of children, the ideal being to give each child the "loving care of a mother in God".

The Sisters wear a grey habit, a black veil, a grey rope girdle, a black wooden cross, and a fifteen decade rosary. A scapular and ring are given at profession. The postulancy is for six months or longer. After a two years' novitiate annual vows are taken for three years, followed by life vows. According to the Rule, the Divine Office, in its entirety, is recited daily in the Order. The Office Book used is *The Monastic Diurnal*, and the Tymawr version of Monastic Matins. The day starts with Prime at 6.15 a.m., and ends with Compline, Matins and Lauds being said after vespers. Each Sister has her specified times for mental prayer, intercession, and spiritual reading. All take their share in household work.

Each convent is autonomous, with its own Superior and Chapter, this being indicative of the Benedictine "family spirit" pervading the Order. At the present time it includes about a hundred members. The largest community is that of the foundation house at Arlington Heights. Since each convent is independent it is better to treat them separately. Any convent may have branch houses.

(1) *Convent of St Anne, 18 Claremont Avenue, Arlington Heights 74, Massachusetts.* Here the Sisters conduct a boarding-school for girls. The chapel was designed by the late Ralph Adams Cram. It contains many works of art brought from Europe by friends of the Father Founder. St Anne's School is in the grounds and educates about a hundred girls. It has the following branch houses:

(a) 1125 *North La Salle Street, Chicago, Illinois.* This convent was founded in 1921 and became a branch house in 1957. The Community here is engaged in parochial work including the day school of the Church of the Ascension.

(b) 287 *Broadway, Kingston, New York.* This convent was founded in 1925 and became a branch house in 1957. The Community conducts a home for retarded girls and a guest house in Kingston, the Child's Hospital, in Albany, N.Y., and a summer camp for children in Spofford, N. H.

(c) *Convent of St Anne, Church of St Francis of Assisi, Upi, Cotaboto, Mindanao, Philippines.* In 1916 the House of our Merciful Saviour, a home for cripples and unwanted babies, was founded by the Order in Wuchang, China. Wars, both civil and international, swept repeatedly over the Sisters and their works. Evacuated to the Philippines in the Second World War, they were interned and suffered all the hardships of concentration camp and Bilabid Prison. Again forced out of China, they returned permanently to the Philippines in 1950. The convent became a branch house in 1961. The sisters here do general mission work, conduct a kindergarten, and teach in St Francis High School, besides supervising its girls' hostel. They also have an industrial school for women and girls, for the making of vestments and other embroidery. A novitiate is conducted for native aspirants, including some to be trained for the Philippine Independent Church.

(2) *St Anne's House,* 15 *Craigie Street, Cambridge* 38, *Massachusetts.* In 1953 the Sisters, formerly of 44 Temple Street, Boston, moved into the new convent added to their home for elderly ladies in Cambridge. Here the Sisters have guest rooms for retreatants and conduct a Pre-Nursery School. From 1946 to 1962 the Boston–Cambridge community was responsible for the Oneida Indian Mission Work started in 1894 by the Sisters of the Holy Nativity (see p. 561). The Sisters conducted a day school on the Indian Reservation, supervised workshops and women's guilds and rendered any social service needed among the Indians. The Indian Mission work is now done by the Teachers of the Children of God (see p. 569).

(3) *St Anne's Convent,* 2701 *South York Street, Denver* 10, *Colorado.* The Sisters conduct St Anne's Convalescent Home for Children, a boarding and day school and Guest House. During the summer months they maintain a girls' camp at Indian Hills. They make altar bread.

(4) *Emsworth, Hampshire, England.* This Convent of St Anne owes its foundation to a small group of Sisters who crossed the Atlantic in 1917 in the midst of the First World War. They came at the request of the late Lady Henry Somerset, who asked the Father Founder if he could spare some members of the Order to help with the babies in her homes for women at Duxhurst, Surrey, and to establish a convent there if possible. Lady Henry Somerset died in 1921, and the Sisters had to find a new home. They were invited to settle at Emsworth, a small town on the borders of Hampshire and Sussex. Here the Sisters have lived and tested the life of prayer in strict enclosure for over a quarter of a century, being permanently enclosed for the exercises of the contemplative life. This is the only Anglican religious house of American foundation in Britain.

No matter where they are or in what work they are engaged, the Sisters of the Order try to remember that "because God loves us, and because we love Him, we desire to live devoted to Him; to take up our cross daily; to deny ourselves by the threefold vow of poverty, chastity and obedience; to carry on, when possible, the work of perpetual intercession; to worship our Blessed Lord in the most adorable Sacrament of the Altar; and to seek to draw others also, especially children, to know, to love, and to serve Him". This is their spirit, and any work which contributes directly or indirectly towards these ends is within the scope of any of the convents of the Order of St Anne.[1]

8. POOR CLARES OF REPARATION AND ADORATION

St Clare's Convent, Mount Sinai, Long Island, N.Y. (1922)

After the five Sisters who comprised the Second Order of the Society of the Atonement had made their corporate submission to Rome in 1909, thirteen years elapsed before another Franciscan community of women was established in the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States. Widely scattered groups had been praying and working to bring this about. By 1916 there were a few men and women who had dedicated themselves to the Franciscan way of life. The women, with Mother Mary Christine (Mrs Lily Dorset Gray) as their Superior, began to live together in community at Merrill, Wisconsin, on the Feast of the Seven Sorrows of our Lady (15 September), 1922. Six years later the little community moved to Long Island. In 1940 they acquired a property adjacent to "The Little Portion" where the friars had their *convento* already. Here, overlooking Mount Sinai Harbour and Long Island Sound, is the present home of the only community of Poor Clare nuns in the Episcopal Church. A recent visitor writes that "the charming white walled chapel, which is the only finished portion of the new building, made one feel rather as if on a ship at sea, since there was a heavy rainstorm off the harbour".

The Community observes the First Rule of St Clare, with modern Constitutions. The Divine Office is recited (in English) according to the *Anglican Breviary*. In keeping with the traditional Poor Clare devotion to the Blessed Sacrament, the nuns keep up a Watch of Adoration before the altar throughout the day. The Community depends on alms for its support, but avails itself of the dispensation granted by Pope Urban IV in 1264 to own its house and grounds. The original Rule of "The Poor Ladies" approved by Cardinal Ugolino in 1224 forbade the nuns to possess property, either as a community or as individuals.

"Our Community is organized for the work of prayer in all its forms," so it is stated, "and other work we do, literary work, handicrafts and so on, is incidental. We place our labour of prayer at the disposal of the Church, and all who feel the need of prayer are invited to call upon us at any time for special intercession. . . . As followers of St Francis and St Clare, love is to be the motive of our lives, love for Jesus and love for souls, and this love is born of prayer. It is true to say that any of these three; love, poverty or joy, is the spirit of our Community, since these three are bound up in each other. Love gives us poverty; poverty gives us God; God gives us joy".[2]

A grey habit and scapular, with a black veil, are worn. A seven-decade rosary hangs from the traditional Franciscan cord with four knots. Sandals are worn usually instead of shoes.

This community forms the Second Order of the Episcopalian Congregation of Franciscans, the other two Orders being the Friars and Tertiaries. The Poor Clares publish a quarterly magazine *St Clare's Monstrance*. Guests are received at St Elizabeth's House, Maryhill, near the Convent.

9. TEACHERS OF THE CHILDREN OF GOD

Maycroft, Sag Harbor, Long Island, N.Y. (1935)

This is the title of a small community founded at Providence, Rhode Island, in 1935. Its foundress, Abbie Loveland Tuller, aimed at the Religious Life combined with the work of teaching. A modern Rule is observed. The prayer-life of the teachers is based on the recitation of the Day Hours, according to *The Monastic Diurnal*, and on devotion to the Blessed Sacrament. Teaching and household duties fill up their busy days. The novitiate lasts at least two years, during which time work is done outside the convent as well as within. The training given lays special stress on educational methods as well as on development of the individual devotional life. A workshop is maintained from which religious courses for church and secular schools are published and other books produced. The Sisters describe themselves as "a new fighting Community for fearless souls who are willing to love, fight, work and pray for the glory of God and the love of God's children". Life vows are taken after a long novitiate and four years of temporary vows. The Sisters who are professed for life wear a white habit; those under annual vows, a habit of blue and white. The Teachers of the Children of God conduct boarding-schools in Sag Harbor, N.Y. (Girls), and at Tucson, Arizona. They work at the Oneida Indian Mission, Oneida, Wisconsin. There are Day Schools at Providence, R.I., and Fairfield, Conn.; also Parish Day Schools at Lake Success, Freeport, and Patchogue, all in New York State, Fort Worth,

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[1] Cf. *A Guide Book, or Microcosmographia Religiosa* (Order of St. Anne, Boston, 1923).

[2] *Religious Communities in the American Episcopal Church*, p. 94.

Texas, Tucson, Arizona, and San Pedro, California. Summer Camps and Summer Schools for teacher training work are organized. Quiet Days for children and parochial retreats are conducted.

10. COMMUNITY OF THE WAY OF THE CROSS

St David's House, South Park Avenue, at Big Tree Road,
Buffalo 19, N.Y. (1940)

The name of this community—"The Way of the Cross"—was chosen because the founders were intensely conscious of "the tragic social struggle of men and the majestic spiritual struggle of God". It came into being on 17 March 1939 when several women bound themselves to a definite rule of life while still carrying on their work in the world. On 28 March 1940 Dr Cameron J. Davis, Bishop of Western New York, blessed the convent chapel, dedicated to St Catherine of Siena. The foundresses—Miss Pattie Ellis and Miss Gwendolyn Morgan—chose this saint as a special patroness of the Community because of her interest in the social problems of her own age, and also because of her ardent love of God, combined with incessant work for the welfare of the Church. The first two professions were made on 29 August 1943.

Since its foundation this community has always stressed that a life of union with God must take precedence over action, and that any work done by the Sisters must grow out of a life of prayer. The Rule is modern, and so is the mentality of the Community. The purpose is defined as "So to live in God as through His Incarnate Son's Way of the Cross to create a community of persons who desire to live realistically on the social frontier of the world as it is, and at the same time to live in the reality of the world as it ought to be". Yet the spirituality is ancient, based on the recitation of the Day Hours of the Benedictine Breviary. *The Monastic Diurnal* is the Office Book used in choir. There is a six months' postulancy, followed by a novitiate of at least two years. During this period special training is given in Holy Scripture, church history, prayer and theology. Here is another modern note—the Community embodies in one family, three different types of religious life—active, mixed, and contemplative. Furthermore at the beginning of the second year the novices resume jobs in the world, and take part in various social movements, obtaining whatever training is indicated for their specific vocation. Life vows are not taken until after the age of twenty-six: annual vows precede them.

The Sisters of the Way of the Cross are supported by their earnings in external occupations, as well as by offerings made for services rendered in parishes or by friends. Quiet week-ends for women and girls are held in the convent. The Sisters also undertake these in parishes. Religious instruction is given in schools. Leadership is provided to groups and conferences. The sick and the poor are visited. Strangers to the city are made welcome. The ethos of this community is best given in its own words: "We do not worry about security, for we are more secure living, loving, working corporately with our Lord as the Head, Heart and Centre of our life, than we would be with each living alone, each seeking her own security. Our chief problem is not one of monotony, but one of over-stimulation. However, it is a great comfort to return home at the end of a busy, perplexing day in the world to St David's House, that we may give praise and thanksgiving to our Lord."[1]

The habit is described as "simple in style, mature-green in colour, with a dark-green veil, black girdle and brown wooden cross, having the initials 'C.W.C.' carved on it". Outside the convent ordinary secular dress is worn. The whole spirit of this community bears a close resemblance to that of some of the modern congregations of men and women on the continent of Europe, which strive to live a hidden life of prayer and work in the midst of layfolk. The Visitor is the Bishop of Western New York.

11. DEACONESSES

Upper Red Hook, New York (1940)

The first American Deaconess Society was that of the Diocese of Long Island, founded in 1872 by Bishop Abram N. Littlejohn and Sister Julia, formerly a member of the Sisterhood of the Holy Communion (see p. 584). In 1888 it was reorganized by this same bishop as the Sisters' Community of St John the Evangelist (see p. 563). The Canons of the Episcopal Church make special provision for women ordained as deaconesses, who have had quite a place in the American Church, although they have generally worked as individuals rather than as communities. In recent years young women willing to work for the Church have usually chosen either the status of a Sister or that of a professional church-worker. They may have felt that the deaconess is neither in the world nor out of it, but combines the disadvantages of both positions. For some time past very few deaconesses have been ordained. Efforts are being made to revive the Order in the United States, but with what prospect of success it is not easy to say.

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[1] *Religious Communities in the American Episcopal Church*, p. 84.

It was in 1940 that a group of deaconesses took over a house and property at Upper Red Hook, which had been left to the Diocese of New York in 1906 by Miss Ella Mooney for this purpose. The Community is now much reduced in numbers. Guests were received for retreats, conferences, and rest. Parish work was undertaken. The Rule, authorized by the bishop, provided for the recitation of Prime, Terce, Sext, Evensong, and Compline. This small community wore a black habit, veil, and cross, similar in style to that worn by most other deaconesses.[1] It became extinct with the death of the last Deaconess in 1955.

12. ORDER OF ST HELENA

Convent of St Helena, R.F.D. 4, Newburgh, New York (1945)

In November 1945 nine members of one of the autonomous convents of the Order of St Anne, who had lived together for many years, in charge of a boarding-school for girls, changed their status, and became the nucleus of the Order of St Helena. They adopted the Rule of the Order of the Holy Cross (see p. 540), and are now affiliated to it though remaining a distinct and autonomous body. Their white tunic, scapular, and black veil are a Nun's counterpart of the Holy Cross Habit. The Father Superior of the Order is also Superior of the Order of St Helena. The ideal set before each member of this new order is identical with that of the Order of the Holy Cross. A postulancy of six months is followed by a two years' novitiate. Life vows are taken after two years under annual vows. Like the Holy Cross Fathers, the Sisters use *The Monastic Diurnal* in choir, and Mattins from the Book of Common Prayer. Prayer takes the first place in the lives of these Sisters, despite their many activities. They have broken away from the Gothic Revival world and the background of the nineteenth century. The bare, simple altars of their chapels prove this attitude to life. Most housework is done by the Sisters themselves, and much time is spent in manual labour.

Their first convent was at Versailles, Kentucky. Here they now direct the Margaret Hall School for girls. In 1961 a convent was opened in Augusta, Georgia, where a group of architects and other artists is designing a contemporary chapel, convent, and guest house as a statement of principle for a new organization of artists in the Episcopal Church. The mother house and novitiate are at Newburgh, New York. In addition to

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[1] In the strict sense these Deaconesses were not a religious community.

teaching the Sisters conduct retreats, conferences, and quiet days for women both in their convents and elsewhere. Help is given in parish work, and guests are made welcome. In 1962 the Order took over the work at Bolahun, Liberia, previously carried on by the English Community of the Holy Name. "We cannot tell to what work we may be called in the future", they write. "We place ourselves unreservedly in God's Hands, to use us as He wills." The Visitor is the Right Reverend Horace W. B. Donegan, Bishop of New York.[1]

13. COMMUNITY OF THE HOLY SPIRIT

St Hilda's House, 621, West 113th Street, Morningside Heights, New York 25 (1952)

In August 1952 two Sisters of the Canadian Community of St John the Divine (see p. 577), who had been working for some time in New York, were released from their obligations to form a new teaching order for women. They are continuing their former work at St Hilda's and St Hugh's School—a co-educational day school taking pupils from the nursery stage to college entrance. On 27 August the first two novices made their professions in the Cathedral of St John the Divine, the ceremony being performed by the Bishop of New York, assisted by the Suffragan-Bishop. The other two Sisters were transferred officially from the Community of St John the Divine in Toronto. The Community states that it is Augustinian in form, and wears a modern version of the Augustinian habit. The length of the Postulancy is six months and the Novitiate two years after which life vows are taken. The Sisters live the mixed life of prayer and work, in which every effort is made to place the claims of a life of devotion to God before that of work for God. The Community has undertaken a programme of educational research. The Sisters have produced a series of booklets for mothers entitled *Mother and Baby Grow Godward Together*. An *Occasional Paper* is issued about three times a year. The members give addresses, conduct quiet days, conferences and schools of prayer; they also teach at St Peter's, Westchester, Bronx, N.Y., and at St George's Parish Day school at Dallas, Texas, where the Sisters live at The House of The Holy Spirit. A convent and guest house have been established at "Melrose", fifty miles north of New York City and near Brewster, N.Y. There is a large number of lay Associates who are members of the Fellowship or Confraternity, and there are many Priests Associate. The Visitor is the Bishop of New York and the Warden is Dr Edward N. West, Canon of the Cathedral of St John the Divine.

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[1] *Early Days of the Order of St Helena* (n.p., n.d.) contains memories and impressions by all the Sisters together with their autobiographies in outline.

14. COMMUNITY OF ST MARTHA

1879, North Cambridge Avenue, Milwaukee, Wisconsin (1957)

This institute is for women who feel called to retain their secular status while using the discipline and opportunities of community life to perfect their Christian dedication. There is no habit and the members dress according to the standards of their various professions. Quiet days, retreats and religious study groups are organized and guests with special needs are received.

15. SERVANTS OF THE LOVE OF CHRIST

St Monica's Convent, Box 1565, Shawnee, Oklahoma (1961)

This community seeks to combine the contemplative and active vocations in one order. It permits and encourages late vocations and the physically handicapped. The Visitor is the Right Reverend Joseph Harte, Suffragan Bishop of Dallas.

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Many other Sisterhoods have been established in the past ninety years, but most of them are extinct. Some were fairly large and flourishing, while others were merely "mushroom growths". Several were the foundations of ex-Sisters with vocations to be Superiors! All undertook works of mercy and charity of some sort. In a few cases these extinct communities were in one way or another continued by the larger communities dealt with in previous pages—the Sisters of St Anne from Kingston took over the Children's Hospital at Albany from the Sisters of the Holy Child Jesus. The Order of St Monica for Widows, which conducted a small school at Fond du Lac, was disbanded, but one of the survivors became one of the first Sisters of the Transfiguration. The Sisters of the Visitation were a parochial sisterhood at St Mary the Virgin's, New York, whose Foundress became a Sister, and eventually Mother Superior General of the Community of St Mary.

In studying the history of these Sisterhoods, Professor E. R. Hardy points out that one can group them into three classes: (1) communities centred round an individual founder; (2) communities organized round local interest and work, diocesan or even parochial; (3) well-established and widespread communities—with the comment that type (1) may develop into type (3), as indeed is the history

of all monastic institutes, but that type (2) never so develops. One American community that almost did was the Sisterhood of the Holy Child Jesus, which was fairly strong under its Mother Foundress and Bishop Doane, but both these leaders died shortly after 1900. The next Bishop of Albany showed little interest in the Sisterhood (founded in 1873) and it died out gradually.

The following is a list of some of the now extinct Sisterhoods in the Episcopal Church:

Sisterhood of the Good Shepherd (originally a Community of Deaconesses), Baltimore, Maryland (1863).

Order of Deaconesses of the Diocese of Alabama, Mobile, Alabama (1864).

Sisterhood of the Good Shepherd, New York City (1869).

Sisterhood of the Holy Child Jesus, Albany, N.Y. (1873). Its members worked in the Cathedral, Albany, and had charge of the Children's Hospital, and St Christina Hospital, Saratoga Springs; also St Saviour's House, etc., Cooperstown, N.Y.

The Diaconal Community (or *The Sisterhood*) *of St Martha*, Louisville, Kentucky (1875). A diocesan Community, for many years in charge of two orphanages in Louisville.

Sisters of St Mary and All Saints, Baltimore, Maryland (1880). A Community of coloured women, trained and supervised by the All Saints' Sisters of the Poor for work among coloured folk.

Order of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, New York City (1895). Established as a parochial Sisterhood by the Reverend Thomas McKee Brown, founder of the Church of St Mary the Virgin, and Sister Mary Maude (Heywood), who, on the dissolution of the Sisterhood after the death of Fr Brown, joined the Community of St Mary, of which she was Mother Superior General for a period of years.

Sisterhood of the Holy Name of Jesus, Boston, Massachusetts (1884). The Sisters did parish visiting and nursing among the poor of the Church of the Good Shepherd, Boston; maintained a parochial school in Marshall, Texas, and a small hospital in Tyler, Texas. One of the Sisters joined the Sisterhood of the Holy Nativity, of which she was Superior (Mother Edith) for many years.

Sisterhood of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, New York City (1887). Founded by Mother Francesca, a former Sister of the Community of St John Baptist, for the care of crippled children. For many years the Sisters maintained a Hospital in New York and a summer Home in Connecticut.

Order of St Monica for Widows, Fond du Lac, Wisconsin. (Founded about 1890.) Engaged in parish work and teaching.

Sisters of Bethany, New Orleans, Louisiana (189–). Had charge of a Children's Home.

Sisterhood of St Joseph of Nazareth, Bronxville, N.Y. (1892). It directed a training school for girls.

Society of the Epiphany, Washington, D.C. (1897). Founded by the Right Reverend Herbert L. Satterlee, Bishop of Washington, and a former member of the Community of St Mary. The Sisters conducted a school for girls in Washington for many years.

Sisterhood of St John the Evangelist, Denver, Colorado (1904). Parochial work and missions.

Congregation of the Holy Name of Jesus, Brooklyn, N.Y. (1910). Parish work, schools.

Order of the Incarnation, Grosmont, California (1919). Moved to Quincy, Illinois, where the Sisters engaged in works of charity and ecclesiastical embroidery. The Superior and another Sister joined the Order of St Anne, Kingston, N.Y.

Society of Sisters of Consolation, Salina, Kansas (date of foundation unknown). Care of the sick and other works of charity.

Sisters of the Tabernacle, Chattanooga, Tennessee (1918). Adoration and intercession; the promotion of retreats and quiet days.

Sisterhood of the Good Shepherd, St Louis, Missouri. (Date of foundation unknown.) Had charge of diocesan girls' school.

(c) *Mixed.*

ORDER OF ST MICHAEL

R.R.7, Box 407D, Crown Point, Indiana (1954)

This is a mixed community of single and married persons, living under vows of personal poverty, obedience, and rebirth, following a rule, employed and active in the world, and rooted in the catholic tradition of prayer and adoration. It was first established at Gary in the Calumet region of Northern Indiana and since November 1960 has occupied a 120-acre farm in Lake County, twenty miles south of Gary. With the pastoral setting of its farm, the community is only an hour's drive from Chicago's Loop and is within practical commuting distance of all the vast industry of this steel- and oil-producing region. The aim of the Order is to bear witness for the renewal of the Church, to develop the lay apostolate, and to provide for retreats, education, and spiritual healing. In 1963 it numbered four life-professed members, two single men, and one family with a baby.

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The Anglican Church of Canada

1. BROTHERHOOD OF ST FRANCIS

Assiniboia, Saskatchewan (1952)

This Brotherhood consisted of priests and laymen who lived under a simple Rule, while administering several parishes in a large and scattered area in the southern part of the Diocese of Qu'Appelle, which is, in itself, about one and a half times the size of England. The main centre of the Brotherhood was Assiniboia. Other houses were situated at the little prairie town of Ogema, and another at Avonlea. No vows were taken by the Brothers, but they were bound to the common life for periods of three years. Each month the members gathered together at Assiniboia for two days. Here the annual Retreat and Brotherhood Chapter were held. The Prayer Book Offices were recited, also Compline. There was a daily Eucharist in the chapels. This tentative experiment came to an end in April 1957.

2. SISTERHOOD OF ST JOHN THE DIVINE

St John's Convent, Willowdale, Ontario, Canada (1884)

The first attempt to establish an Anglican religious community in Canada appears to have been made about 1880 by the Reverend Stewart Darling, Rector of Holy Trinity Church, Toronto. He wrote to Dr Littledale that "a visit from an English Sister would be of incalculable benefit to us". Sister Anna Lomas, of the Community of the Nursing Sisters of St John the Divine (see p. 280), went to Canada, but failed to form a community.

A year or so later Mrs Hannah Coome, who had been left a widow, arrived in Toronto. During her married life she had been associated with the parish of St John the Divine, Kennington, London, where she had received much spiritual help from sermons preached by Canon Knox Little and Fr Maturin, S.S.J.E. Because of her great affection for this church, she decided that the community founded in 1884 should be dedicated to St John the Divine. The bigoted Orangemen in Toronto suspected the Sisters of being Roman Catholics in disguise. They threatened to burn down the convent, but Sister Hannah managed to overcome their Protestant prejudices by her heroic devotion to the poor. One of the first works of mercy undertaken by the Mother Foundress and her Sisters was to care for the wounded in the North-west Rebellion of 1885. In 1889 the Sisterhood was able to leave their first house (a renovated stable on

Robinson Street, Toronto) and move to larger quarters on Major Street, where their mother house remained for sixty years. In 1953 the mother house of the Order was transferred to Willowdale, Ontario.

The Sisters of St John the Divine are dedicated to the undivided service of Jesus Christ, after the example of the Beloved Disciple whose name they bear, for the fulfilment of the twofold law of Charity. They are committed to the "Mixed Life", and therefore their first work is that of prayer. From this foundation life of Prayer they perform whatever works of mercy are entrusted to them, nursing, teaching, and ministering to the fallen, the aged, and the poor. The Rule is based on that of St Benedict. The day hours of the divine office are said.

Those who come to be tested for the Life spend at least six months as a postulant, and at least three years as a novice. After this testing time Junior Vows are taken for three years, before Life Vows are made. The habit worn is black and white, with a black cord girdle, and an ebony cross, bound with silver, and bearing the silver eagle of the Order.

Associated with the Community are priests who intercede for it, and women, living in the world, who desire a spiritual bond with the Sisters. The community's magazine *The Eagle* keeps friends and benefactors in touch with the work of the Sisterhood. The Visitor is the Bishop of Toronto.

At the present time the Sisterhood has the following houses: St John's Convent (Mother House), Botham Road, Willowdale, Ontario; Qu'Appelle Diocesan School, Regina, Saskatchewan; St John's Convalescent Hospital, Willowdale, Ontario; Church Home for the Aged, 87 Bellevue Avenue, Toronto, Ontario; St John's House (for unmarried mothers), Edmonton, Alberta; mission work at the Church of St John the Evangelist, 2015 Kimberley Street, Montreal, P.Q.[1]

3. SOCIETY OF THE LOVE OF JESUS

Convent of St Anthony, 949, Twenty-Seventh Avenue West, Vancouver, B.C. (1921)

The Foundress, Mother Cecilia Mary, a professed member of the Society of the Incarnation, Birmingham, England (see p. 468), came to Vancouver in 1920, at the invitation of Bishop A. U. de Pencier. The first house of the Society was opened on 8 April 1921, and three years later a convent and college were built. The Rule and spirit of the community were Franciscan. The Sisters engaged in teaching, mission work, and conducting retreats. In 1937 the Community was received into the Roman Church.

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[1] A list of the houses of the *Sisters of the Church* in Canada is given on p. 445.

4. ANGLICAN MISSION SISTERS

St John, New Brunswick (1951)

Founded by Sister Sheila, this small community was devoted to a life of prayer and service. The members once did active mission and social work in St John's. They also gave children's missions in parishes throughout the diocese of Fredericton. One of the Sisters was a parish worker at St Bartholomew's, Toronto.

* * *

Church of the Province of South Africa

1. COMMUNITY OF ST MICHAEL AND ALL ANGELS

St Michael's Home, Bloemfontein, O.F.S. (1874)

This Community was founded in 1874 by Dr Webb, second Bishop of Bloemfontein, with the intention that the Sisters would devote themselves to a life of prayer and service in the mission field of South Africa. In the early years the Sisters were the pioneers of nursing. They started the first hospitals in Bloemfontein and Kimberley, also the training of nurses. St Michael's School for Girls, founded in 1874, can claim to be the oldest girls' school north of the Orange River. Today it has about two hundred and thirty pupils, of whom over ninety are boarders. Here too is St Faith's School, a Home for English-speaking girls committed by the Social Welfare Department. The Sisters engage in mission work among both Europeans and Africans. Their Rule is based on that of St Augustine. The Community, in addition to its mother house and dependent institutions at Bloemfontein, has branch houses at St Mary's Home, Leribe, Basutoland (where the native Sisterhood of St Mary at the Cross was founded in 1924); and 100 Barkly Road, Kimberley. In 1954, St Monica's became a guest house for women and a rest home for elder brethren of the Society of the Sacred Mission. This is at Modderpoort. The Visitor is the Bishop of Bloemfontein.

2. COMMUNITY OF THE RESURRECTION OF OUR LORD

St Peter's Home, Grahamstown, Cape Province (1884)

The Community was founded in 1884 by Bishop Webb, then Bishop of Grahamstown, and Mother Cecile, who became the first Superior. The Community is of one Order only and there are at present about a hundred Sisters, six of whom are coloured. The primary duty of the

Sisters is the worship and praise of God through the Divine Office, the study of and meditation upon his revealed truth, and intercession. The Visitor is the Bishop of Grahamstown. Much of the work of the Community is educational; at Grahamstown there is a training college for primary teachers (white) and a primary school, the latter being for coloured, and orphanages for white and coloured children. The Community has Branch Houses in the Republic of South Africa at Port Elizabeth, East London, Queenstown and Cape Town, where parish work is undertaken amongst white and coloured people; and it works as well in Central Africa. In Bulawayo, St Peter's Diocesan School is doing a valued work for Rhodesian girls, and the Sisters also do parish work in Bulawayo and Salisbury and mission work among Africans at Mapanza in Northern Rhodesia. There is a Branch House in London at 40 Oakleigh Park South, N.20, where retreats are held.

3. SOCIETY OF ST JOHN THE DIVINE

St John's Convent, 342 Loop Street, Maritzburg, Natal (1887)

The special characteristic of this community, which was founded in 1887, is the life of prayer and witness among the mixed races of Natal. The Sisters care for white girls from bad backgrounds, in their children's Home, St Cross Home, attached to the convent. They are responsible for the religious instruction, and care for the chapel at St John's High School which the Community still owns, but is now entirely in the hands of a lay staff. The African Sunday School in the Location outside Pietermaritzburg is under the care of the Sisters. Altar breads are made and sent to churches and missions throughout South Africa, Rhodesias and the Protectorates. In 1961 one of the Sisters published, by request, a small book, *Development in Prayer*. The desire and ideal of the Sisterhood is to be multi-racial. At present there are only European Sisters in the Community. The Visitor is the Bishop of Natal.

4. NATIVE COMMUNITIES

Several native communities have been formed or are in process of formation in South Africa. These include the *Society of St Mary at the Cross*, Leribe, Basutoland, founded in 1924 by the Community of St Michael and All Angels, Bloemfontein; the *Company of the Servants of Christ* (founded for men in 1929 under direction of the Society of the Sacred Mission but no longer existing) at Modderpoort; and the *Community of the Holy Name* (founded in 1935 under the direction of the Community of the Resurrection) at Penhalonga; and the *Brotherhood of St Andrew* and the *Community of St John the Baptist*—both at St Cuthbert's, Tsolo.

The following English communities have houses in South Africa: *Society of St John the Evangelist* (p. 85); *Community of the Resurrection* (p. 133); *Society of the Sacred Mission* (p. 147); *Community of St Mary the Virgin* (Wantage) (p. 258); *Society of St Margaret* (East Grinstead) (p. 355); *St Denys, Community of* (Warminster) (p. 453); *Order of the Holy Paraclete* (Whitby) (p. 512).

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East Africa (*Diocese of Zanzibar*)

1. COMMUNITY OF THE SACRED PASSION

Mother House: *The Convent, Msalabani, P.O. Muheza, Tanga, Tanganyika*
English House: *The Convent, East Hanningfield, near Chelmsford, Essex*
(1910)

It was in May 1908 that Bishop Weston of Zanzibar wrote to the Reverend Mother of the Community of the Holy Name, Malvern Link, asking if she would undertake the training of the novices for a new community which he wished to found for work with U.M.C.A. She agreed to do so, and within a few months six novices had been clothed; they were joined by others not long after. In May 1910 the first group of the Community of the Mission Sisters of the Sacred Passion of Jesus (usually called C.S.P.) sailed from England, with a Sister of the Community of St Margaret, Aberdeen, acting as their Superior for the time being. They were professed in Zanzibar in 1911. A house was found for them at Mbweni, where they opened a girls' boarding-school and a dispensary. An English novitiate was established in the parish of St Frideswide's, Poplar, in 1918.

Bishop Weston's vision for the Community was one of obedience and reparation. He wanted to express the real fellowship of the Christian life, and saw that the ideal way was through the dedicated life of prayer and love lived out in the midst of the Africans. The Sisters were to show forth in their lives the spirit of the Passion, and to provide a new ideal realized in poverty, chastity, and obedience. In Christ all distinctions of race and colour were to be done away, and for his honour no sacrifice could be too great.

The main objects of the Community state clearly the primary duty of honouring our Lord Jesus Christ by exhibiting the joy and the power of the Passion of Jesus, and the winning of others to our Lord by a life of prayer and missionary work. From that life of joy and power the active work of the Community springs, nourished at its roots by the strength received in Holy Communion, and in the corporate offering of the Divine Office recited with special intention linked with the Mass of the day. The Office Book used is *Hours of Prayer from Lauds to Compline* compiled by Fr Trenholme, S.S.J.E. At least one hour daily is spent in private prayer, and a further half hour in intercession, as well as a period of spiritual reading.

The work of the Community may vary with the ever changing circumstances of a rapidly developing country, but the spirit in which the work is done must be the unvarying spirit of generous, self-sacrificing love.

In secondary schools and in the teacher training college, and in the wide field of religious education, there are many opportunities for teaching. Medical work varies with the district, and the training of African nurses and midwives is important. As well as educational and medical work, there is church needlework, wafer making, and book binding, so that although trained teachers, nurses, and parish workers form a large part of the Community, others with a definite missionary vocation are always welcomed and can be fully used.

The Mother House is at Msalabani, in the Zanzibar diocese, and the Convent there is of course the spiritual home of the whole Community.

There are other branch houses in the same diocese—Tanga, Kigongoi, Kwa Mkono, Dar-es-salaam, and Zanzibar itself. In the Masasi diocese the largest branch house is at Newala, the home of the African Community. In that diocese there is work at Tunduru and at Ngala on the Rondo plateau. At Mbeya, in south-west Tanganyika, the Sisters have a large girls' secondary school.

The house in England is at East Hanningfield, and there the Community is responsible for the Homes of St Giles for patients suffering from leprosy. The work had been established for some time and was taken over in 1936. Here too is the English novitiate. Aspirants are admitted and novices receive the first part of their training in the novitiate, before going out to the Mother House. Normally they spend two years in Africa before Profession, and there is a further period of at least three years before taking final vows.

Oblates of the Community are those who feel themselves drawn to a dedicated life under rule, and who recognize a special attraction to the Sacred Passion. They have their own personal rule of life, suited to their varying circumstances and are very closely united with the Community in prayer and intercession.

Companions, Associates, or Helpers have very simple obligations to fulfil, yet they retain a close connection with the Community and receive the quarterly intercession paper and leaflet. Priests may be enrolled as Priest associates.

The Archbishop of the Province of East Africa is the Visitor. The Bishop of Zanzibar is the Chaplain-General, and the Deputy-Chaplain-General in England is the Reverend W. O. Fitch, S.S.J.E.

2. THE COMMUNITY OF ST MARY OF NAZARETH AND CALVARY

In 1939 two African women, desiring to test their vocations to the religious life, were accepted for training under the care of the Community of the Sacred Passion, and lived at Kwa Mkono, a small mission station in the Zanzibar diocese. They were clothed as novices in July 1941 and later were joined by others from the diocese of Masasi. At the end of 1952 the small community of Sisters moved to Newala, where the Mother House was established. Since then there has been a steady growth and five of the Sisters are professed under life vows. A Branch House has been opened at Msalabani.

The Sisters have a special call to do all in their power to draw to our Lord the women and children of Africa. All share in the household tasks and some work in school and hospital or help with the making of altar breads and church needlework. They have their Sister-in-Charge and Novice Mistress and, though the community is still guided by C.S.P., it is hoped that it will become completely independent.

The Sisters attend Mass daily and recite Sext, Evensong, and Compline in Swahili. They also have their regular time for private prayer, intercession, and spiritual reading.

The motto of the community is "Behold the handmaid of the Lord, be it unto me according to Thy Word", and the Sisters try to show our Lady's ready acceptance of all that came to her in response to her vocation.

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The Church of England in Australia

(a) BUSH BROTHERHOODS[1]

The character and growth of the Church of England in Australia has been largely influenced by the vast size of this island continent; huge areas of which are unserved by railways or made-up roads, with families living in widely scattered and isolated spots. Hence the formation of quasi-religious communities of men, known as "Bush Brotherhoods", who devote themselves to ministering to the settlers who have made their homes in the "back blocks" of Australia. It seems that the term Bush Brotherhood was first used at a meeting held in London in 1897, when Bishop Nathaniel Dawes of Rockhampton referred to the staff of his missionary diocese as a "Bush Brotherhood" and the name stuck. The indirect inspiration came from Bishop Westcott of Durham, who had advised the Bishop of Rockhampton to form groups of mission priests living and working together under a common rule.

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[1] Cf. J. W. S. Tomlin, *The Story of the Bush Brotherhoods* (London, 1949).

(1) *Brotherhood of St Andrew*, Rockhampton (1897). This was the first of the Bush Brotherhoods. It was established at Longreach in the Diocese of Rockhampton, Queensland, in the autumn of 1897, under the leadership of the Reverend G. D. Halford, who in 1902 became bishop of the diocese. Canon Tomlin tells us in *The Story of the Bush Brotherhoods* (p. 62) that after the headquarters had been removed to Aramac it "gradually went into abeyance". He refers to the "grand old man" of this Brotherhood—Archdeacon A. T. Robinson, who was its head from 1904 to 1910. Since 1932 he has revived the work: "extending its operations to other parts of the diocese than the far west".

(2) *Brotherhood of the Good Shepherd*, Dubbo, N.S.W. (1903). This fraternity, which has had a less chequered history than that of the other Bush Brotherhoods, was established in 1903, with its headquarters at Dubbo in the diocese of Bathurst, New South Wales. The first Superior was the Reverend F. H. Campion. From the start this Brotherhood was organized on business lines. For many years it was registered as a limited liability company, under the Companies Act of New South Wales, to enable the members to hold land for religious purposes and to safeguard the financial side of the venture. There was also the support given by the prayers and the alms of the Dubbo Association in England. A Protestant party in the Church of England in Australia tried hard to have the Brotherhood suppressed. Sensational articles appeared with revelations of "Anglican Monks for Bush Parishes". A mission house was established in Dubbo. Here the Brethren gathered together four times a year. Otherwise they work in half a dozen or more sub-centres, scattered over an area of about 65,000 square miles, mostly consisting of pastoral plains and sheep stations.[1]

(3) *Brotherhood of St Barnabas*, North Queensland (1902). This Community came into being in 1902 when the Reverend A. V. Williams took vows of poverty and obedience, and began mission work in the vast area of the Herberton tableland, with the help of a few laymen. Six years later, Bishop Frodsham of North Queensland visited England and appealed for a band of men to develop this apostolate in the sheep and cattle stations, mines, farms, and sugar plantations. The Brotherhood was formally constituted, with the Reverend E. T. Crozier as its first superior. Five of its members became bishops in Australia. In 1920 All Souls' School, Charters Town, was established; and in 1947 the headmaster, Canon Cedric Hunt, decided to experiment with lay brothers for teaching. In 1953 St Barnabas' Preparatory School at Ravenshoe was opened, with a staff composed entirely of lay brothers. It is now realized that the Brotherhood must be re-organized as a permanent Teaching Community on more traditional lines. At present the lay brothers take vows for five years only. Mattins and Evensong are recited, with Sext and Compline from *The Hours of Prayer*.

(4) *Brotherhood of St Paul*, Brisbane (1901). As early as 1885 Bishop Webber of Brisbane had tried to form a company of mission priests to work in his diocese, but it did not succeed. In 1901 a small Bush Brotherhood was established at Gayndah. Three years later Dr St Clair Donaldson, first Archbishop of Brisbane, moved the headquarters to Charleville and reconstituted the fraternity as the Brotherhood of St Paul. Its mission field covers an area of about 150,000 square miles. Two of the Brothers serve on the Council of the Slade School, Warwick on the Darling Downs—an Anglican Diocesan Boys' School; likewise they direct a boys' hostel and a girls' hostel (the latter managed by the Sisters of the Sacred Advent) whose inmates are children from the Bush being taught in the State Schools at Charleville. Similar hostels are also under the care of the Brothers at Mitchell and St George.

(5) *Brotherhood of St Boniface*, Bunbury (1911). It was in July 1911 that the Brotherhood of St Boniface was formed in the Diocese of Bunbury, West Australia. After a time its headquarters was fixed at Williams, a town half-way between Perth and Albany. The Brotherhood came to an end in 1930 because of the lack of unmarried clergymen to fill up the ranks. Two bishops (Elsey of Kalgoorlie and Frewer of N.W. Australia) were members of this Brotherhood.

(6) *Brotherhood of St Aidan*, South Australia. From 1915 to 1921 a small Bush Brotherhood of this name worked in the eastern part of the diocese of Adelaide.

(7) *Brotherhood of St Stephen*, Willochra (1928). Bishop Thomas of

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[1] Vivid descriptions of the life of this Brotherhood in the early days will be found in *A Parson in the Australian Bush*, by C. H. S. Matthews (London, 1908), and in G. W. Lovejoy's *In Journeyings Often* (Delhi, 1941). Ivan Southall, *Parson on the Track* (Sydney, 1962; London, 1963) is a popular book dealing with some aspects of the life of the Brotherhood: it has many omissions.

Willochra founded this Brotherhood in 1928. The patron saint chosen was due to the Brotherhood being affiliated to the parish of St Stephen, Bournemouth. Its headquarters was fixed at the Quorn. Mission work was carried on in a large district. At the outbreak of the Second World War the Brotherhood was disbanded.

(8) *Brotherhood of St John the Baptist*, Adelaide (1944). In 1944 Bishop Robin of Adelaide appointed the Reverend L. E. W. Renfrey as first warden of a new Brotherhood, with its basis at Murray Bridge. Four other priests joined the fraternity on a three-year basis and it lasted until 1947, when it ended for lack of recruits.

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In September 1947 the Bush Brotherhoods of Australia held their Jubilee Celebrations in Brisbane, during which past, present, and future were discussed. The general opinion was that the Brotherhood movement needed putting on a firmer basis. The chief obstacle in the way of the survival and extension of the Bush Brotherhoods is the lack of manpower. But it was not clear how vocations could be found for this form of mission work. For, as Canon Tomlin expresses the situation: "it must be confessed that the vogue for early marriages has, since the First World War, infected the younger clergy as much as any section of the community. The time seems to have come for a reaction in this matter and for a call to a greater sense of sacrifice for Christ's sake."[1]

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Community of the Ascension, Goulburn (1921). There has been at least one attempt in Australia to form a community of men on more monastic lines than those of the Bush Brotherhoods. The Community of the Ascension came into being largely as the result of much discussion before the First World War, when it was felt that there was need for a regularly constituted religious community. In 1919 the founders—a group of Army chaplains—made their novitiate at Mirfield. On their return to Australia in 1921, they were professed by the Bishop of Goulburn on Michaelmas Day that same year. A Rule was drawn up, based on that of the Community of the Resurrection. The burnt-out buildings of a large house, known as Old Bishopthorpe, erected by the first Bishop of Goulburn in 1870, became their "monastery". The restoration took several years. The pioneers had to endure extreme discomfort and much inconvenience. The work was not completed until Christmas, 1933. The former stable and coach-house were transformed into a dignified chapel, where the offices were recited. After doing much good work in Australia, such as

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[1] Tomlin, op. cit., p. 99.

conducting retreats and parochial missions, holding public and private retreats in the house, and receiving guests, the community was disbanded towards the close of the Second World War.

The *Brotherhood of St Laurence* (1930) differed from the other Australian Brotherhoods because its work was concentrated in towns. It was founded at Newcastle, New South Wales, in 1930. Three years later the headquarters was transferred to Melbourne. Here the Brothers had charge of a parish. Hostels for single unemployed men and lads were opened; also a settlement in the country for the families of unemployed men, who were trained to be self-supporting. The Brotherhood ceased to function as founded in 1941 and became a social service organization, and the work is done entirely by seculars, in association with its Founder, Fr G. Kennedy Tucker. There are two other priests on the staff.[1]

(*b*) COMMUNITIES OF WOMEN

1. COMMUNITY OF THE HOLY NAME

Cavanagh Street, Cheltenham, S. 22, Victoria (1888)

This was the first indigenous community to be established in Australia. The first Mother Superior, Miss Silcock (Sister Esther), had been a novice in the Community of St Mary the Virgin, Wantage. For health reasons she went to Australia; and in 1888 "The Church of England Diocesan Mission to the Streets and Lanes" entrusted her with work among the poor in Melbourne. Other ladies joined her, and two of them were ordained deaconesses by the Bishop of Melbourne (F. F. Goe) in 1890. Four years later Sister Esther made her religious profession, which was followed by those of other women. A House of Mercy had been opened at Cheltenham in 1892. In September 1912 the Community was granted a Charter by Archbishop Clarke. Until 1936 the Mother House was in Melbourne. That year a new Mother House was opened at Cheltenham, near the House of Mercy. The latter became a Retreat House in 1946. The Community have a mission house, homes for children, a hostel for girls, and a home for elderly women in or around Melbourne. In the Diocese of Newcastle the Sisters worked for some years, taking charge of homes for boys and girls. In 1932 they opened St Saviour's Home for Children in the Diocese of Goulburn, to which has been added since a hostel for girls. In 1945 the Hostel of the Holy Name for girls was opened in Adelaide. Since 1951 some of the Sisters have been conducting a hostel and secondary training school for Papuan girls in the Diocese of New Guinea. Their latest undertaking is a hostel for white and Maori girls in Auckland, New Zealand, in a house formerly the property of the Order of the Good Shepherd (see p. 589). An Order of Oblates was formed in 1960. The community now numbers sixty-four professed Sisters. The novitiate lasts at least three years, after which life vows are taken. The Visitor is the Archbishop of Melbourne.

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[1] The Australian Province of the *Society of the Sacred Mission* founded in 1947 is dealt with on p. 148.

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For details of the work of the *Sisters of the Church* and the Order of *St Elizabeth of Hungary* in Australia, see pp. 441, 445, 504. For the *Servants of Christ the King*, see p. 604.

2. SOCIETY OF THE SACRED ADVENT

Community House, Albion, Brisbane, Queensland (1892)

The second indigenous Australian community was that of the Sacred Advent, established in 1892 by Canon M. J. Stone-Wigg, afterwards Bishop of New Guinea. There are numerous schools and institutions in the charge of the Sisters in Brisbane and elsewhere in Queensland, including St Martin's War Memorial Hospital, Brisbane, children's homes at Nundah and a hostel at Charleville. Some of the Sisters are widely scattered and necessarily live very lonely lives. Twice a year they assemble in the community house in Brisbane for their chapter and retreat. The postulancy lasts six months; the novitiate at least two years. The Visitor is the Archbishop of Brisbane.[1]

3. COMMUNITY OF THE SERVANTS OF THE HOLY CROSS (1922)

The first two members of a small Sisterhood which began in the Diocese of Rockhampton went to work in New Zealand for some years, but later on returned to Australia. Others joined them, but the original Superior died, and the Community disbanded. One of the Sisters, however, got into touch with Bishop G. M. Long, of the Diocese of Bathurst. With his approval and blessing the Servants of the Holy Cross were revived in 1922, taking over St Hilda's Hostel, Bathurst, as their first convent. Work was started among the Bush children. In 1929 a mother house was opened at Gilgandra. Four years later the Community moved to South Australia, where the Sisters engaged in educational and parish work at Port Elliot. The Community came to an end in 1944.

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[1] See *A Short History of the Society of the Sacred Advent 1892–1954* (Brisbane, n.d.).

4. COMMUNITY OF THE DAUGHTERS OF ST CLARE

In 1950 a Community of Franciscan Sisters, known as the Daughters of St Clare, was founded in Brisbane by the Reverend R. B. Bates. The purpose of the Community was to seek the Glory of God by a life of prayer and work under a Rule of absolute poverty. The Sisters were placed in charge of St John's House of Rest for aged men; St Clare's House of Rest for old women, and St Christopher's Lodge for boys. They also undertook retreats at St Damian's Convent, Brookfield, Brisbane.

The remaining members of the Community were absorbed into the Society of the Sacred Advent in 1947.

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The Church of the Province of New Zealand

1. ORDER OF THE GOOD SHEPHERD (1893)

The first indigenous religious community in the Church of the Province of New Zealand was founded at Auckland in 1893, and constituted in 1905. It began as a "Mission to the Streets and Lanes" of Auckland in a most poverty-stricken area. At one time the Community had charge of two orphanages and a maternity and rescue home. The Sisters also engaged in parish visiting in the diocese.

In December 1955 the remaining members of the order left New Zealand for a two-year period of renewal of training with the Community of the Holy Name at Cheltenham, Victoria (p. 587); with the object of being absorbed into it. This was achieved in January 1958.[1]

2. COMMUNITY OF THE SACRED NAME

This Community was founded at Christchurch by Archbishop Julius in 1891, and started as a deaconess institute. The first Superior was Sister Edith of St Andrew's Deaconess Community, London. The present Rule was drawn up by Fr Cyril Bickersteth, C.R., and is based on that of the St Andrew's Deaconesses. The aim of the Community is that its members may so live that the name of Jesus may be loved and adored. The external works undertaken include church embroidery, the making of altar breads, parish visiting, and the care of the cathedral sacristy, teaching in the Church Primary Day Schools, organizing retreats for women, and the care and training of Tongan students for missionary work. The Warden is the Reverend Canon R. J. Witty; the Visitor, the Bishop of Christchurch.

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[1] The *Sisters of the Church* (see p. 441) started educational work in Dunedin in 1896, but are in New Zealand no longer.

MELANESIAN BROTHERHOOD

Tabalia, Guadalcanal, Br. Solomon Islands (1926)

A native brotherhood was formed in 1926 as part of the Melanesian Mission. There are over fifty members and they work in the diocese, which contains Solomon Islands, New Hebrides, and other island groups in the south-west Pacific. Some of the Brothers are now engaged in mission work in New Guinea. They take annual or triennial vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience. (See *Kakamora*, by C. F. Fox, 1961, and *Global Odyssey* by Howard A. Johnson, 1963, pp. 308-9.)

* * *

The Church of India, Pakistan, Burma, and Ceylon

1. OXFORD MISSION BROTHERHOOD OF THE EPIPHANY

42, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta (1880)

This Brotherhood of priests and laymen is the second oldest Anglican Community of men in existence, having been founded at Calcutta in 1880. The original purpose was to work among the more educated classes of non-Christians in India, but as time went on the apostolate was extended to the supervision of Christians in Eastern Pakistan, with a centre at Barisal.

The original Rule was based on that of the Oratorians, but it has been much changed. Formal vows are not taken, but, after a probation of at least two years, a solemn promise of obedience to the rule and constitution of the Brotherhood is made, for two years at first, and then finally for life. The Brotherhood has its mother house in Calcutta and branches at Behala (near Calcutta) and Barisal (E. Pakistan). Hostels are maintained for students at Calcutta and Barisal, and for Christian employees at Calcutta and Behala. The Fathers act as chaplains to several hospitals, and supervise leprosy work. They have boarding schools for Christian boys at Behala and Barisal. A weekly paper, *Epiphany*, is published in Calcutta, and the Brethren help in the production of Bengali literature. The Brotherhood has made a considerable contribution to the life of the Province, and the present Bishop of Dacca is one of its members. In the realm of scholarship it has contributed volumes to the Indian Church Commentary, and in recent years several books on biblical subjects. The Brotherhood works in close touch with the Dioceses of Calcutta and Dacca. The Visitor is at present the Bishop of Calcutta.[1]

2. CHRISTA PREMA SEVA SANGHA

This developed from a fellowship of Indian Christians with the Bishop of Bombay as Visitor, founded in 1922. It was formed about 1934 as a quasi-Franciscan community of priests and laymen, British and Indian; otherwise known as the "Brotherhood of the Ministry of the Love of Christ". It has now come to an end.

Reference should be made to the *Cambridge Brotherhood of the Ascension* (founded in 1877) and to the *St Stephen's Community* (founded in 1886 and not strictly a religious community). They are part of the Cambridge Mission to Delhi. The former consists of unmarried priests or deacons who have bound themselves together under a common Rule of Life. They engage in evangelistic, pastoral, educational, and literary work as need arises. The Bishop of the Diocese will request the Chapter to release a brother for some specific work; and the brethren conduct missions, retreats, and Quiet Days. The Visitor is the Bishop of Delhi.

3. OXFORD MISSION SISTERHOOD OF THE EPIPHANY

This is a community of women, founded in 1902, whose object is said in its Rule "to be a body through which Christ our Lord can manifest Himself as the Light of the world and thus extend His kingdom, especially among the women of India and Pakistan". This is a religious community, with a Rule based on that of St Benedict. The Day Hours are recited in choir whenever possible. The members, after a five years' novitiate and four years of temporary vows, then take life vows. They have always been the "handmaids" of the Oxford Mission to Calcutta, and are engaged in educational, evangelistic, and medical work among women and girls in East Pakistan. They manage an orphanage and primary school at Behala, near Calcutta. The mother house is at Barisal, East Pakistan. The Visitor is the Bishop of Rangoon; the Warden is the Superior of the Brotherhood of the Epiphany.

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[1] For the work of the *Society of St John the Evangelist* in India, see p. 85.

The *St Andrew's Brotherhood* (1911) and the *Sisterhood of St Mary* are Indian communities founded by the Oxford Mission to Calcutta. They engage in mission, medical, and educational work.

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The following English communities of women have houses in India or Ceylon: *St Margaret*, East Grinstead (see p. 355); *St Mary the Virgin*, Wantage (see p. 258).

* * *

In Korea the *Community of St Peter*, Kilburn (now at Woking), established a native community (*Society of the Holy Cross*) under the direction of Bishop Trollope in 1925.

* * *

In Japan the *Community of the Epiphany* has been working since 1919. They helped to found a native Community of women, the *Community of Nazareth* in Tokyo. Their first Novices were trained by the C.E. Sisters. The first Japanese Sisters were professed in 1940. The little Community remained under the care of the C.E. Sisters until, in 1957, there were nine Sisters in life vows and it became an independent Community of the Japanese Church with its own chapter and its own Mother Superior. In 1961 the Community was asked to open a Branch House in Okinawa, one of the Luchu Islands, between Japan and Formosa, where, besides American personnel of the U.S. Army and Air Force, there are many Japanese as well as the native Okinawans. The new House was opened in 1963. There are now nineteen Sisters and the future seems to be assured. The Visitor of the Community is the Bishop of Tokyo and the Warden is Bishop I. H. Nosse of S. Tokyo.

Another native Japanese Community, the *Community of Divine Charity*, was founded in 1949 by Fr Kimura, S.S.J.E. when (to quote "*Mi Tsukai*" Spring and Summer 1957) "two young women came to Fr Kimura for a long conference on their desire and cherished hope of offering their lives to the service of our Blessed Lord and His suffering children. . . . After a full year's training they were given the Religious Habit and made Novices of the new Community on the feast of SS Peter and Paul 1950. The Reverend Mother Superior of the Order of Saint Anne, Arlington Heights, Mass. . . . graciously gave her permission to adopt the Constitution and Rule of Life, as well as the Habit of her Order, to the Father Founder, and promised the help of her Community in daily intercession for the new Community. . . . In August 1957 five Sisters were fully professed and on 4 October 1961 the Community was firmly established with the election and installation of the Reverend Mother Superior. At present there are eight professed Sisters, seven Sisters under temporary vows, and four Postulants. Their house is at Harunaso, Murato, Gumma Ken.

Work in East Pakistan began in 1963.

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The *Community of the Cross* was founded in 1928 to work in the diocese of Melanesia. In 1936 the Sisters were asked to take charge of mission work on Bunana, a small island of Gela in the Solomon Islands. They endured great hardships during the Second World War. In 1950 the Superior (Mother Mary of the Cross) and her Community were received into the Roman Church.

APPENDIX I

List of Religious Communities and Kindred Bodies in the Anglican Communion in Order of Foundation

(1) GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

(*a*) MEN (with date and place of foundation, and present mother house)

1842 J. H. Newman's community (Littlemore, Oxford).[1]
1843 *Society of St Joseph* (Elton, Huntingdon).[2]
*1845 *Brotherhood of St James* (Tamworth).
*1863 *Order of St Benedict* (Claydon, Suffolk—then Llanthony).
1866 *Society of St John the Evangelist* (Cowley, Oxford).
*1866 *"Order of St Joseph"* (Hackney, London).
*1866 *Order of the Holy Redeemer* and *Brotherhood of the Holy Cross* (West Torrington, Lincs).
*1867 *Order of St Augustine* (Wymering, Hants—then Walworth, London).
*1869 *Brotherhood of the Holy Spirit* (Stoke-on-Tern, Shropshire).
*1870 *Brotherhood of St Dunstan* (Plaistow, London).
*1884 *Mission College of All Hallows Barking* (London).
1889 *Order of St Paul* (Rangoon—now Alton Abbey, Hants).
*1891 *Brotherhood of St Paul* (London).
*1891 *Oblates of St Benedict* (Ealing, London).
1892 *Community of the Resurrection* (Oxford—now Mirfield, Yorks).
*1894 *Society of the Divine Compassion* (Plaistow, London).
1894 *Society of the Sacred Mission* (Kennington, London—now Kelham, Newark).
†1896 *Order of St Benedict* (Isle of Dogs, London—later Caldey Island, S. Wales).
*1908 *Franciscan Friars* (Douglas, Isle of Man—then Saltley, Birmingham).
*1911 *Society of St Augustine* (*Servitors of SS. Mary and Augustine*) (Walthamstow, London).

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* Extinct. † Received into the Roman Church 1913.

[1] and [2] Received into the Roman Church 1845.

1913 *Oratory of the Good Shepherd* (Cambridge).
1914 *Order of St Benedict* (Pershore—now Nashdom, Bucks).
*1918 *Contemplatives of Blessed Mary at the Cross* (Glasshampton, Worcs).
*c.1920 *Community of St Augustine of Hippo* (Clapton, London).
1921 *Society of St Francis* (Cerne Abbas, Dorset).
*1922 *Servitors of Mary and St Austin* (Walthamstow, E.17).
*1924 *Brotherhood of the Holy Cross* (Peckham, London).
1929 *Servants of Christ the King* (Staithes, Yorks—then Frensham, Surrey). Received into the Roman Church 1936.
*1930 *Confraternity of the Kingdom of Christ* (mixed community—New Barnet, Herts). Received into Orthodox Catholic Church in England 1935.
*1934 *Congregation of St Augustine* (Walsingham).
1940 *Company of Mission Priests.*
1943 *Benedictines* (Holy Island). Received into the Roman Church 1944.
1953 *Community of the Servants of the Will of God* (Crawley Down, Sussex).
1961 *Community of the Glorious Ascension* (Birmingham).

(*b*) WOMEN

1148 *Royal Foundation of St Katharine* (London, E.1).
1845 *Sisterhood of the Holy Cross* (Park Village West, London), amalgamated with the Society of the Most Holy Trinity in 1856.
1848 *Community of St Mary the Virgin* (Wantage, Berks).
1848 *Society of the Most Holy Trinity* (Devonport—now Ascot, Berks).
1848 *Nursing Institute of St John's House*, formed into the *Community of the Nursing Sisters of St John the Divine* in 1883 (London—now Hastings).
*†1850 *Sisters of Charity* (*St Barnabas' Sisterhood*) (Pimlico, London).
1851 *Society of the Holy and Undivided Trinity* (Oxford) (West Malvern, Worc.).
*1851 *Community of St Thomas the Martyr* (Oxford).
1851 *Community of St John the Baptist* (Clewer, Windsor).
1851 *Community of All Saints* (*Sisters of the Poor*) (London—now London Colney, Herts).
*1851 *Sisterhood of St Michael and All Angels* (Bussage, Gloucestershire).
1854 *Community of All Hallows* (Ditchingham, Bungay, Suffolk).
1855 *Community of the Blessed Virgin Mary* (Brighton—now Rottingdean, Sussex).
1855 *Society of St Margaret* (East Grinstead, Sussex).

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* Extinct. † Received into the Roman Church 1913.

1857 *Community of the Holy Cross* (Wapping, London, E.) (Haywards Heath, Sussex).

1858 *Sisterhood of St Peter* (Horbury, Yorks), since 1930 two independent branches: *Community of St Peter the Apostle*, Laleham, Middlesex, and *Community of St Peter*, Horbury, Yorks.

1858 *Community of the Holy Rood* (Middlesbrough).

*1858 *Sisterhood of St Mary the Virgin* (Wymering, Hampshire).

*1860 *Sisterhood of the Blessed Virgin* (Tenterden, Kent—later at Stone, Kent).

1861 *Community of St Peter* (Brompton, London, S.W.—later at Kilburn, London, N.W.—now Woking, Surrey).

1861 *Deaconess Community of St Andrew* (London).

*1864 *Sisterhood of the Compassion* (Oxford).

*1864 *Sisters of St Joseph of Nazareth* (Upper Holloway, London).

1865 *Community of the Holy Name* (Vauxhall, London, S.E.—now Malvern Link, Worcs).

1865 *Community of St Mary at the Cross* (Shoreditch, London, E. —now Edgware, Middlesex).

*1866 *St Cyprian's Sisterhood* (Dorset Square, London, W.).

1866 *Community of St Wilfrid* (Exeter).

1866 *Society of the Sisters of Bethany* (Bournemouth).

*1867 *Community of St Andrew of Scotland* (Edinburgh).

*1867 *St Etheldreda's Sisterhood* (Walworth, London).

1868 *Sisterhood of SS. Mary and John* (Chiswick, London), amalgamated with the Society of St Margaret in 1910.

1868 *Sisters of Charity* (Bristol—now Knowle, Bristol).

1868 *Benedictine Nuns* (Feltham, Middlesex). The Llanthony branch became extinct in 1910; the Malling-Milford Haven section was received into the Roman Church in 1913.

1869 *Community of Reparation to Jesus in the Blessed Sacrament* (Southwark, London, S.E.).

1870 *Community of the Sisters of the Church* (Kilburn, London, N.W. —now Ham Common, Surrey).

1870 *Scottish Society of Reparation* (*Community of St Mary and St John*) (Perth—now Aberdeen).

*1871 *Community of SS. Mary and Modwenna* (Dundee).

*1871 *Community of the Paraclete* (Croydon).

*1872 *Order of Holy Charity* (Edinburgh).

*1873 *Sisterhood of St Etheldreda* (Hoxton, London).

*1873 *Sisters of St Mary and St John* (Knightsbridge, London).

1874 *Community of St Laurence* (Norwich—now Belper).

*1875 *Sisterhood of the Compassion of Jesus* (Clapham Junction, London).

1877 *Servants of the Cross* (Fulham, London—now Findon, Sussex).

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* Extinct.

1879 *Community of St Katharine of Egypt* (Fulham, London—now Parmoor, Henley-on-Thames, Oxon).

1879 *Missionary Community of St Denys* (Warminster, Wilts).

*1881 *Community of the Name of Jesus* (Great Maplestead, Essex—later at Swansea, S. Wales).

*1881 *Sisterhood of the Holy Child* (Clapton).

1883 *Community of the Epiphany* (London and Maidenhead—now Truro, Cornwall).

*1884 *Sisterhood of St Agnes, Guild of St Alban* (London, Leeds and Bradford).

*1886 *Sisterhood of St James* (Kilkhampton, Cornwall).

*1887 *Community of St Mary the Virgin* (Dublin).

*1891 *Sisterhood of the Holy Ghost the Comforter* (Worthing, Sussex).

1891 *Community of the Holy Comforter* (Edmonton, London, N.) (adopted Benedictine Rule in 1907—now at West Malling, Kent).

*1894 *Community of the Ascension* (London).

*1894 *Sisterhood of the Holy Childhood* (Oxford).

1894 *Society of the Incarnation of the Eternal Son* (Plaistow, London, E. —now Saltley, Birmingham).

1895 *Community of St Michael and All Angels* (London), affiliated with the Order of the Holy Paraclete, 1943.

1897 *Servants of Christ* (Upton Park, London, E.—now Burnham, Bucks).

1898 *Community of the Holy Family* (London—now Baldslow, St Leonard's-on-Sea).

1899 *Community of the Compassion of Jesus* (Deptford, London, S.E. —now Thames Ditton, Surrey).

*1899 *Community of Our Lady of Nazareth* (Dover).

*c.1900 *Community of the Visitation* (Ghent, Belgium).

1902 *Servants of the Poor* (*Sisters of the Saviour*) (Chesterfield), affiliated with the Society of St Margaret, 1910.

*1904 *Order of St John the Beloved* (Westcliff-on-Sea, Essex).

1905 *Society of the Precious Blood* (Birmingham—now Burnham Abbey, Maidenhead).

1905 *Community of St Francis* (Hull—now Compton Durville).

1907 *Community of the Sisters of the Love of God* (Oxford).

1909 *Society of the Good Shepherd* (Canvey Island, Essex—now Twyford, Berks).

1912 *Order of St Elizabeth of Hungary* (London).

1912 *Community of St John the Evangelist* (Dublin).

1914 *Community of St Giles* (East Hanningfield, Essex), now affiliated with the Community of the Sacred Passion—see African communities.

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* Extinct.

1914 _Society of the Sacred Cross_ (Chichester—now Tymawr, Lydart, Mon).
1914 _Order of the Holy Paraclete_ (Whitby, Yorks).
*1917 _Canonesses Regular of Our Lady of Victory_ (London—later at Edgware, Middlesex).
*1919 _Community of the Transfiguration_ (Hinton Martel, Dorset—then Wingrave, near Aylesbury, Bucks). Affiliated with Community of St Mary-at-the-Cross, 1953.
1919 _Society of the Servants of Mary_ (Wantage, Berks—now Camberwell, London, S.E.).
*c.1920 _Sisters of Reparation to Our Most Holy Redeemer_ (Hayes, Middlesex).
*1922 _Community of our Lady St Mary_ (Torquay).
*c.1925 _Sisterhood of St Mary of Nazareth_ (Linton, Ross-on-Wye).
1926 _Community of Jesus of Nazareth_ (Westcote, Kingham, Oxford).
1927 _Community of the Presentation_, originally _Community of Christ the Consoler_ (Hythe, Kent).
1930 _Community of St Peter's Chains_ (branch of the _Sisterhood of St Peter_, Horbury, Yorks) (Manchester), now _Community of St Peter, Horbury_.
1935 _Franciscan Servants of Jesus and Mary_ (Paisley, Scotland—now Posbury St Francis, Crediton, Devon).
1941 _Benedictine Community of the Salutation of St Mary the Virgin_ (Wantage and Oxford—now Burford, Oxon).
1943 _Community of the Companions of Jesus the Good Shepherd_ (Wantage, Berks—now West Ogwell, Newton Abbot, S. Devon).
*1950 _Company of St Francis_ (Gateshead, Co. Durham).
1950 _Community of St Clare_ (Wantage—now Freeland, Oxford).
1951 _Order of Reparation to the Sacred Heart_ (Poplar, London, E.).
1952 _Third Order of Penance of St Francis of Assisi_ (Norwich).

(2) UNITED STATES AND CANADA

(a) MEN

*1842 _Nashotah Community_ (Wisconsin).
1845 Community in Essex Co., New York. Received into the Roman Church 1846.
*1847 _Society of the Holy Cross_ (Valle Crucis, N. Carolina).
1871 _Society of St John the Evangelist_ (Boston—from Cowley, England).
1884 _Order of the Holy Cross_ (New York City—now West Park, N.Y.).
*1886 _Brothers of Nazareth_ (Verbank, N.Y.).

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* Extinct.

1896 _Congregation o, the Companions of the Holy Saviour_ (Philadelphia, Pa.). Received into the Roman Church 1908.
†1899 _Society of the Atonement_ (Garrison, N.Y.).
*1904 _Benedictines_ (Fond du Lac, Wis.).
*1910 (Green Farm, Conn.).
1913 _St Barnabas Brotherhood_ (Pittsburgh, Pa.).
1919 _Order of Poor Brethren of St Francis_ (Merrill, Wis.—now Mount Sinai, N.Y.).
1928 _Brothers of St Paul_ (Kingston, N.Y.).
*1935 _Working Brothers of St Joseph_ (Peekskill, N.Y.).
1937 _Benedictines_ (Valparaiso, Ind.—now Three Rivers, Michigan), from Nashdom, England.
1939 _Society of the Catholic Commonwealth_ (Gloucester, Mass.).
1942 _Oratory of the Good Shepherd_, from England.
*1943 _Order of St Augustine_ (originally _Community of the Good Shepherd_) (Marion, N. Carolina—later Orange City, Florida).
*1948 _Community of the Holy Spirit_ (Salina, Kansas).
*1952 _Brotherhood of St Francis_ (Assiniboia, Saskatchewan).
1958 _Society of St Paul_ (Sandy, Oregon).

(b) WOMEN

*1845 _Sisterhood of the Holy Communion_ (New York).
*1863 _Sisterhood of the Good Shepherd_ (Baltimore, Md.).
*1864 _Order of Deaconesses of the Diocese of Alabama._
1865 _Community of St Mary_ (New York) (Peekskill, N.Y.).
*1869 _Sisterhood of the Good Shepherd_ (New York).
*1872 _Sisterhood of St John the Evangelist_ (Brooklyn, N.Y.).
1872 _All Saints Sisters of the Poor_, from England (Baltimore, Md.).
*1873 _Sisterhood of the Holy Child Jesus_ (Albany, N.Y.).
1873 _Society of St Margaret_, from England (Boston, Mass.).
1874 _Community of St John the Baptist_, from England (Mendham, N.J.).
*1875 _Sisterhood of St Martha_ (Louisville, Ky.).
*1880 _Sisters of St Mary and All Saints_ (Baltimore, Md.).
1882 _Sisterhood of the Holy Nativity_ (Boston, Mass.) (Fond du Lac, Wis.).
*1884 _Sisterhood of the Holy Name of Jesus_ (Boston, Mass.).
1884 _Sisterhood of St John the Divine_ (Toronto, Ont., Canada).
*1887 _Sisterhood of the Annunciation_ (New York).
1891 _Sisters of the Church_, from England (Toronto, Ont., Canada).
*1892 _Sisterhood of St Joseph of Nazareth_ (Bronxville, N.Y.).
*189– _Sisters of Bethany_ (New Orleans, La.).
*1895 _Order of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary_ (New York).
*1897 _Sisterhood of the Epiphany_ (Washington, D.C.).

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* Extinct. † Received into the Roman Church 1909.

1898 *Community of the Transfiguration* (Cincinnati, Ohio—now Glendale, Ohio).
†1899 *Society of the Atonement* (Graymoor, Garrison, N.Y.).
*1901 *Community of St Saviour* (San Francisco, Calif.).
*1904 *Sisterhood of St John the Evangelist* (Denver, Colo.).
*1910 *Congregation of the Holy Name of Jesus* (Brooklyn, N.Y.).
1910 *Order of St Anne* (Boston, Mass.) (Arlington Heights, Mass.).
*1918 *Sisters of the Tabernacle* (Chattanooga, Tenn.).
*1919 *Order of the Incarnation* (Grosmont, Calif.).
†1921 *Society of the Love of Jesus* (Vancouver, B.C.).
1922 *Poor Clares of Reparation and Adoration* (Buffalo, N.Y.—now Mount Sinai, Long Island).
1935 *Teachers of the Children of God* (Sag Harbor, Long Island).
1939 *Community of the Way of the Cross* (Buffalo, N.Y.).
*1940 *Deaconesses of St Clare's House* (Upper Red Hook, N.Y.).
1945 *Order of St Helena* (Versailles, Ky.) (Helmetta, N.J.—now Newburgh, N.Y.).
*1951 *Anglican Mission Sisters* (St John's, New Brunswick).
1952 *Community of the Holy Spirit* (New York City).
1957 *Community of St Martha* (Milwaukee, Wisconsin).
1961 *Servants of the Love of Christ* (Shawnee, Oklahoma).
1962 *Society of St Paul* (second order) (Gresham, Oregon).

(*c*) Mixed

1954 *Order of St Michael* (Crown Point, Indiana).

(3) AFRICA

Women

1874 *Community of St Michael and All Angels* (Bloemfontein, O.F.S.).
1884 *Community of the Resurrection of Our Lord* (Grahamstown, Cape Province).
1887 *Society of St John the Divine* (Maritzburg, Natal).
1910 *Community of the Sacred Passion* (Msalabani, Muheza, Tanga, Tanganyika).

(Native Communities)

1914 *Community of St John the Baptist* (St Cuthbert's, Tsolo).
*1924 *Society of St Mary at the Cross* (Leribe, Basutoland) (absorbed by *Community of the Holy Name*).

* Extinct. † Received into the Roman Church 1937.

*1929 *Company of the Servants of Christ* (Modderpoort) (men).
1935 *Community of the Holy Name* (Penhalonga).
*1935 *Brotherhood of St Andrew* (St Cuthbert's, Tsolo).

(4) AUSTRALIA

(*a*) Men (Bush Brotherhoods)

1897 *Brotherhood of St Andrew* (Diocese of Rockhampton, Queensland).
1903 *Brotherhood of the Good Shepherd* (Diocese of Bathurst, N.S.W.).
1908 *Brotherhood of St Barnabas* (North Queensland).
1904 *Brotherhood of St Paul* (Diocese of Brisbane).
*1911 *Brotherhood of St Boniface* (Diocese of Bunbury, W. Australia).
*1915 *Brotherhood of St Aidan* (Diocese of Adelaide).
*1928 *Brotherhood of St Stephen* (Diocese of Willochra).
*1944 *Brotherhood of St John the Baptist* (Diocese of Adelaide).

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*1919 *Community of the Ascension* (Diocese of Goulburn).
*1930 *Brotherhood of St Laurence* (Newcastle, N.S.W.).

(*b*) Women

1888 *Community of the Holy Name* (Cheltenham, Victoria).
1892 *Society of the Sacred Advent* (Brisbane, Queensland).
*1922 *Servants of the Holy Cross* (Bathurst).
1930 *Daughters of St Clare* (Brisbane), now absorbed with the Society of the Sacred Advent.

(5) NEW ZEALAND

Women

1891 *Community of the Sacred Name* (Christchurch).
*1893 *Order of the Good Shepherd* (Auckland).

(6) INDIA AND PAKISTAN

(*a*) Men

1877 *Cambridge Brotherhood of the Ascension* (Delhi).
1880 *Oxford Mission Brotherhood of the Epiphany* (Calcutta).
1911 *St Andrew's Brotherhood* (Calcutta)
*c.1934 *Christa Prema Seva Sangha* (Poona).

* Extinct.

(*b*) Women

1902 *Oxford Mission Sisterhood of the Epiphany* (Barisal, E. Pakistan).
1911 *Sisterhood of St Mary* (under Oxford Mission to Calcutta).

(7) JAPAN

Women

1940. *Community of Nazareth* (Tokyo).
1949. *Community of Divine Charity* (Harunaso).

(8) MELANESIA

(*a*) Men

1926 *Melanesian Brotherhood* (Solomon Islands).

(*b*) Women

†1928 *Community of the Cross* (Solomon Islands).

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† Received into the Roman Church.

APPENDIX 2

Further List of Small Communities of Women

(1864) *Sisters of St Joseph of Nazareth.* This small community, founded in 1864, was still functioning in 1873, when it had charge of St Saviour's Hospital and Refuge at Alfred Terrace, Upper Holloway, London.

(1864) Another *Sisterhood of the Compassion.* This community, founded in 1864, had a house in Howard Street, Iffley Road, Oxford, four years later.

(1867) *St Etheldreda's Sisterhood.* After 1867 there was a community of this name living at 20 Carter Street, Walworth, London, not far from the house in Hemp Row, where Fr Nugee moved his Order of St Augustine from Wymering, Hampshire, in 1872. It is possible that the "Sisters of Mercy", whom Dr F. G. Lee, of All Saints, Lambeth, put in charge of St Mary's Orphanage about 1868, may have been members of the Walworth community. (Cf. H. R. T. Brandreth *Dr Lee of Lambeth*, p. 54.)

(1873) *Sisterhood of St Etheldreda.* The date of the foundation of this community is not known, but in 1873 it had a house at 24 Hoxton Square, London, N.1. It was established "for promoting the reverence due to our Lord in the Blessed Sacrament, and for works of mercy among the poor". Mention was made of a Chaplain, Visitor, Confirmed Sisters, Novices of the First Order, Sisters of the Second Order who hope to be admitted to the First Order, and Sisters of the Third Order or Associates. At that date the Community was working in the parishes of St James, Shoreditch, and St Peter, Hoxton.

(1873) *Sisters of St Mary and St John.* In 1873 a community of this name was working in the parish of St Paul, Knightsbridge, London, S.W.1. These Sisters may have been some of those established by the Reverend George Nugee, when he was a curate of this parish during the late 'fifties (see p. 91).

(1876) *Sisterhood of the Compassion of Jesus.* Founded 6 January 1875 by Caroline, Dowager Lady Boston (Mother Mary Caroline), these Sisters worked in the Parish of the Ascension, Lavender Hill, Clapham Junction, London. Their Chaplain was the Reverend J. B. Wilkinson, founder and first vicar of the Church of the Ascension. The Sisterhood did not last long.

(1881) *Sisterhood of Faith, Hope, and Charity.* Founded at Brighton about 1881, for ladies "in more or less delicate health, after the pattern of the original Foundations of S. François de Sales."

(1930) *Confraternity of the Kingdom of Christ.* This mixed community of young men and women was founded at New Barnet, Herts, by John S. M. Ward and his wife, after they claimed to have had some very extraordinary revelations.

Dr Michael Furse, Bishop of St Albans, blessed the richly furnished tithe-barn chapel, and appointed a chaplain. Four years later, neither he nor Bishop Frere felt able to approve the somewhat heterodox Constitutions. The chaplain's licence was withdrawn, and on 12 September 1935, Ward was raised to the episcopate after being ordained priest by Mar Kwamin, Primate of the Autonomous African Universal Church. On 6 October he underwent a second ordination and consecration by Archbishop Sibley of the Orthodox Catholic Church in England, when he took the title of Mar John, Archbishop of Olivet. In 1946 the remnant of the Community retired to Cyprus as the result of unfortunate press publicity.

(1963?) *Servants of Christ the King.* This women's order is situated at Alice Springs, Northern Territory, in the "dead heart" of Australia. At the time of writing it consists of two professed sisters and a novice. It is remarkable that a community should be started in a place so far removed from the great centres of population. The sisters run a hostel and undertake work among the aboriginal population.

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Terrot, Charles. *Miss Nightingale's Ladies* (1948). (American edition, *The Passionate Pilgrim*, New York, 1949).
Whately, Jane. *Maude: or the Anglican Sister of Mercy* (1869).
Wilkes, Mary. *The Only Door Out* (1945).
Yonge, Charlotte M. *The Heir of Redclyffe* (1853).
— *The Castle Builders* (1859).
Yonge, Charlotte M. *The Pillars of the House; or Under Wode under Rode*, 4 vols. (1873).
— *The Three Brides*, 2 vols. (1876).
— *The Trial: More Links in the Daisy Chain* (1864).
— *Beechcroft at Rockstone*, 2 vols. (1888).
— *Nuttie's Father* (1885).
Young, Francis Brett. *The Dark Tower* (1915).

(7) *Anglican Office Books*

This list of vernacular Breviaries, Diurnals, etc., does not claim to be complete. The books are arranged more or less according to date of publication, except when they form part of a series. By no means all of them were intended for the use of religious communities. The vast number of the publications proves how strong was the desire of the more devout Anglican clergy and laity to supplement the Prayer Book Office and sometimes to discard it altogether.

Private Devotions in the Practice of the Ancient Church, called the Houers of Prayer. Compiled by Bishop Cosin (1st ed., 1627).

Devotions in the Ancient Way of Offices, with Psalms, Hymns, and Prayers. Compiled by John Austin, re-edited for Anglican use by Mrs Hopton and George Hickes (1st ed., 1683; 8th ed., 1765; Edinburgh ed., 1789; reissued 1846).

Reformed Devotions disposed into the form and method of the Roman Breviary. By John Dorrington; edited by Joseph Wasse (Oxford, 1719).

Devotions to be used by Primitive Catholics at Church and at Home (Liverpool, 1747).

Hele's Select Offices of Private Devotion (re-edited, 1832).

The Hours: being prayers for the third, sixth, and ninth hours, etc. Compiled by A. H. D. Acland-Troyte (1841).

The Order of the Psalter for the Week, with the Ordinary of the Office of the Season. (This translation of the Roman Diurnal was made by Mr Samuel Wood, and published under the direction of Dr Pusey and others. There is neither title-page nor date, but it appeared in 1844. Another instalment, containing the Night Office, seems to have been published in 1845.)

The Day Hours of the Church with the Gregorian Tones. Part I only published (London and Oxford, 1844). The compiler was the Reverend Albany J. Christie.

Horae Diurnae: the Ancient Services for the Canonical Hours. To which are added . . . other ancient devotions (1849).

The Hours of Prayer, 2 vols.; pt. 1, The Day Hours; pt. 2, Nocturn Office and Lauds (Glasgow, 1851).

The Psalter, or Seven ordinary Hours of Prayer according to the . . . Church of Sarum, etc. Translated and arranged for private or coenobial use, with explanatory notes and comments by J. D. C. [John David Chambers] (1852). This book contains plain-song melodies for Mr Chambers' translation of the Office Hymns.

Occasional Offices for the Hours of Prayer. Compiled by Rev. H. P. Liddon and F. G. Lee for use of Cuddesdon College (1854).

Compline, according to the Use of the Church of England (1854).

The Day Hours of the Church of England, newly translated and arranged according to the Prayer Book and the Authorized translation of the Bible. Edited by Sir Francis Lygon, afterwards Lord Beauchamp (1st ed, 1858; revised eds., 1873, 1877, 1884, 1898, 1909, 1914, etc.).

New and enlarged edition of the above, with title *The Day Hours of the Church.* Edited by Community of St John Baptist, Clewer (1st ed., 1937; new ed. revised, 1950).

An Appendix to the Day Hours of the Church of England, being Memorials for the Minor Festivals, or Black Letter Days (1st ed., 1864).

The Service for certain Holy Days, being a Supplement to the Day Hours of the Church of England [Compiled by E. F. K. Fortescue] (1st ed., 1865; 4th ed., 1898).

The Order for Prime, Terce, Sext, None and Compline, according to the use of the Church of England (1884).

Manual of Prayers, According to the Use of Devonport (privately printed, Plymouth, 1861; 2nd ed., Oxford, 1875). Pt. 3, *The Wrestling of the Holy Hour*, contains brief offices for the Companions of the Love of Jesus.

The Night Hours of Holy Week. Translated and arranged by the Reverend Gerard Moultrie (1866).

The Primer etc. Edited from the Post-Reformation Recension, by the Reverend Gerard Moultrie (n.d.).

The Hours of the Primer. Published for the use of . . . a household in Family Prayer (n.d.).

The Psalter, or Seven Hours of Prayer of the Church of Sarum (n.d.).

The Canonical Hours according to the Use of the Guild of St Alban the Martyr. 2 vols. (1st ed., 1866; 2nd ed., 1874; 3rd ed., 1912).

The Book of Hours. Compiled by the Reverend Morgan Dix for use of Community of St Mary, Peekskill (New York, 1866).

The Canonical Hours from Ancient Sources. By a Catholic Priest (2nd ed., 1868).

The Night Offices for the Holy Week. Edited by the Reverend T. T. Carter (n.d.)

Manual of Devotions for Sisters of Mercy. Edited by the Reverend T. T. Carter (1868). The various editions of the same author's *Treasury of Devotion* contain shortened versions of the Lesser Hours.

Hours of Prayer for Daily Use throughout the Year (Oxford, 1861).

Pocket Manual of Prayers for the Hours (n.d.).

The Day Office of the Church, According to the Kalendar of the Church of England (1871; 2nd ed., 1888; 3rd ed., 1901; 4th ed., 1912. An American edition was published in New York). This book was edited by the Reverend H. A. Walker and the Reverend T. I. Ball. It is a translation based on the 1852 and 1862 Mechlin editions of the *Breviarium Romanum*. The Kalendar includes the Scottish saints found in the Scottish Prayer Book of 1637, also Feasts of the Sacred Heart and Assumption of our Lady.

The Little Hours of the Day, According to the Kalendar of the Church of England (1869). Contains the five Lesser Hours from the above book.

The Divine Office, as used by the Society of the Holy and Undivided Trinity. 3 vols. (privately printed, Oxford, 1872). This translation of the Roman Breviary was begun by Mother Marian Hughes, and completed by Philip Pusey.

Hymns in Use at the Chapel of the Convent of the Annunciation, Oxford (Society of the Holy and Undivided Trinity; privately printed, Oxford, 1880).

* * *

The Night Hours of the Church. 3 vols. (East Grinstead, 1870; new ed., 1899; revised ed., 1952).

Breviary Offices from Lauds to Compline inclusive, translated from the Sarum Book and supplemented from Gallican and Monastic Uses (1st ed. 1877; revised ed. (by the Reverend A. C. A. Hall, S.S.J.E.), New York, 1885; 2nd ed. (East Grinstead) 1914).

These books are based on translations begun by Dr Neale, but completed by members of the Society of St Margaret, East Grinstead.

* * *

The Day Hours and Other Offices as Used by the Sisters of All Saints (privately printed, 1875). This translation of the Roman Diurnal was made by Sister Maria Francesca Rossetti. A revised edition, with title *A Book of Day Hours for the Use of Religious Societies*, was privately printed in 1922.

The Priest's Book of Private Devotion (1st ed., Oxford, 1872). Edited originally by the Reverend Joseph Oldknow and the Reverend Augustus D. Crake, this book contains a version of the Sarum Day Hours. It was re-edited by the Reverend J. E. Vaux and the Reverend R. F. Littledale, and reprinted many times.

The Little Hours for Busy Persons. By an Associate of the Clewer Sisterhood (1871).

The Breviary of the Renowned Church of Salisbury, Rendered into English According to the Use of the Society of the Most Holy Trinity, Devonport (1889). This translation was begun in 1854 by Sister Amelia Warren. Printed fragments of the book had been in use from an early date, and were known as *Psalters*, subsequently as *The Old Breviary*.

Offices from the Breviary, for use at St Saviour's, Osnaburgh Street (1885). This book seems to have been adapted from *The Old Breviary*—see above.

The Order of Compline, according to the Use of the Illustrious Church of Sarum. Translated by W. H. C. M. and H. W. N.

Lesser Hours of the Sarum Breviary (1889).

The Little Office of the Blessed Virgin, chiefly after the Use of Paris (1889).

The Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary (1st ed., 1892; 2nd ed., 1895).

Prime and Hours (1st ed., 1897). This version of the Sarum Day Hours was adapted from that printed in *The Priest's Book of Private Devotions*. It was re-edited for the use of the Community of the Resurrection, with a commendation by Bishop Frere (1929).

The Hours of Prayer from Lauds to Compline (Longmans, Green and Co., 1910; revised eds. in 1914, 1928, and 1939; an American ed., New York, with Supplement, appeared in 1945). This Diurnal, translated mainly from the Sarum Breviary, was compiled by Fr Trenholme, S.S.J.E.

The Benedictine Office of Matins. Translated and edited by Canon Winfred Douglas (Peekskill, New York, 1916).

The Day Hours of the Monastic Breviary. Published for the use of the Community of St Mary (Peekskill, New York, 1918).

The Monastic Diurnal (revised edition of above) (London and New York, 1932).

The Order of Matins, according to the Use of the Community of St Mary, adapted from the Monastic Breviary (Peekskill, New York, 1945).

The Monastic Diurnal Noted (Kenosha, Wisconsin, 1952).

Lands Noted (1961).

Matins from the Monastic Breviary. (Society of the Sacred Cross, Tymawr, Monmouth, 1956. 2nd ed. 1961).

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The Diurnal, from the Salisbury Use, translated into English and adapted to the original Musick-Note by the Reverend G. H. Palmer (Wantage, 1921). Pocket edition, with *Tenebrae* added, 1930.

(1) *Lauds and Day Hours* (1926).

(2) *The Order of Vespers* (1931; last reprint, 1951). Based on *The Vesper Psalms* (original ed., 1890).

(3) *The Order of Compline throughout the Year, with musical notation* (1st ed., 1896).

Five Offices from the Roman Use (Supplement to the Salisbury Diurnal, 1952).

Eight Additional Offices from the Roman Use, with music for Vespers and for the Hymns and Benedictus at Lauds (1952).

* * *

The Choir Office (privately printed for use of Order of St Paul, Alton Abbey, Hants, 1925).

The Office for Holy Week and of the Paschal Triduum, according to the American Rite. Edited by Andrew C. Wilson (Brooklyn, N.Y., 1921).

Cambridge Offices and Orisons. Edited by E. Milner-White and B. T. D. Smith (1921).

Morning, Noonday and Evening, An Office Book for the Church's Year. Compiled by the Reverend Edward D. Sedding, S.S.J.E. (Community of Nursing Sisters of St John the Divine, Hastings; n.d.).

The Daily Office of the Community of the Resurrection. 2 vols.; pt. 1, Mattins and Evensong; pt. 2, The Lesser Hours (based on *Prime and Hours*) (privately printed Wakefield, 1950). One-volume edition on thin paper (1951).

The Dominican Office of Compline throughout the Year. (Privately printed for the Anglican Third Order of St Dominic; n.d.)

The Divine Office. Translation of the *Breviarium Romanum . . . cura recognitum Pii Papae X*. (Edited by the Society of St Margaret, East Grinstead. 2 vols., Oxford University Press , 1953).

The Anglican Breviary, Containing the Divine Office according to the General Usages of the Western Church. Edited by the Poor Brethren of St Francis (Mount Sinai, Long Island, N.Y., 1955).

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